New Indian Antiquary

VOLUME I



Edited by

S. M. KATRE, M. A., Ph. D. (London)

and

P. K. GODE, M. A.

KARNATAK PUBLISHING HOUSE

BOMBAY (INDIA)

SOME SELECT OPINIONS ON THE NEW INDIAN ANTIQUARY

The New Review, August 1938 (Vol. VIII, No. 44).—Here is a *New Indian Antiquary*, exceedingly well produced, a credit to the sturdy spirit of enterprise of its .... Editors ..... all the articles come up to the standard of scientific research which is to be the journal's hallmark ..... the names of the contributors ... are by themselves a high commendation to the new enterprise.

Hindu, June 26, 1938.—When the *Indian Antiquary* died after half a century of pioneering and distinguished service, the field of Oriental Research became bereft of a monthly journal. The output of Research today and the handicaps in seeking publication in the few Quarterlies in the field justify the appearance of this new Research Monthly, commemorating in its name the services of the old *Indian Antiquary*. This venture is hardly a surprise from such energetic scholars as the editors, **Dr. Katre** and **Mr. Gode**, and such enterprising publishers as the Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay. The journal is excellent in print, paper and get-up.

Geheimrat Prof. Dr. W. Geiger, München, Neubiberg :—I was very much pleased when I received by post the first ten parts of the *New Indian Antiquary* edited by you. Accept my most cordial thanks for this very kind and valuable present which is all the more appreciated by me since I am living in the country without easy access to a great library besides my own books. I at once perused the parts, examining their contents, and I saw with great pleasure that they are a rich mine of information about Indian Antiquity. I heartily congratulate you on having so successfully begun your task and I trust it will also be continued in the same manner. ....

I always felt conscious of the fact that Indology could be best furthered by a sincere co-operation of Indian and European scholarship. We are living too far from your wonderful country ....., but we may perhaps place at your disposal scientific methods developed in Europe. I see with the utmost satisfaction that these methods have been accepted and made use of by the Indian pandits, and that just in the modern times research work is flourishing and ever increasing and advancing in India itself.

The Journal of the Siam Society, Bangkok, vol. XXX, pt. III, August 1938: We have received for review two numbers of the first volume of the *New Indian Antiquary*, the management of which is to be congratulated upon the happy choice of the name of a well-known periodical which had ceased publication some five years ago ..... the journal is intended to fill a much needed gap .... and to provide a medium of expression for research scholars ..... To judge from the two numbers under review the journal should be welcome in all Indological quarters.

Professor Dr. Hanns Oertel, München :—My congratulations on the successful completion of the first volume of the *New Indian Antiquary* the March number of which I just received. The bibliographical notices on Current literature and the Survey Articles which you contemplate for the second volume will be a most welcome addition. I wish you all success in your work and hope it will receive the support which it richly deserves.

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OF
Bombay City

By

G. R. PRADHAN, PH. D.

Foreword by

B. R. AMBEDKAR,

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PRESENTATION TO PROFESSOR F. W. THOMAS

In the last issue of the *New Indian Antiquary* we have made a brief reference to the publication of a *Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies* (as Volume No. 1 of the *Extra Series* of this Journal) presented to Prof. F. W. THOMAS, C.I.E. on his 72nd birth-day, the 21st of March 1939. In this connection it is necessary to acquaint our readers a little with the genesis and completion of this project in the happy manner desired by us and our Publishers.

In November 1937 we were busy with the work of founding the *New Indian Antiquary*. In this connection we discussed with Mr. M. N. KULKARNI, the Manager of the Karnatak Publishing House, the idea of presenting the above volume, now an accomplished fact, to Prof. F. W. THOMAS C.I.E., whose visit to India for the purpose of presiding over the ninth Session of the All India Oriental Conference at Trivandrum in December 1937 was then announced by the organizers of the Conference. Mr. KULKARNI having readily expressed his willingness to carry out our idea we were encouraged to proceed further with it by organizing a responsible Festschrift Committee consisting of Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. K. AIYANGAR of Madras, Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR of Poona, Dr. S. K. DE of Dacca and Dr. L. SARUP of Lahore, for the purpose of inviting contributions to the Festschrift from scholars in India, Europe and America. Due publicity was given to the Appeal issued by this Committee inviting Contributions from Scholars representative of the different branches of Oriental learning as will be seen from the list of contents of the published Volume. In the meanwhile Prof. THOMAS paid his intended visit to India and after this work at Trivandrum in connection with the Oriental Conference toured through the whole of India visiting Poona twice during this tour. We acquainted him with our project of the Festschrift and the actual progress made by us with the spontaneous co-operation of his Indian and Foreign friends and admirers.

The last date for receiving papers for inclusion in the Festschrift was 31st October 1938. We were sorry to receive a few papers after this date which unfortunately could not be included in the volume now published but which would be published in due course in the regular issues of the *New Indian Antiquary*.

The Karnatak Printing Press lost no time in composing the entire matter of the Volume in an efficient, elegant and expeditious manner in spite of the complicated nature of printing in view of the fact that some of the papers included in the volume were written in German, French and Italian. It is highly creditable to the Press and its energetic and enterprising Manager Mr. M. N. KULKARNI that they made short work of this arduous task requiring continuous and careful work in spite of the regular work of publishing

the monthly issues of the *New Indian Antiquary*. The published volume includes a Foreword from the Editors, a bust photograph of Prof. THOMAS with his autograph, the letter of presentation signed by the Editors and the Members of the Festschrift Committee, dated 21st of March 1939, List of Honours conferred on Prof. THOMAS up-to-date, a Biographical Note on Prof. THOMAS by Dr. H. N. RANDLE, the present Librarian of the India Office Library, London, 48 papers on varied subjects by Scholars, among whom are Indian, American, and European, a Bibliography of the Published Philological writings of Prof. THOMAS which number 217 (from 1891 to 1939) with an Index to this Bibliography as also a list of contents of the entire volume.

Owing to the delay caused by postal transit in getting some of the proofs corrected in time it was expected that the entire volume may not reach Oxford on the 21st March 1939, the 72nd birth-day of Prof. THOMAS. The Editors, therefore, thought it advisable to send a souvenir brochure containing all the features of the volume detailed above except the actual papers. Such a Souvenir was immediately prepared and despatched on the 14th of March 1939 so as to reach in time the hands of Dr. E. H. JOHNSTON, the present Boden Professor of Sanskrit at the Oxford University in succession to Prof. THOMAS, who is a contributor to the Festschrift and who was kind enough to represent us in offering it personally to the worthy recipient of the volume on his birth-day. After the despatch of this Souvenir the following Cable of Congratulations was sent by us to Prof. THOMAS :—

"Pray accept hearty congratulations greetings on your 72nd Birth-day. May you attain full hundred prayed for by Indian Rishis. Festschrift following shortly."

What happened subsequently at Oxford will be best gathered from the letter of Prof. THOMAS dated 21st March 1939 which was received by the Editors on the 27th March 1939 :—

"I cannot let this day pass without writing a line to inform you that the souvenir brochure which you so thoughtfully designed has punctually arrived and that its early receipt is singularly welcome as furnishing the names of all those who as Editors, Committee and Contributors have co-operated in a signal manifestation of friendly, far too friendly, appreciation of my efforts in the cause of Indianism. I am now able not only to feel encouraged by the generous sentiment so felicitously conveyed in the letter of presentation, to which I shall now be replying, but also to indulge in some pleasing anticipation of the contents of the volume which, to judge from the brochure, will reflect great credit upon the publishers and the printer likewise.

I will not add anything to this brief acknowledgement, which will be followed by a fuller expression of my grateful thanks, except to mention that the presentation was made yesterday occasion for a Dinner to which I was invited by the Fellows of my College, Balliol, and at which, in the presence of distinguished friends and scholars from outside, Professor JOHNSTON gave an account of your generous efforts and their outcome, thereby initiating, as

I hope, a favourable anticipation of the *New Indian Antiquary's* first Extra publication.

With grateful thanks also for the telegram of Congratulations upon my birth-day and in anticipation of soon being able to write more adequately etc."

The above letter was suitably replied to by the Editors ; in the meanwhile they received a letter dated 24th March 1939 from Prof. E. H. JOHNSTON as follows :—

"The Committee, which sponsored the preparation of a Festschrift to my distinguished predecessor in the Boden Professorship, Professor F. W. THOMAS, C.I.E., for his seventy-second birth-day, laid on me the agreeable but onerous duty of presenting the volume to him. As the contributors were scattered all over the world, the customary procedure of arranging a deputation for the purpose could not be followed ; but when the Fellows of Balliol College, to which the Boden Professorship is attached, heard of the honour to be done to their former colleague, they immediately expressed the wish to give a dinner in celebration of the occasion. This was arranged on the eve of his birth-day so as not to clash with other engagements.... A distinguished set of guests were invited by the Master and Fellows of the College,....Among those who attended may be named Professor R. L. TURNER, Director of the School of Oriental and African Studies in the University of London, Dr. H. N. RANDLE, Librarian to the India Office, and Professor D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, Director of the Royal Asiatic Society. In the unavoidable absence of the Master, the chair was taken by Dr. Cyril BAILEY, Public Orator to the University, and he was supported by many of the Fellows and other well-known personalities in Oxford, among whom may be mentioned Sir Alan PIM, Sir Richard BURN and Sir Verney LOVETT.

After the usual loyal toast, Dr. BAILEY explained the occasion for the dinner and referred feelingly to the affection and respect with which Professor THOMAS was regarded by the Fellows of Balliol. I then rose to emphasise the special significance of the presentation. After dealing briefly with Professor THOMAS' many-sided knowledge and his achievements in so many and various departments of learning with respect both to Sanskrit and to Indian studies generally I pointed out that there were other motives for the preparation of this volume besides admiration for his work as a scholar. For five and twenty years his work in the India Office Library had been solely directed to the advancement of Sanskrit learning in all parts of the world and had made that great institution the chief centre of research into all things Indian. This was exemplified by the fact that no book of importance on these subjects appeared during that period which did not contain an acknowledgment of help rendered by him. But in addition to the peculiar feeling of gratitude which he had thus aroused among scholars of every continent, this volume bore witness to the veneration and respect, which were universally felt for him by his Indian colleagues and which found such remarkable expression during his recent tour in that country. Reference was made in particular to the courtesy and helpfulness which he invariably dis-

played in his correspondence with all research workers, whether in or outside India. In the absence of the volume I then presented him with a cable of birth-day good wishes from the contributors, and his health was drunk enthusiastically. In reply Professor THOMAS conveyed his grateful thanks to the contributors to the volume and dealt at some length with various aspects of Sanskrit studies, paying a detailed tribute to the varied learning and wide culture of his master, Edward COWELL, the first Professor of Sanskrit at Cambridge.

The proceedings terminated at a late hour, and on the following day I had the honour of presenting the volume to him. I should like to add that the fact that this volume originated in India among a group of Indian scholars will, in my opinion, serve to cement the good feeling that so happily prevails already between Indian and English Sanskrit scholars.".

We fully endorse Prof. JOHNSTON's views regarding the significance of the presentation of the Festschrift to Prof. THOMAS, the guide, friend and philosopher of Oriental Research for the last half a century, whose enlivening and genial presence in our midst having already cemented the bonds of disinterested scholarship between Indian and Foreign Indologists, as evinced by the present Festschrift, will still continue to radiate its beneficial influence in the many years to come. We also feel confident that Prof. JOHNSTON, a worthy successor of Prof. THOMAS in that world-renowned chair of Sanskrit learning at Oxford, having already helped us to cement the prevailing good feeling between Indian and English Sanskrit Scholars by the presentation of the Festschrift to Prof. THOMAS on our behalf, will not mind any further encroachment on his valuable time and energy in connection with our immediate work on the *New Indian Antiquary* which has just been launched full sail on the high seas of research with a year's mooring in the port.

S. M. KATRE
P. K. GODE

ON THE NATURE OF SUBLATION *

By

S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI

The concept of sublation figures largely in Advaita epistemology and metaphysics. Its implications, however, are not always clear. Truth sublates error ; the noumenal sublates the phenomenal ; knowledge sublates nescience. The world must be constituted of nescience, it is argued, since knowledge is said to sublate the world and all other bonds ; and only of nescience and its products is sublation by knowledge intelligible.

The *prima facie* meaning of sublation in all such cases is destruction. Knowledge, we say, destroys ignorance ; and since ignorance and nescience are largely used interchangeably, it is the destruction of nescience that is understood by its sublation. Even on this view, nescience has necessarily to be treated as positive ; for it is common sense that you can destroy what is, not what is not. Unfortunately for the claims of common sense, the Indian Logician admits a variety of non-existence prior to the production of an effect and destructible by that production, the *prāgabhāva* of the effect ; and ignorance as the anterior non-existence of knowledge may be destroyed by knowledge. That nescience is positive and not to be confused with the *prāgabhāva* of knowledge, the Advaitin labours hard to establish ; with his success we are not concerned for the moment ; suffice it to note that nescience is a positive entity which holds undisputed sway until the rise of its adversary, knowledge. In the case of this *bhāva-padārtha*, it is legitimate for us to ask what happens to it on destruction. If we were treating of ignorance as absence of knowledge, our question might be meaningless ; it is bad enough to ask what happens to the non-existent ; it would be worse still to raise such a question about its destruction. But when nescience is destroyed, does it become non-existent ? Perhaps so, but what does the statement mean ? When wood is destroyed, it does not merely cease to be ; it becomes ashes. A living person when destroyed becomes a decaying corpse. Nothing existent merely ceases to exist ; it ceases to exist in that form under those conditions. Not even physical darkness is barely destroyed by light ; it shifts from hemisphere to hemisphere or room to room ; it expands or contracts ; it never merely ceases to be. One of the arguments for the positive character of physical darkness (*tamas*) is that if it were negative and destroyed by light, there would be no explanation of the sudden re-obscuration by darkness when the light is withdrawn. The same argument will show that properly speaking there is no

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* This paper, intended for the *Volume of Indian and Eastern Studies* presented to Prof. F. W. THOMAS, was received late for inclusion in that volume, and is therefore printed here.—S. M. K.

destruction at all of *tamas*. And what applies to *tamas* may apply equally to its analogue, *avidyā*. The sublation of nescience must consist not in a wiping out, but in a transformation.

Let us look a little closer at the sublation of delusions and dreams. The rope-cognition sublates the snake-cognition. In both stages we have cognition; the content of the earlier is a partially apprehended presentation as something straight or coiled; this partial content instead of sticking to the rope-whole where it belongs, marches off to play independent pranks, joins hands with remembered aspects of a snake and masquerades as a snake. When the rope is cognised as really such, what happens is that the partially similar content is duly brought back under control, made to consort with its proper associates, and transformed into the rope-content. While the part is brought back under control, the supplementation is transformed from the erroneous to the truthful. And what is truthful will be found in the last resort to be a matter of the degree of coherence. So that once again we see but the whole exercising its ascendancy over and transforming the part.

Again, as Gaudapāda has shown, it is abstractly possible to treat dream as sublating waking cognition just as much as waking is thought to be the sublater of dreams. The dream-water cannot quench waking thirst; but the water of waking experience is no more useful in quenching the dream-thirst. There is nevertheless a justification for the treatment of waking as the sublater of dream, not *vice versa;* the relative universality of the former, as compared with the purely personal and private character of the latter, makes of waking a more coherent whole, capable of dominating and subordinating other aspects of experience. If the problem were that of annulment of one kind of experience by the other, we should be left with little or no guidance as to which is sublater and which sublated. Such uncertainty, however, is only a theoretical possibility, not a fact. And that is so, because sublation means not destruction but control by a larger whole and a transformation into the substance of that whole.

The distinction of three kinds of reality (*sattā*) also presupposes this same idea. The lowest, the barely phenomenal exists only so long as the presentation lasts. Of such stuff are dreams and delusions. The next grade of reality is relatively more objective; it subserves empirical usage; it survives particular presentations in that it can be the object of cognition for the same person at various times or for various persons at the same time; it is more extensive and also more harmonious than the private reality of dreams etc; hence its ability to sublate the former.

We now come to an apparent difficulty. Presumably, on the above line of reasoning, the sublater belongs to a higher grade of reality. This, however, is not always the case. The snake-delusion may be removed by the rope-cognition; but it may also be removed by another delusion, that the presented object is a stick or a streak of water and so on. Further, what sublates the world of empirical usage (*vyavahāra*), Brahman-intuition, is itself empirical (*vyāvahārika*), not the absolute reality; for Brahman-intuition is *not* Brah-

man. Hence no case can be made out that sublation is equivalent to subordination or transformation.

The difficulty is not insuperable; and it is largely due to conceiving the three grades of reality, of Advaita tradition, as water-tight compartments. It is true that a delusion may be dispelled by a delusion but not by any delusion. The second delusion must take into account the clearly presented features of the first, while rendering a little more satisfactory account of other features. The presented colour and shape are not ignored in the stick-delusion, while it fits in better with the immobility of the presented object. If a stick-cognition which is thus more comprehensive and coherent than the snake-cognition, is itself a delusion, it is because of not reckoning with still other features cognisable on a closer approach. So too Brahman-intuition, though non-real, in so far as it seeks to envisage the real as the object in relation to something else, is yet the most comprehensive relational cognition that we can have; for even while recognising the impropriety of treating Brahman as an object, we must admit that there can be no object falling outside Brahman, which is all that is, the sole real. *Brahma-sākṣātkāra* cannot be supplemented or transformed by any other relational cognition (*vṛttijñāna*); it can only be transformed into the *svarūpajñāna* that is Brahman.

Here again, we can see a limitation for the view which holds sublater and sublated to be inimical or barely opposed in the popular sense. *Brahma-sākṣātkāra* has to be transcended in Brahman; it is itself a product of nescience, though its highest product; it is that phase of *avidyā* which helps us to cross over death. What is sublated by *sākṣātkāra*, the empirically valid, etc., is also the product of *avidyā*. The destroyer of the higher should not be incapable of destroying the lower; he who can defeat a regiment will not fall back before a company thereof; and for annulling even the *prātibhāsika* delusive cognitions etc., *Brahma-sākṣātkāra* should certainly have the capacity, though it may be analogous to breaking a fly on the wheel; similarly, what sublates this final intuition should be capable of sublating lower forms of *avidyā*. We are told however that *svarūpa-jñāna* far from dispelling *ajñāna*, co-exists with the latter as its locus; what sublates (and destruction is understood by sublation) is not *svarūpa-jñāna* but *vṛtti-jñāna*. And the disappearance of the final intuition is not due to sublation either by another *vṛtti* (which may not be recognised without infinite regress) or by *svarūpa-jñāna* (which cannot sublate) but to self-destruction.

We are entitled to ask the Advaitin at this sage to stick to one uniform principle. If *Brahma-sākṣātkāra* commits suicide, may we not legitimately envisage a similar process in lower grades of *avidyā*? Why should we not treat the snake-cognition, the dream-cognition and the world-cognition as merely commiting suicide, rather than as being transcended in and by other cognitions? It is not that there is no compelling cause whatsoever; all these cognitions are finite; and cognitions may pine and die in despair at their being ever identical with or even equal to the objects cognised; the snake-cognition is not a snake any more than Brahman-intui-

tion is Brahman. Once the possibility of self-redemption is admitted, there can be no justification for treating the succeeding cognition as the sublater, without committing the *post hoc* fallacy. The only light in this suicide chaos must come from a principle that self-destruction results only from the compulsion of an immanent higher. The snake-cognition is not adequate to the content; though not aware of the inadequacy at the time it blindly but none the less compulsorily seeks completion; and at a certain stage, varying with individuals and circumstances, it becomes so complete as to burst its skin and become more comprehensive and adequate; the sublation is through an inner compulsive force, which manifests itself but not fully as the sublater; for this too will be sublated in turn until all limitations and finitude are transcended. The compulsive force manifesting itself ever increasingly in time is the Infinite, the Bhūman, Brahman. Viewed thus we have one principle of transcendence throughout, not a combination of universal murder and solitary suicide.

That the Advaitin is hard put to it to make the dual process intelligible is evident from the many analogies he presses into service; goat's milk digests other milk and is itself digested; poison dispels other poison and dispels itself; the powder of the clearing-nut precipitates other dust in water and precipitates itself. In every one of these illustrations it will be noted that the causal efficiency is over-rated or not properly assessed. Any suspended impurity in water will be precipitated in due course, given sufficient time; the clearing-nut hastens the process; once it has been mixed up with the other impurity, the water precipitates the whole mass quicker; it is not the case that the other impurity is first eliminated, like an enemy from the battlefield, and that the clearing-nut enacts a disappearance trick afterwards. Similarly, it is the nature of the human system to reject whatever is injurious or cannot be assimilated; because of natural or adventitious weakness it may fail to do this efficiently in some cases; what the remedial poison or milk does is to enable the system to throw out or assimilate as the case may be; the real agent in either case is the human body, the external factor being only an ancillary; were it not thus, nature-cures would be impossible, instead of being merely rare!

Let us look at the problem again from the view-point of the alleged co-existence of *svarūpa-jñāna* and *ajñāna*. The former is the locus of the latter, but not as the table of book or the ground of pot. It is the basis of super-imposition like the rope for the snake-delusion; rope and snake are not co-existent nor rope-cognition and snake-cognition; the existence of rope is contemporaneous with the delusive cognition of snake; that part of the latter which is not unreal, its existence-aspect, is included in the rope; the rest of it is non-real appearance due to a part being taken for a whole. The co-existence of the substrate and delusion then amounts only to the existence of the part in the whole, not to be the simultaneous existence of independent reals. So too, *ajñāna* co-exists with *svarūpajñāna* only as a part in the whole; if it asserted its independence it could not claim co-existence. And in the case of *vṛtti-jñāna* too we find just this opposition to *ajñāna*; the latter may be

transcended in the former, but cannot assert its existence against the former. There is no difference in principle between the transcendence of ignorance in *sṛṭṭi-jñāna* and the transcendence of the latter in *svarūpa-jñāna*. The former, of course, is temporal, the latter eternal ; but the sublation or transcendence is throughout due not to the temporal, but to the eternal functioning in and breaking through the temporal. The temporal envelope in the final act is so diaphanous that the breaking through appears as self-transcendence.

Sublation thus is unintelligible except as a process of transcendence and mastery of the lower by the higher, the finite and the temporal by the relatively less finite and less temporally limited, if not by the infinite and the eternal. Mere destruction is unintelligible except to defective thinking. What is abolished has to be transformed into the stuff of that which sublates. Māyā is sublatable by Brahman only because it is of the very nature of Brahman (*devasyai 'ṣa svabhāvo 'yam*, as the earlier Advaitins put it). When this nature is looked upon as if it were a quality different from the substance, we have the beginning of all our delusions and sufferings ; when realised to be what it truly is, the stuff of Brahman (since there is no room at that level for the substance-attribute or any other relational category), there is peace. This realisation is through sublation, which, for all its appearance to the contrary, is a positive transformation, not a negative abolition, the negation being an incidental relational phase of the former. Sublation, in other words, is sublimation.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE MUDHOL FIRMĀNS

By

B. A. SALETORE

In the reconstruction of the history of the Marāṭhas, importance is rightly attached by scholars to royal *firmāns*. A study of these sources of information, as in the case of other historical materials, requires discrimination, and verification as well, especially when they allude to events in Karnāṭaka history. Of late, however, entire credence seems to have been given to certain *firmāns*, without analysing them from the historical standpoint. This has been especially the case with the *firmāns* hailing from Mudhoḷ, which were extensively used first by Dr. BAL KRISHNA in his work called *Shivaji the Great*, and afterwards by Mr. Dattātreya Viṣṇu ĀPTE in his Marāṭhi book named *Mudhoḷ samsthāncā Ghorpaḍe gharāṇyācā itihāsa*. Dr. BAL KRISHNA has given the facsimiles with English translations of seven of these *firmāns* and quite a number of *sanads*; while Mr. APTE gives forty documents in Persian with their translations in Marāṭhi and English.[1] A critical examination of some of these *firmāns* from Mudhoḷ shows that they are by no means reliable for historical purposes, whatever their value may be from other points of view.

Antiquity of Mudhoḷ

Before we examine them it is profitable to note that Mudhoḷ was by no means the creation of Marāṭha intellect or valour. It was essentially a Karnāṭaka centre. In early times it was called Mudhuvoḷal. Here was born in A.D. 949 the famous Kannaḍa Jaina poet Ranna, the author of *Ajitapurāṇa*, *Sāhasabhīmavijaya* or *Gadāyuddha*, and a lexicon called *Ranakanda*. He relates in his *Ajitapurāṇa*, which was written in A.D. 993, that he was born in the Saumya *saṃvatsara* (A.D. 949) in Mudhuvoḷal which shone like a *tilaka* of Jambhukhaṇḍi Seventy which belonged to Beḷugali Five Hundred.[2] There can be no doubt that both Mudhuvoḷal and Jambhukhaṇḍi were Kannaḍa centres, and that Beḷugali, the larger province which comprised these places, was itself Karnāṭaka in culture. Since Ranna informs us that he was born in Mudhuvoḷal, and that his patron was the famous Ganga General Cāmuṇḍa Rāya,[3] we have to assume that Mudhuvoḷal was a province of the Ganga Empire in the middle of the tenth century A.D.

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1. BAL KRISHNA, *Shivaji the Great*, Vol. I. p. 40 ff. (Bombay, 1932); Dattatreya Viṣṇu ĀPTE, *Mudhoḷ samsthāncā Ghorpaḍe gharāṇyācā itihāsa*. (Poona, 1934).

2. Ranna, *Ajitapurāṇa*, Āśvāsa 12, v. 45. This was first pointed out by the late Mr. R. NARASIMHACARYA in his *Karnāṭaka Kavicarite*, I. p. 62. Mr. Panduranga B. DESAI has also drawn our attention to it in his article on *Ranna ūru Mudhōḷa Beḷagali alla* in the *Jayakarnāṭaka* for Feb. 1938, pp. 127-128.

3. *Kavicarite*, *ibid.*

The Mudhol Firmāns Examined : Firmān dated A.D. 1352

Leaving aside the question of how Mudhol in latter days passed from the hands of the Kannaḍigas into those of the Marāṭhas, let us proceed to the examination of some of the Mudhol *firmāns* which are alleged to contain historical details. Dr. BAL KRISHNA rejects the carefully prepared genealogy of the rulers of Sātāra down to A.D. 1828 as incorrect, and asserts that the gaps in the careers of the ancestors of Śivāji the Great "can now be filled up on the basis of the unpublished grants (*i.e.*, the *firmāns*) and the manuscript chronicle of the family of the Mudhol rulers,"[1] both of which, we may note, have been fully incorporated in the work of Mr. D. V. ĀPṬE. On the basis of these *firmāns* and the Ms. chronicle (*bakhar*) of Mudhol, Dr. BAL KRISHNA constructs the history of the ancestors of Śivāji the Great. He starts with the statement that "The Bhoeles trace their lineage from the solar dynasty of Udepur which is itself descended from the great conqueror, Rāma of the epic fame."[2] And while delineating the history of the Bhosles, he mentions Rāṇa Dilīpsimha whom he makes the son of Sajjanasimha (called by Mr. ĀPṬE Sujansimha). Dr. BAL KRISHNA relates that the valiant and victorious Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Gangu Bādshah conferred upon Dilīpsimha in A.D. 1352 by a *firmān* the title of *Sardar-i-khaskhel* together with ten villages in Mirath in the *taraf* of Devagiri as a free-gift. This was, according to Dr. BAL KRISHNA, a reward which Dilīpsimha received from the king Alā-ud-dīn Hasan Gangu for the valour which he and his Rajput soldiers showed "in the war between the Kings of Gulbarga and Vijayanagar."[3] Therefore, according to Dr. BAL KRISHNA, there was a war between Vijayanagara and Gulbarga in A.D. 1352, Dilipsimha showed his (Rajput) mettle in it, and the Gulbarga ruler Hasan Gangu presented him with a grant of ten villages in Mirath for his bravery.

Can the contents of this *firmān* dated A.D. 1352 be accepted as historically correct? This question can be answered only when we ascertain whether there was any war between Vijayanagara and Gulbarga in A.D. 1352. Our sources are, firstly, the contemporary stone and copper-plate inscriptions of Vijayanagara, and, secondly, the narrative of the Muhammadan historian Firistah.

We shall first see what Firistah has got to say about the alleged war of A.D. 1352. It may be remembered here that this Muhammadan historian gives a detailed account of the kingdom of Gulbarga ; and that, although he lived two centuries after the events he narrates, yet his account cannot be lightly brushed aside, since it was based on very many available Muhammadan sources. From Firistah we learn the following :—Zafar Khan Alā-ud-Dīn Hasan Gangu Bāhmani, the first ruler of the Gulbarga kingdom,

1. BAL KRISHNA, *op. cit.* p. 35.
2. BAL KRISHNA, *ibid.*
3. BAL KRISHNA, *ibid*, pp. 38-39. Mr. ĀPṬE says that both Sujansimha and Dilipsimha were sent to Karnāṭaka in A.D. 1351. *Op. cit.*, Intr. p. 84 ; *Bakhar* (which is in the same work), p. 19.

ascended the throne on August the 12th A.D. 1347. In A.D. 1351 he wrested Kowlas from the Rāja of Wārangal. About this time "at the instance of Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory," he sent a considerable force into the "Carnatic" from where his general returned successful, with valuable contributions from several Rājas in money and jewels, besides two hundred elephants and one thousand female singers. Having received an invitation from "Prene Ray," the representative of the ancient rājas of Gujarat, to invade that country, Alā-ud-Dīn Hassan Gangu sent his eldest son Prince Mahomed with 20,000 horse, while he himself followed up by easy marches. They arrived at Nausāri in A.D. 1357; but this Nausāri expedition proved a failure.[1]

According to Firishtah, therefore, Alā-ud-Dīn Hassan Gangu's capture of Kowlas took place about A.D. 1351, the Carnatic (*i.e.* Karnāṭaka) expedition either in the same or in the next year, and the Nausāri campaign in A.D. 1357. Nowhere is the least mention made of Vijayanagara by Firishtah who, as is well known, has given us quite a number of details about that great kingdom in his long narrative. The "several rājas" of the "Carnatic" referred to by him could only have been the rulers of northern Karnāṭaka, like those of Kittūr, Miraj, Sāgar, Goa, Kolhāpur, and Mudhōl itself.[2] We may observe here that the central, western, and southern parts of Karnāṭaka, the whole of the Tamil and a large part of the Telugu land were all now being consolidated by the successors of the Hoysalas—the rulers of Vijayanagara. That Vijayanagara and Gulbarga in the reign of the first monarch, King Harihara Rāya I were on friendly terms with each other is apparent from the statement of Firishtah that the "Raja of Beejanuggur" (*i.e.*, Vijayanagara) had presented Sultan Alā-ud-Dīn Hassan Gangu with a "ruby of inestimable price," which was placed on the head of a bird of paradise composed of precious stones set up on the royal canopy.[3] This clearly suggests that there was amicable relationship between the Gulbarga Sultan and the first Vijayanagara ruler Harihara Rāya I.

A few more facts gleaned from the history of the reign of that Hindu monarch will suffice to show that there was no war at all between him and the Gulbarga Sultan in A.D. 1352. We rely for this part of our narrative on the numerous stone and copper-plate records of Vijayanagara. King Harihara I had founded the kingdom of Vijayanagara along with his four well known brothers in A.D. 1346.[4] From his own inscriptions we know that he was content to style himself only as a *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, and that his reign lasted from A.D. 1346 till A.D. 1352.[5] There is nothing either in his

1. Firishtah, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, II. pp. 290-295. (Trans. BRIGGS. Calcutta, 1909).

2. Cf. SEWELL, *the Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* (collected till 1923) and *Outlines of Political History*, p. 191. (Ed. S. Krishnaswami AIYANGAR, Madras. 1932).

3. Firishtah, *op. cit.*, II. p. 298.

4. SALETORE, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, I, pp. 12, 83 ff. (Madras, 1934).

5. RICE, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 112. (London, 1909).

own records or in those of his successors to suggest in the least that king Harihara Rāya I waged a war in the last but one year of his reign with the Gulbarga Sultan Alā-ud-Dīn Hassan Gangu. The Vijayanagara ruler's sole ambition was not so much to involve himself in a war with the Gulbarga ruler as to strengthen the western parts of Karnāṭaka and the other regions of southern India which he did with the help of his indomitable brothers.[1] There is no evidence either in the contemporary epigraphs of king Harihara Rāya I or in the narrative of Firishtah to prove that there was a war between Vijayanagara and Gulbarga in A.D. 1352. Therefore, the statement in the Mudhol *firmān* dated A.D. 1325 that Dilīpsimha displayed valour in that war cannot be credited, and the grant of ten villages in Mirath by king Alā-ud-Dīn Hassan Gangu to Dilīpsimha looks very dubious.

Mr. ĀPṬE asserts that in A.D. 1366 in the campaign against Vijayanagara, Dilīpsimha received further honours from his royal master the Sultan (obviously the Bāhmani ruler) for his bravery.[2] That Mr. ĀPṬE has, indeed, made considerable improvements upon the version of the Mudhol *firmāns* as given by Dr. BAL KRISHNA, is apparent when we see how ingeniously Mr. ĀPṬE introduces Dilipsimha (no doubt on the basis of the *Bakhar*), in the war which Muhammad Shah Bāhmani is said to have waged against Vijayanagara.[3] It must be confessed that even Sewell and scholars after him seem to have accepted this war supposed to have been fought in A.D. 1365 as an historical fact. But to us it seems that it existed only in the imagination of Mulla Daūd Bidūri, who, as Firishtah cautiously says, writes of a war that had taken place when Bidūri was only twelve years of age![4] Granting for the time being the veracity of the war of A.D. 1366, it appears that the author of the Mudhol *Bakhar*, who inserts the name of Dilīpsimha in two contexts while narrating the events of that war, seems to have been very well acquainted with the account of Mulla Daūd Bidūri, as will be evident from a close comparison of the war given in the *Bakhar* and that given by Firishtah. The latter, we may note, never mentions the name of Dilīpsimha at all in his account.[5]

1. SALETORE, *ibid*, pp. 14-15.

2. ĀPṬE, *op. cit.* Intr. p. 84 ; *Bakhar*, 24-26.

3. ĀPṬE, *ibid*, Bakhar, pp. 24-28. Mr. ĀPṬE gives a very ingenious explanation of the name of the place Mirath which occurs in *firmāns* dated A.D. 1352, 1424, and 1454. In the first the word is spelt مرر اٹھ; in the second, مرراٹھ; and in the third, مرراٹ (ĀPṬE, *ibid*, Appendix अ pp. 1-11). Mr. ĀPṬE says that the different variants of the name given above—*miraṭah*, *miraṭhah*, and *miraṭa*—mean only Marāṭhi ! He writes thus—*paṇ yā sarva ṭhikāṇī tyāchā arthe marāṭhi—marāṭhkāvāḍyāmīl asā karāvā lāgate.* (p. 129.) This is just to suit his meaning of the same word which occurs in an earlier context, wherein he says that Meruṭh means Mahrat—*i.e.*, Mahārāṣṭra ! (*Ibid, Bakhar*, p. 28, n. 18). Therefore, according to Mr. ĀPṬE, in the age of the so-called Dilīpsimha, Mahārāṣṭra was known to the Deccani Sultans and their official scribes as Miraṭh !

4. Read Firishtah, *op. cit.*, II. pp. 308-319 ; SEWELL, *A Forgotten Empire-Vijayanagar*, pp. 32-39.

5. Firishtah quoting from Mulla Daūd Birdūri's *Tokfut-us-Sulatīn*, makes the

It is said that on the death of Dīlīpsimha in A.D. 1367, Rāṇa Siddhoji, called by the advocates of the Mudhol *Bakhar*, Sidhāji or Siddhaji,[37] succeeded his father. This Siddhaji is said to have assisted Sultan Firūz Shah to gain the Bāhmani throne. Siddhaji however died in Hijra 798 (A.D. 1388). According to Dr. BAL KRISHNA he was no other than Suddoo mentioned by Firistah. The relevant passages from Firistah's narrative are then cited in order to show "the part played by Sidhoji".[1]

We have to admit that Sultan Firūz Shah had to struggle hard before becoming the ruler of the Bāhmani kingdom. Firistah gives a detailed account of the conflict between Firūz Shah, then called merely Firūz Khan, and the adherents of Lālchin. We shall cite this account presently. Firūh Shah blinded the king Shams-ud-Dīn Shah. This and other events took place in A.D. 1397, according to Firistah.[2] Now, according to Dr. BAL KRISHNA, Rāṇa Siddhaji died in a battle in A.D. 1388.[4] If that is so, one cannot understand how Rāṇa Siddhaji could have "assisted Firuz Shah in gaining the Bahmani throne", as maintained by Dr. BAL KRISHNA, especially when it is known that that Bāhmani ruler came to the throne in A.D. 1397. Since Rāṇa Siddhaji's resurrection cannot be credited, we have to disbelieve also the statements concerning the alleged help he gave to Sultan Firūz Shah. Our doubt is further strengthened when we note that Firistah has nothing to say concerning the imaginary help given by Rāṇa Siddhaji to Sultan Firūz Shah on the latter's accession to the throne. Firistah mentions the leaders and friends of that Bāhmani monarch—the latter's minister Mīr Faiz-ullāh Anju, the learned Mullah Issac Surhindi, the governor Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn Mohamed Anju, and the king's brother Ahmed Khan Amīr-ul-Umra, but not Rāṇa Siddhaji, who would certainly have been noted by the Muhammadan historian, if Siddhaji had been instrumental in the accession of Sultan Firūz Shah to the throne.

There is one more consideration which may be noted here concerning Rāṇa Siddhaji's contemporaneity with Sultan Firūz Shah. It is said that Rāṇa Siddhaji was no other than "Suddoo" mentioned by Firistah. This is altogether a gratuitous assumption, since, as we shall presently see, there is nothing in Firistah's narrative to suggest that Suddoo was the same as

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Vijayanagara king "Krishna Ray," and the latter's maternal uncle "Bhoj Mul" (Firistah, *ibid*, II, pp. 314-5). Both these names are fictitious: for in A.D. 1366 Bukka Rāya I reigned. His inscriptions style him as "a Terror of the Turuṣkas." (Cf. RICE, *Mysore & Coorg*, p. 113). As regards "Bhoj Mul," no such person ever existed in Vijayanagara. SEWELL's assumption that this name may stand for Mallayya or Mallinātha (Sewell, *ibid*, p. 35. n. 2.) is altogether unacceptable. General Mallinātha, as many records prove, was too great a commander to suffer a defeat at the hands of the Muhammadans.

1. APTE, *op. cit.* Intr. p. 85; *Bakhar*, p. 31.

2. BAL KRISHNA, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40. Mr. APTE has some other details to give concerning Siddhāji. *Ibid*, Intr. p. 85, *Bakhar*, p. 31.

3. Firistah, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 360-2.

4. BAL KRISHNA, *op. cit.*, 39.

Siddhaji. Firistah does not give any specific date of the murder of Shams-ud-Dīn Shah Bāhmani at the hands of Fīrūz Khan; but, as related above, it is permissible to assign the events connected with it to A.D. 1397, since they are mentioned "about a fortnight" before the defeat of Lālchin at the hands of Fīrūz Shah.[1] From whatever standpoint we view this question, it is impossible to identify the Suddoo of Firistah with Rāṇa Siddhaji of the Mudhol *Bakhar*. All that we may say is that Suddoo may have been one of the many Abyssinian slaves at the court of the Bāhmani ruler.

Firman dated A.D. *1398.*

The alleged help given by Rāṇa Siddhaji to Saltan Fīrūz Shah being thus unhistorical, the edifice based on the next *firmān* dated Hijra 800 (A.D. 1398) collapses. For this *firmān* affirms the following—That due to "the misgovernment" and "short-sightedness of Amirs, some servants of the Empire had, disregarding their duty, thrown off their allegiance and had become so bold as to sow the seeds of treason in the Government of the Kingdom"; that the ruler Fīrūz Shah was "wholly engrossed" in counteracting this influence of evil-minded men; that actuated by this resolve to uproot the ungrateful subjects, the king with the help of "some loyal and devoted persons" went towards the fort of Sagar; that Rāṇa Siddhaji, the *thanādar* of Sagar, on receipt of the news of the imperial approach, loyally joined the cause of the king, "rendered service at the risk of his life", did whatever was told to him satisfactorily, and ultimately "fell and sacrificed himself in the thick of the fight"; that "shortly afterwards" the king's desire bearing fruit and his object being realised, he ascended the ancestral throne; that Siddhaji's son Bhairavsingh," who had fought shoulder to shoulder with his father against our enemies and had showed great courage and ability, attracted our imperial notice as one deserving of royal favours"; that "in recognition of these qualities of one deserving recognition, and in view of the sacrifice of his life, Mudhol and the adjoining eighty-four villages in the Taraf Raibag have been granted as a mark of royal favour to the said Bhairavasinghji"; and that the donee should take possession of the same and continue to do imperial service loyally.[2]

Let us compare the above account of the struggle which Saltan Fīrūz Shah is said to have waged against his enemies as given in the Mudhol *firmāns*, with that given by Firistah which we have referred to above. The situation was the following:—Lālchin, the king-maker, had deposed and blinded Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Shah, who was the eldest son of Sultan Muhammad Shah Bāhmani. Among Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Shah's loyal followers were Fīrūz Khān (the future Fīrūz Shah) and the latter's brother Ahmed Khān. These two were the sons of Muhammad Shah Bāhmani's brother Dāud Shah Bāhmani, and had been given in marriage to the two daughters of their uncle Muhammad Shah. When Lālchin blinded and deposed Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Shah,

1. Firistah, *ibid*, II. pp. 358-360.
2. Bal. Krishna, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42; Apte, *op. cit.*, Appendix अ, pp. 2-8.

both Firūz Khan and Ahmed Khan, instigated by their wives, tried to revenge the death of Ghiyūs-ud-Dīn Shah; but Lālchin complained to the ruling monarch Shams-ud-Dīn Bāhmani (Ghiyās-ud-Dīn's brother), accused them of treason, and attempted to kill them. Lālchin failed to get the monarch's consent but secured the queen's approval. Firūz Khan and Ahmed Khān came to know of his evil designs and fled from Gulbarga to the fortress of Sāgar. Fīristah continues thus :—"Suddoo, a slave of the royal family, commanded in Sagur. He was rich and powerful, and received the Princes with open arms, omitting nothing to evince his attachment to them. On the next day, Ahmed Khan and Feroz Khan addressed a letter to Shums-ood-Deen Shah, as also other letters to the principal nobility, stating, that their design was only to expel Lallcheen, whose treachery to the late king, and whose other numerous crimes, which had cast dishonour on the royal family, were known to all. They demanded, therefore, that he should be punished, after which, the Princes promised to pay due submission to the authority of Shums-ood-Deen Shah; declaring, till this object were obtained, they would use every means in their power to effect his destruction. Shums-ood-Deen Shah, consulting his mother and Lallcheen, sent back an answer which served only to inflame the Princes, who, with the assistance of the commander of Sagur, having collected three thousand horse and foot, and with the full confidence that other troops would join them from the capital, marched towards Koolburga. Disappointed in this expectation, they halted for some time on the banks of the Bheema, without being aided by any chief of consequence. It was, however, agreed, that the Princes should advance with the regal canopy carried over the head of Feroz Khan. On this occasion his brother Ahmed Khan was raised to the rank of Ameer-ool Omra, Suddoo to that of Meer Nobut, and Meer Feiz Oolla Anjoo to the office of Vakeel, or minister".

Then Fīristah continues to narrate thus—On the approach of the two brothers before Gulbarga, Lālchin and Shams-ud-Dīn Shah met them and severely defeated them in the battle of Merkole, and compelled them to flee to Sāgar. Some officers of the court sided with them and persuaded them to seek pardon at the hands of the king Shams-ud-Dīn and to repair to Gulbarga. The two brothers sent two officers Mīr Faizullāh Anju and Sayyid Kamāl-ud-Dīn to the king, with a request that they themselves would come personally to the king, if the latter pardoned them. The Queen-mother and Lālchin, well pleased at these overtures, sent flattering assurances of forgiveness to the two brothers.

Soon after the arrival of this news, the two brothers—who had not yet gone to Gulbarga—while sitting on a terrace (probably at Sāgar itself), heard a Kashmirian madman exclaiming thus—"I am come, O Feroze of happy auspices to conduct thee to Koolboorga, and make thee king". This decided their course of action; they went forth to Gulbarga, where they received dresses and gifts from the ruler Shams-ud-Dīn. But Lālchin and Firūz Khān distrusted each other as before. "About a fortnight after their arrival," at Gulbarga (Nov. the 15th 1397), Firūz Khān attended the *durbar* accompa-

nied by twelve devoted *silehadars*, and at the same time about three hundred of his followers obtained admittance into the fort, one or two at a time. Under pretext of paying respects to the king Shams-ud-Dīn, Firūz Khān kept Lālchin occupied in conversation, while Ahmād Khān attacked the latter and the king. The plan succeeded admirably. The two brothers made the king and Lālchin captives, secured the submission of the nobility, and Firūz Khān ascended the throne under the name of Firūz Shah Rūz Afzūn. The late king was blinded, and Lālchin was made to suffer at the hands of Ghiyas-ud-Dīn Shah who had been imprisoned at Sāgar but who was now released.[1]

From this rather lengthy account of Firistah of the manner by which Sultan Firūz ascended the throne of the Bāhmani kingdom, the following may be deduced :—

1. That the two brothers Firūz Khān and Ahmed Khān escaped from the plots of Lālchin ;

2. That they went to the fortress of Sāgar which was under the commandant Suddoo ;

3. That in their letter to their monarch Shams-ud-Dīn they clearly said that their object was to expel Lālchin after which they promised to be loyal to their ruler ;

4. That Shams-ud-Dīn did not believe them since he sided with Lālchin ;

5. That the two brothers failed to enlist the support of the royal troops in their attempted march on Gulbarga ;

6. That no chief of any consequence helped them at this stage of their movements ;

7. That while they were thus contemplating on their next move, and while Firūz Khān was not yet king, he raised some of his followers to high posts, among whom was Suddoo, who was made *Mīr Naubat* ;

8. That they sought royal pardon which was granted ; but that

9. Firūz Khan, who had always distrusted Lālchin, finally succeeded in imprisoning (and killing) Lālchin, and blinding Shams-ud-Dīn on November the 15th 1397 with the aid of twelve *silehadars* and three hundred followers among whom Suddoo does not figure.

These facts as narrated by Firistah entirely invalidate the contents of the *firmān* dated A.D. 1397 which is said to have been given by Firūz Shah to Rāṇa Bhairoji. Instead of Firūz being on the throne as the *firmān* makes us believe, we have Shams-ud-Dīn as king of Gulbarga in the narrative of Firistah. There was no "misgovernment" due to "the short-sightedness of the Amirs", as the Mudhol *firmān* relates, but only the rebellion of Firūz Khān himself aided by his brother Ahmed Khān. It is not Rāṇa Siddhaji, the father of Bhairoji, and the *thaṇādār* of Sagar, who assisted Firūz Khān, as the Mudhol *firmān* affirms, but it was one Suddoo, who is merely called "a slave of the royal family", who welcomed Firūz Khān in the earlier stages of the latter's rebellion, as Firistah tells us. Therefore, credence cannot be

1. Firistah, *op. cit.* II, pp. 357-361.

given to the Mudhol *firmān* dated A.D. 1397 which gives the alleged story of the help given by Rāṇa Siddhaji to Fīrūz Shah, and, to the latter's gift of eighty-four villages to Siddhaji.

Firmān dated A.D. 1424.

Rāṇa Bhairoji's son was Devarāj, according to the Mudhol *Bakhar*. Devarāj after ruling for sixteen years (A.D. 1410-A.D. 1426?) was succeeded by Ugrasen who, according to Dr. BAL KRISHNA, "saved the life of his master Alā-ud-Dīn Ahmad Shah Bāhmani when the latter was surprised by a detachment of the Vijayanagar King in his hunting expedition. In recognition of this signal service, a *Farmān* was issued in the Hijri year 827 (A.D. 1424) in the name of Ugrasen which is still in the possession of the Raja Saheb of Mudhol".[1]

The contents of the *firmān* dated A.D. 1424 are the following :—

"That Sidhji Rana, Thanedar of Sagar, and his son Bhairavsing, who are the great-grand-father and grand-father of Rana Ugrasen, son of Rajsingh Deo Rana, stood beside us in the period of Firaz Shah Bahmani whose son was the refuge of brotherhood and has now got a resting place in Paradise. At the time of his accession to the throne, Sidhji was of great use (*i.e.*, sacrificed himself). Then in the battle with the Raja of Vijayanagar Ugrasen also displayed great bravery and valour. All that is engraved on our mind.

"In the same manner from the beginning of this Kingdom, the ancestors of his family have been faithful and life-sacrificing for this great sovereignty". Therefore the Jāgir of Mudhol and eighty-four villages in the dependencies of Raibag were granted to Bhairavsingh by "the refuge of brotherhood (*i.e.*, our brother Firuz Shah)." All these and "some places (which) have been given from old days" were now allowed to continue under Ugrasen.[2]

The above contents of the *firmān* dated A.D. 1424 do not speak of the hunting expedition of Sultan Alā-ud-Dīn Ahmed Shah mentioned by Dr. BAL KRISHNA. As regards a hunting expedition Firistah does mention an incident of that nature undertaken by Sulṭan Fīrūz Shah in A.D. 1412 but that was in Gondwana, when that monarch laid waste the country in that region and brought along with him 300 elephants.[3] The date A.D. 1424 given by the Mudhol *firmān* falls in the reign of Ahmed Shah Wali Bāhmani according to Firistah, and not in that of Alā-ud-Dīn Shah Bāhmani (II), whose first regnal year was A.D. 1435.[4] No hunting expedition worthy of special note was undertaken by Alā-ud-Dīn Shah Bāhmani II ; but in A.D. 1443 he waged a war with the Vijayanagara king Dēva Rāya II, who had besieged Raichūr and Bankāpūr in that year. Firistah tells us that in this war the Vijayanagara king was worsted, although he had managed to capture

1. BAL KRISHNA, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.
2. BAL KRISHNA, *op. cit.* p. 43.
3. Firistah, *op. cit.*, II. p. 388.
4. Firistah, *ibid*, pp. 406, 417.

two prominent officers of the Bāhmani king, by name Mushīr-ul-Mulk and the latter's brother. On the Vijayanagara king releasing them, when threatened by the Bahmani ruler with terrible reprisal, the two monarchs concluded peace, king Dēva Rāya agreeing to pay a stipulated annual tribute. "After this war with Beejnuggur the King changed his conduct, and gave himself wholly up to luxurious enjoyments".[1]

One fails to see, therefore, how the Mudhol *firmān* can be relied upon for the details relating to the war with Vijayanagara in A.D. 1424. If this war is discredited, then, the statement made in the *firmān* that Ugrasen saved the life of his royal master Alā-ud-Dīn Shah has also to be discredited.

Firmān dated A.D. *1454*

On the basis of the above *firmān* dated A.D. 1424 it is asserted that "Rāna Ugrasen alias Indrasen with his brother Pratāpsinha was engaged for several years in carrying on a war in the inaccessible parts of the Konkan. In one of the battles, Ugrasen fell a captive in the hands of the Shirke chief of Khelna, but was ultimately released by his heroic sons"[2].

In the above passage two distinct rulers seem to have been confounded—the chief of Śirka (Śirke) and the chief of Khelna (Viśālgarh). The Śirke-Khelna episode is interesting in Marāṭha history. Firistah mentions it; and GRANT DUFF has many things to say about the two chiefs of Śirke and Khelna. But GRANT DUFF'S account, while being substantially the same as that of Firistah, contains a few divergent details. We shall first see, therefore, the account of Firistah, and then note what GRANT DUFF has got to say about the same episode. The events concerning the two chiefs are narrated by Firistah, while dealing with the history of the reign of Alā-ud-Dīn Shah Bāhmani II. After informing us that that monarch gave himself up to luxurious enjoyments on the close of the treaty with Vijayanagara, Firistah writes that "At this time", Miyamun-ullah-Deccani, one of the Deccani officers who had managed to exercise governmental authority during the period of the king's intoxication, "formed a plan for reducing to subjection all the fortresses along the sea-coast. To affect this, the King deputed Mullik-oot-Toojar (ul-Tujar) with seven thousand Deccani infantry and three hundred Arabian cavalry, besides his own division, to the westward". Commander Mullik-ul-Tūjar made Chakun his headquarters, captured the fort near the city of Junar, from whence he sent detachments to subjugate the

1. Firistah, *ibid*, pp. 433-436.

2. BAL KRISHNA, *op. cit.*, p. 44. In a footnote (no. 1) on the same page, DR. BAL KRISHNA refers this statement to the *firmān* of Alā-ud-Dīn Shah II granted to Karna Sinha and Shubh Krishna in A.D. 1454. In another context, too, Dr. BAL KRISHNA mentions "Shirke of Kelna." *Ibid*, p. 46. Mr. ĀPTE seems to mention the same *firmān* dated A.D. 1454 supposed to have been granted by Sultan Alā-ud-Dīn to Karan Singh. But nothing about the Sirke or Khelna ruler is mentioned in the version as given by Mr. ĀPTE (ĀPTE, *op. cit.*, Appendix H, pp. 12-13). Which of these scholars shall we believe—Dr. BAL KRISHNA or Mr. ĀPTE, both of whom have based their accounts on the same Mudhol *firmāns*?

Konkan, the many *rājas* of which he conquered. "At length he moved to that country (Konkan) in person, and laid siege to a fort the Rāja of which was named Sīrka, whom he speedily obliged to surrender, and deliver himself and family into his hands.

"Mullik-oot-Toojar insisted that Sīrka should embrace the faith of Islām, or be put to death; upon which the subtle infidel, with much assumed humility, represented that there existed between him and Shunkur Ray, who owned the country around the fortress of Kehlna, a family jealousy, and that should he enter into the pale of Islam, and his rival remain secure in the full possession of power, he would, on the general's retreat, taunt him with ignominy on account of his change of religion, and excite his own family and subjects to revolt; so that he should lose the countries his ancestors had held for ages. Rāja Sirka added, however, that if Mullik-oot-Toojar would reduce his rival, Shunkur Ray of Kehlna, and give his country either to himself or to one of his officers, which might be effected with little difficulty, he would then pronounce the creed of the true faith, become enrolled among the servants of the King, and remit annually a tribute to his treasury, as well as assist in reducing those rājas who might hereafter fail in their duty and allegiance".

Mullik-ul-Tūjar fell into the trap thus laid for him, agreed to the proposal of the Rāja of Śirke that the latter should himself guide the invading party against the chieftain of Khelna, and in A.D. 1453 began his expedition against Khelna. But at the outset most of the Deccani and Abyssinian officers and troops deserted him. The Rāja of Śirke at first conducted the invaders along a roadway, but on the third day led them through such intricate paths that they were completely lost in the dreadful labyrinths of Konkan. At this stage Mullik-ul-Tūjar himself fell ill of a bloody flux, cried halt to his disobedient troops, and, to cut a long story short, was cut to pieces with 500 noble Sayyids of Medina and 2000 soldiers by the treacherous Rāja of Śirke, who had now joined hands with the Rāja of Khelna. Those who survived this dreadful massacre, managed to reach home through great difficulty.[1]

GRANT DUFF relates substantially the same story but for the following points of divergence :—The enemy of the Rāja of Śirke is said to have been the Rāja of Singur, a fort in the territory of Koṇḍana (*i.e.*, Simhagad) between whom and the Rāja of Śirke there existed a family competition and rivalry, both being near relations. The Rāja of Śirke asked Mullik-ul-Tūjar to reduce the chief of Koṇḍana first before he himself embraced Islam. Further, the number of Muhammadans who were lost in this treacherous ambuscade was, according to GRANT DUFF, 700. "The Sirkay family regained possession of their country, and for a period of nearly sixteen years no further attempt was made to follow up the plan of Meamun Oolla Deccanee". But for these details, the account of the treacherous death of Mullik-ul-Tūjar

1. Firishtah, *op. cit.*, II. pp. 436-440.

as given by Firishtah and GRANT DUFF agree. Both place the ill-fated campaign in A.D. 1453.[1]

If we are to rely on these accounts of Firishtah and GRANT DUFF, then, the ruler of Śirke and of Khelna were not one and the same person, as Alā-ud-Dīn Shah's alleged *firmān* dated A.D. 1454, seems to suggest, but two distinct chiefs. And Ugrasen could not have fallen into the hands of "the Śirke chief of Khelna" and later on released by "his heroic sons", as has been maintained, but could only have either suffered death along with Mullik-ul-Tūjar, or escaped with the remnant of the latter's unfortunate army. In any case, Ugrasen's alleged heroic action in A.D. 1453 does not fit in with the known details of the Tūjar expedition.[2]

The Firmān dated A.D. *1471.*

Dr. BAL KRISHNA relates that the Bāhmani Prime Minister Muhammad Gawān retrieved the disaster sustained by Mullik-ul-Tūjar in A.D. 1455 (that is to say, obviously in A.D. 1454), that "the Muslim army under Gawān was unable to capture Khelna or the Formidable Fort" (Viśālgaḍ), and that it was the chieftain "Karansingh and his son Bhīrasen that ultimately succeeded in conquering the impregnable castle from its Marāṭha ruler". These statements seem to be based on the *firmān* said to have been issued by Muhammad Shah Bāhmani in A.D. 1471[3].

It may be doubted whether this is historically accurate. The assertion that Muhammad Gawān was unable to capture the fortress of Khelna, and that its capture was the work of Karnsingh and the latter's son Bhīmsingh, is not at all borne out by Firishtah, who gives quite a different story altogether. For this Muhammadan historian relates the following :—In the beginning of A.D. 1469 Muhammad Gowān, the minister, marched with a powerful army against Śankar Rāya of Khelna, and other refractory chiefs of the Konkan. The troops of Junnar, Chakun, Kolhar, Dabul, Chaul, Wai, Man, and other parts were ordered to join him in this campaign. Śankar Rāya of Khelna constantly maintained a fleet of 300 vessels, and interrupted the traffic of the Muhammadans. On Muhammad Gawān advancing, "the infidels contracted defensive alliances with each other, and assembled in great numbers at the heads of the passes, but Muhammad Gawān, by degrees, forced all their positions". He then sent back the cavalry contigents as useless, and relied on the infantry under Asad Khan Gilāny, the divisions from Junnar, his own troops led by Khush Kuddam, and those from Kolhar and Dabul. With this army he cut his way through the forests, besieged Khelna for five months without reducing it, and raised the seige on the monsoon breaking

1. GRANT DUFF, *A History of the Mahrattas*, I, pp. 52-53. (Rev. ed. S. M. Edwardes, London, 1921).

2. Ugrasen's alleged release by his heroic sons, who were evidently Karansingh and Subhakrishna, is placed by Dr. BAL KRISHNA between A.D. 1453 and A.D. 1456. (BAL KRISHNA, *op. cit.* p. 44.) Did Ugrasen require two years to escape from the clutches of the chief of Śirke?

3. BAL KRISHNA, *ibid.*, I, pp. 45-47 ; ĀPTE, *op. cit.* Appendix अ, pp. 13-18.

out. Committing the mountain passes to the care of 10,000 infantry troops, he passed the rainy season in the district of Kolhapur, where he conquered the fort of Ramgarh. After the rainy season, he re-appeared before Khelna, and " by strategem and gifts of money, obtained possession of the fortress of Khelna, which had never, till then, been in the hands of the Muhammadans. On the approach of the monsoon of the following year (A.D. 1470), he took the same measures as he had done in the former season ; and at the expiration of the four wet months, " marched into the country of Ray Shunkur, which he reduced, taking ample revenge for the slaughter of the former Mullik-ool-Tūjar and his army "[1].

In the above account no Mudhoḷ chief is mentioned ; there is no reference either to Karansingh or Bhīmsingh ; the leaders who assisted Muhammad Gawān were his own Muslim nobles and the troops of Junnar, Chakun, Kolhar, Dabul, Chaul, Wai, and Man ; and, finally, the first capture of Khelna was effected by strategem and bribery, and not by the supposed bravery of Karansingh and Bhīmsingh. One fails to see, therefore, how the statements made in the Mudhoḷ *firmān* concerning Karansingh and Bhīmsingh can ever be accepted as historically valid. That these two heroes did not take part in the capture of Khelna by Muhammad Gawān in A.D. 1469-70 is also evident from the Marāṭha Mss. utilized by GRANT DUFF, which merely state that that Muslim general completely subjugated the whole of the strong country around Goa and the south-west corner of Mahārāṣṭra.[2]

Firmān dated A.D. *1522.*

This is a very interesting *firmān* ; but before we criticise it, we may note what has been said about it and the Mudhoḷ rulers. According to Dr. BAL KRISHNA, Yūsuf Ādil Shah of Bījāpūr conferred the title of *sarfraz* upon Rāja Kheloji along with the ancient *jāgir*, *mansab*, and the title of *rāja* This Kheloji laid down his life for his master's cause on the battlefield of Allāpur in A.D. 1514 against the Amīr Barīd. " Later on, his son Maloji who was then more than 30 years old, very bravely saved the life of Sultan Ismail in a war against Vijayanagar in 1520, and this exploit has been faithfully described in the Sultan's *Firmān* itself (No. 9). In consequence of his valour, he was exempted from performing salutation at Court "[3].

To turn now to the *firmān* itself which is said to have been issued by Ismāil 'Ādil Shah to Maloji in A.D. 1522. It opens thus—" This auspicious Firmān is issued to Rāja Maloji Ghorpaḍe (whose praise is given in detail)...; that after the massacre of Kamāl Khān of unripe mind, Amir Kasim Barid overstepped the boundary of dignity at the assistance of Nizam Shah, Kutub Shah, and Imad Shah, and advanced with an army towards our territory, as a result of which he had to take part in the tremendous fight at Allapūr in the neighbourhood of Bijapur. It can only be compared with

1. Firishtah, *op. cit.*, II. pp. 484-5.
2. DUFF, *op. cit.*, I. p. 53.
3. BAL KRISHNA, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

the deluge. On this critical occasion your father fell on the field after wocking havoc in the ranks of the enemies and left a name of valour and bravery on the page of time. When on the banks of Krishna in the action against Timrāj of Vijayanagara's army, we had to slightly withdraw our army, owing to the numerical superiority of the enemy, when the ways of safety to the river-crossing were blockaded from all directions, we were very uneasy at the situation, on that occasion you, the treasure of our confidence, without the least regard for your life, by thousands of repeated rushes at the enemy, relieved us from the life-destroying whirlpool and escorted us to the shores of safety. ."[1].

From the above *firmān* we are to conclude the following—That Maloji's father Kheloji died in the battle of Allāpur fighting against Amīr Kāsim Barīd, who was assisted by Nizām Shah, Kuth Shah, and Imād Shah ; and that, secondly, when on the banks of the river Kṛṣṇa, "Timrāj of Vijayanagar's army" attacked Ismāil 'Ādil Shah, it was Maloji who saved his ruler from disaster.

We may now verify these statements with the help of Firistah's narrative, contemporary Vijayanagara epigraphic evidence, and the history of the Delhi Sultans. Since Kāsim Barīd and "Timrāj" are mentioned almost in the same context, we have to ascertain in detail their relative position in contemporary history. This can be best done by listening to Firistah. Kāsim Barīd is introduced as an enterprising foreigner who showed great activity, and was consequently made *kotwāl* of the city and *mīr nawbat* by Nizām-ul-Mulk in the reign of Muhammad Shah Bāhmani II about A.D. 1485. Along with Nizām-ul-Mulk, Kāsim Barīd had to flee from the wrath of Muhammad Shah, but was soon after reconciled with his ruler. His attachment to Nizām-ul-Mulk cooled down ; and it was he who rushed to the rescue of the monarch when the latter was on the point of being assassinated in his own palace in A.D. 1490. He became the minister of the king, and when the latter was sunk in revelry, wished to take for himself the *tarfdary* of Ahmedabad and Bidar. But on the royal garrison refusing to yield to him the keys of the forts, Kāsim Barīd raised the standard of revolt, met and and defeated the royal troops under Dilāwār Khan, and was re-instated by Muhammad Shah II as the prime-minister and the *de facto* ruler of the Bāhmani kingdom.

It was about this time that Kāsim Barīd envious of the increasing power of "Yoosoof Adil Khan at Beejapoor, wrote to the Ray of Beejanaggur, that Yoosoof Adil Khan, having rebelled against the King, had assumed royal titles. Kasim Bereed promised the Ray if he would invade Beejapoor he should be rewarded by the restoration of the forts Moodkul and Rachore. The Ray, being a child, deputed his minister Timraj, with a powerful army against Yoosoof Adil Khan, and having committed great devastation obtained possession of the two forts. Yoosoof Adil Khan, however having effected a

1. Bal Krishna, *ibid.*, pp. 183-4 ; Āpte, *op. cit.*, Appendix अ, pp. 23-8.

peace with Timraj, marched to take revenge on Kaseem Bereed, who applied for assistance to Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, the son of the late Nizam-ool-Mulk; offering, when his enemy should be expelled, to assist him with the royal influence in obtaining possession of Goa in the Concan, and of Punala and Mohkeir out of the hands of Bahadur Geelany, to be placed entirely at his disposal". But this enterprise proved a complete failure.[1] Since all the above incidents are related by Firistah under the date A.D. 1490, and since the next major incident is dated A.D. 1493, we have to assume that the above compact between Kāsim Barīd and Timrāj may have taken place in A.D. 1492. It is interesting to note in this connection that in A.D. 1493 Muhammad Shah II conquered Jamkhaṇḍi which was delivered over to the troops of Yūsūf Ādil Khān. Ever afterwards we find Kāsim Barīd advising the king on almost all political matters.[2]

All the above personages are again mentioned by Firistah, while describing the events of the reign of Yūsuf Ādil Shah of Bijapūr, thus:—"Kasim Bereed Toork, who had himself entertained hopes of founding a kingdom at Beejapoor, wrote to the Ray of Beejanuggur (unnamed), that Muhammad Shah was willing to cede to him the forts of Moodkul and Rachore, if he would wrest them from Yoosoof Adil Khan; at the same time letters were addressed to Bahadūr Geelany, who possessed Goa and all Dureabar (*i.e.*, seacoast) (the tract which, in the language of the Deccan, is called Concan), inviting him to invade the country of Yoosoof Adil Khan.

"Timraj, the general of the Ray of Beejanuggur, having crossed the river Toongabhadra, laid waste the country as far as Moodkul and Rachore; and Bahadur Geelany reduced the fortress of Jumkindy. Yoosoof Adil Khan was too weak to repel these attacks by force. He accordingly made peace with Timraj, and expelled Bahadur Geelany from his dominions; but without attempting to recover Jumkindy, led his army, composed of eight thousand foreigners, towards the capital, against Kasim Bereed." Kāsim Barīd then applied for aid to Mullik Ahmed Bheri, together with Khwāja Jahan Deccani, governor of Purenda, who joined him. But the campaign proved a failure. Firistah affirms that this action is differently narrated by the Bāhmani historian, according to whom Yūsuf 'Ādil Shah, after suffering defeat, retired to Bijapūr and then planned an expedition against Vijayanagara.[3]

"On reaching the banks of the Krishna, Yoosoof Adīl Khan amused himself for some time in hunting; but having brought on an ague and fever by exertion, he was confined to bed for two months; during which time, his foster-brother, Ghuznufur Beg, directed all public affairs. In this interval Timraj, the minister, having composed his disputes with the young Ray of Beejanuggur, advanced at the head of an army to Rachore, which struck terror into that of Yoosoof Adil Khan, for whose recovery fervent prayers were offered by his subjects". He soon recovered from his illness. "Mean-

1. Firistah, *op. cit.* II, pp. 526-528, 530, 533, 534, 537.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 540. ff.
3. Firistah, *op. cit.*, III., p. 10.

while intelligence was received that Timraj, having crossed the Toongbudra, was advancing to Beejapoor". Yūsuf Ādil Shah mustered his troops, and "Next day accordingly marched and encamped at a little distance from Timraj's army, and then dividing his ground among his officers to the best advantage, he threw up entrenchments round his camp to prevent surprise. Several days passed inactively, till on Saturday, in the month of Rujub, 898 (April, 1493), both armies drew out". The result of the spirited attack made by the troops of Yūsuf 'Ādil Shah was that Timrāj fled along with the "young Ray" of Vijayanagara, leaving 200 elephants, 1000 horse, 60 lakhs of *hūns* (upwards of two million pounds sterling) as booty in the hands of the victors.[1]

It must be confessed that Firishtah's statements concerning the "young Ray" of Vijayanagara and "Timraj" cannot be substantiated with the evidence of the numerous epigraphs we have of contemporary Vijayanagara history. For the only "Timraj" known to Vijayanagara history was Sāḷuva Timma, the famous prime-minister of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great. But it is possible that Firishtah may have committed an error in giving another well known general the name "Timraj". The contemporary epigraphs relate that in A.D. 1493 the well known Sāḷuva usurper Nṛsimha, or Narasinga Rāya, was succeeded by his son Immaḍi Nṛsimha, or Immaḍi Narasinga Rāya Oḍeyar. This ruler was murdered in A.D. 1596 by his general Narasa or Narasingha, the father of the three brothers—king Vīra Narasimmha, Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, and Acyuta Deva Rāya.[2] Now it is possibly this fact that is intended to be conveyed by Firishtah when he says the following in a later context, while dealing with the reign of Ismāīl 'Ādil Shah :—"Timraj was the first usurper : he had poisoned the young Raja of Beejanuggur, son of Shew Ray, had rendered his infant brother the tool of his designs, and by degrees, overthrowing the ancient nobles, he at length established his authority over the kingdom."[3]

Whatever that might be, one thing seems certain for our purpose—that the coupling of the names of Amīr Kāsim Barīd and Timrāj in the Mudhol *firmān* and the whole story of the part alleged to have been played by Kheloji and his son Maloji, seem to be historically untenable. It may be argued here that we are to refer the events mentioned in the above *firmān* to about the year A.D. 1520 or 1521 in the reign of Ismāīl Ādil Shah. Here, too, as will be evident from the following account of Firishtah, the events mentioned in the Mudhol *firmān* cannot be accepted at all. For in A.D. 1519 Ismāīl Adil Shah made preparations for the recovery of Raichur and Mudkul which were in the possession of the ruler of Vijayanagara. The latter came to know of the designs of Ismāīl 'Ādil Shah, and encamped on the bank of the Kṛṣṇā. Firishtah relates that the Muhammadan ruler rashly indulged in wine at this moment, and was very nearly beaten when the courage of his own soldiers

1. Firishtah, *op. cit.* III, pp. 12-13.
2. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg.*, pp. 117-8.
3. Firishtah, *ibid.*, III. p. 35.

saved him from ruin. They charged the Hindus, killed "Sungat Ray", the chief general of Vijayanagara, and 1,000 Hindus, but were finally overpowered by the superior numbers of the Vijayanagara forces and compelled to retire. "Sungat Ray" is an altogether unknown name in Vijayanagara history; nevertheless we may note that in this campaign of A.D. 1519, no mention is made of Maloji's alleged exceptional bravery as given in the Mudhol *firmān* dated A.D. 1522. The two officers who saved the life of Ismāil 'Ādil Shah were Tursūn Bahadur and Ibrāhim Beg, as is given in the account of Firishtah.[1]

We may now turn to the internal history of Vijayanagara in order to see that the contents of this *firmān* dated A.D. 1522 cannot be accepted at all. If the *firmān* was issued in A.D. 1522, we are to suppose that the battle mentioned in it must have been fought between Ismāil 'Ādil Shah and the Vijayanagara king in that year. This date (A.D. 1522) falls within the reign of the famous Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the Great who ruled from A.D. 1509 until A.D. 1529. In A.D. 1522 that monarch was busy in the Tamil districts of Chittoor, Tanjore, Madura, and in the Karnāṭaka districts of Salem, Cuddappah, and Tuḷuva.[2] Hence no war could have been fought between him and the Bijapur Sultan in that year. It may be argued that the war mentioned in the Mudhol *firmān* was the famous campaign waged by that ruler against the Muhammadans on May 19th 1520, recorded both by Firishtah and the Portuguese traveller Nuniz.[3] If so, one would naturally ask the question—what made Ismāil 'Ādil Shah grant a *firmān* to Maloji in A.D. 1522 for an act of bravery which the latter is supposed to have committed in A.D. 1520?

The above *firmān* speaks of Kheloji and Maloji. So far as the available documents on Marāṭha history are concerned, they cannot be placed in A.D. 1520 or 1522, as the Mudhol *firmān* would make us believe, but only one century later. For they figure in Abdul Hamīd Lāhuri's *Pādshāhnāmā*, wherein we are told that the Emperor Shah Jahān in his southern campaign made an important deviation in Imperial strategy. This consisted in honouring the Marātha chiefs, who were already in the Mughal employ, with a view to tempt others to desert the cause of Nizām Shah, and thus to impair the strength of the latter's army. On the arrival of the Emperor Shah Jahān in the Deccan, Kheloji, Maloji, and Udāji Rām were immediately presented to him, and he gave them titles and honours. Later on the unscrupulous relatives of Jādhav Rao came and they too were likewise honoured.[4] Dr. Banarsi Prasad SAKSENA, who gives us these details, does not mention the exact date when the Emperor Shah Jahān had recourse to this strategy; but from the known facts of Mughal history, it may be placed between A.D. 1628 and A.D. 1630.[5]

1. Firishtah, *op. cit.* III. pp. 49-50.
2. SEWELL, *The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 243 (Ed. by Dr. S. Krishnaswami AYYANGAR. Madras, 1932.)
3. SEWELL, *A Forg. Empire*, pp. 137-147.
4. SAKSENA, *History of Shah Jahan*, p. 132. (Allahabad, 1932).
5. Cf. SMITH, *Oxford History of India*, p. 398. (Oxford, 1923. 2nd ed).

This surmise of ours is proved from an original *firmān* granted by the Emperor Shah Jahān himself to Kheloji Bhonsle which Grant Duff found in the possession of a Marāṭha chief, who headed a petty insurrection near Vishalgarh in 1820. GRANT DUFF tells us that Śāhji's cousin Kheloji Bhonsle, who was the son of Viṭṭoji, went over to the Imperial service in A.D. 1629.[1]

Therefore, on the evidence of the original *firmān* of the Emperor Shah Jahān himself and on that of the *Pādshāhnāmā*, Kheloji can be assigned only to A.D. 1629, and not to the first quarter of the sixteenth century A.D., as has been done by Dr. BAL KRISHNA and Mr. APTE.[2]. If Kheloji, and, therefore, Maloji,—who, we suppose, were no other than their namesakes mentioned in the Mudhol *firmān*, and who are called by Abdul Hamīd Lāhauri merely *Deccani*, and not Rajput or Marāṭha,—are thus to be shifted by one century to a lower date than the one given to them in the Mudhol *firmān*, then, the entire genealogy of the Mudhol rulers, whose dates are based on the Mudhol *firmāns*, is to be re-cast, and the so-called contemporaneity of Dilipsingh and Alā-ud-Dīn Bahmani, too, is demolished. In one word, this important fact of Kheloji and Maloji having been the contemporaries of the Emperor Shah Jahān alone is enough to wreck the structure built upon the evidence of the Mudhol *firmāns*. And if one is not prepared to accept the veracity of the Mudhol *firmāns* in this detail, one does not know how one could with confidence assert with Dr. BAL KRISHNA that "Raja Karansingh, the grandson of Maloji, took such an important part in the famous battle of Talikot in 1565 that he had to sacrifice his life for the cause of his master"; that Karansingh's son Colraj laid down his life in a Karnāṭaka expedition in 1578; and that the Bijapur kings employed the Marāṭha *sardars* of (Mudhol?) "for conquering the Hindu rulers of the Karnatic after the fateful battle of Talikot."[3] The main reason why the advocates of the Mudhol *firmāns* have failed to give us "stern and solid facts"[4] is because they have studied those *firmāns* without reference to contemporary Muhammadan and Hindu sources, and certainly without reference to contemporary Karnāṭaka sources which are of much value for a correct understanding of the inter-relations between Karnāṭāka and Mahārāṣṭra. As long as these Karnāṭaka sources are not studied in the proper manner, so long will contemporary Marāṭha history, based as it may be on European, Muhammadan and Marāṭha sources, remain incomplete.

There is one little point which remains to be noted. If such of the Mudhol *firmāns* we have examined above, therefore, contain matter which is histo-

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1. DUFF, *op. cit.*, I. pp. 82-83. According to Sarkar, Kheloji Bhosle the grand-uncle of Śivāji, lived in *circa* A.D. 1645. (*Shivaji and His Times*, p. 31. [3rd. ed.])

2. BAL KRISHNA, *op. cit.*, p. 47; APTE, *op. cit.*, Intr. p. 127; *Bakhar*, pp. 148, 155.

3. BAL KRISHNA, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39. I have abstained from examining the statements made by Mr. APTE concerning Khelojī, Bhīmsingh and others, who, according to him, fought against Vijayanagara. (APTE, *op. cit.* Intr. pp. 126-7; *Bakhar*., pp. 126, 142.)

rically unacceptable, what is the conclusion the student of history may arrive at concerning them? Here it is worthwhile to remember the judicious remarks made by Sir Jadunath SARKAR concerning grants and *firmāns* in general :—" The evil was aggravated by the formation of the Inam Commission (1824) which called upon every holder of land or State-pension to prove his rights by producing old documents and giving his family history. The result was a vast crop of reports submitted to the English Government and designated variously as *Kaifiyat, Yadi, Haqiqat* and *Karina*. Composed between 1820 and 1830, they profess to give the family history (often with copies of alleged characters) from Shahji's time (c. 1637) and in the cases of prouder families from an even earlier date, such as the first Muslim invasion of the Deccan (1294). Their only foundation was family tradition, dim with distance of time, or the daring imagination of the hereditary family priest and astrologer.

" The holder of even the smallest plot of land or right to village-office now produced title-deeds in the form of grants and confirmations by the Hindu and Muslim kings before the British conquest. Some of these professed to be original, other copies of long-decayed originals certified by former *qāzis* or kings as true. Of this class thousands of documents in the Marathi language have been printed. But their value is exceedingly small. Ninety-eight per cent. of these papers is of no historical significance at all as they relate to the petty local rights of petty private individuals. Several are palpable forgeries. It is not possible to give detailed examples in this book.

" The forger in each case had some genuine documents of the post-Shiva period before him and has transferred their exact language to his own fabrication which professes to belong to an earlier age! It is, therefore, very unsafe to rely for any date or event, on the sole testimony of these papers unless their authenticity has been placed beyond doubt by other and more unimpeachable sources; but such corroboration is mostly impossible.

" The forgery of documents for establishing rights to property is a very ancient practice, from which the priestly and ruling classes have been no more free than others (Cf. Harsha's copper-plate grant)."[1]

1. Jadunath SARKAR, *Shivaji and His Times*, pp. 410-411. (Calcutta, 3rd. ed. 1929.)

INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD*

By

D. B. DISKALKAR

NAGICHANA

No. 37.] v.s. 1434. [25-11-1377.

This inscription is incised on a stone pillar of a Śiva temple at the entrance gate of the village Nagicāṇā in Mangrol state. It measures 19" × 16".

It records the death of an Ahir named Sāṅgo, son of Patel Soma, while protecting the village against thieves on Monday, the 9th day of the dark half of Māgasara of v.s. 1434 in the victorious rule of Rai Jaisiṁhadeva, who was most probably the Cūḍāsamā king and son of Khengār.

Text

1 संवत् १४३४ विर
2 षे मागसर वदि नोमि
3 वार सैमे अदेह श्री॰
4 राव जेसंघदे विजे
5 राज्ये पटेल॰ सोमा सुत
6 आहीर सांगो चापउ आ
7 गाम चोराक विटिलो
8 पीठीआ सांगो त–
9 राठोड ऋष ! – चोराक
10 ना ग्रम राषिआ [।] सुभ भवतु ॥

OSĀ

No. 38] v.s. 1435. [22-12-1378.

This inscription is incised on a *pāliyo* fixed in a *dari* to the south of the river and to the east of the village Osā in Junagadh state. The inscribed portion measures 1' 4" in length and 9" in height.

It refers to the rule at JUNAGADH (Jiṁjapēḷikāra) of the THĀṆĀDĀR MAHĀMALIK MUHAMMAD SADIK and of RĀVAL MAHĪPĀLADEVA son of MAHĀRĀṆĀ JAYASIṀHA and records the death of Vaṇāla, son of Rāval Kāhā in a fight with the Kāṭhis, while rescuing the cattle of the village Osā, on Thursday, the second of the bright half of Pauṣa in v.s. 1435.

The importance of the inscription is that it makes mention of a Muhammedan Thāṇādār at Junagadh in preference to the Cūḍāsama king of the place. We know that the Delhi Emperor Muhammad Tughlak had reduced Junagadh in H.S. 760 (v.s. 1406) and compelled the Rao of the place to

* Continued from page 739 of March 1959 issue.

pay him tribute. It seems that he had posted a regular Thāṇādar at Junagadh to govern Soratha under the viceroy of Gujarat. At the time of this inscription Farhat-ul-Mulk Rāsti Khan was the governor of Gujarat appointed by the emperor Firuz Tughlak.

Text

1 ॥ स्वस्ति श्री [1]उग्रामे संवत् १४३५ वर्षे पौष सुदि द्वितीया
2 ॥ बुधे[2] अद्येह श्रीऊर्णग्रारे[3] श्रीमंगल एहिक[3] (।) सलही
3 ॥ थाने। **महामलिक श्रीममद् सदीक**–श्री महारा
4 ॥ ण श्रीजयसिंह[4] सा सुत राउल **महिपालदेवमि**
5 ॥ जयराज्ये प्रति श्री आलये। स्य **उसाग्रामसकलगी**
6 ॥ **काठी**सप्तं मेलीकारेण वाति लक्षण राउल भ...का
7 ॥ हा सुत वणल कटाईत नाता नालिगी कलि पालग
8 ॥ रासा जिवा हर नागनी मा समभवत्

DHĀMLEJA

No. 39] V.S. 1437. [23-6-1380

Dhāmleja is a very old village in the southern part of the Junagadh state at a distance of 11½ miles south east of Sūtrāpāḍā. To the west of the village there is a celebrated Kuṇḍa called Vishnu Gayā. It is also called Cakra Tirtha. The present inscription is lying there under a *pipala* tree. The inscribed portion which is in an excellent condition measures 2′ 6½″ in length and 1′′ in breadth.

The inscription was once published in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, p. 186 and in the *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, p. 248.

The object of the inscription is this—Rāṇa, son of Teja, belonging to the Prāgvāṭa community was the chief minister of the king of Gujarat. When the country was very much overpowered by the Mlecchas he did much to protect the good and the Brāhmaṇas. His son Karamasi was the minister of the Vājā king BHARAMA of Prabhūsa. He repaired the Kuṇḍa and the sun-temple at Mūlgayā (i.e. Dhāmlej) and used to offer daily worship to Somanātha. At the request of his minister the king made a gift of a village named MEGHA [RAJA] to Brāhmaṇas and made them settle there to prosecute Vedic studies.

The *praśasti* was composed by Vāsudeva, son of Bhānu, a Brāhmaṇa from Ānandapur and was engraved by Madhūsudana.

The inscription is dated Saturday the sixth (fifth?) of the dark half of Āṣāḍha of v.s. 1437 (See also *Ind. Ant.* XIX, p. 186).

The king Bharma mentioned in the record seems to be identical with the king of the same name belonging to the Vājā race, mentioned in the Somanatha Pāṭaṇa inscription of v.s. 1432 published above. The term King of Gujarat whose minister Rāṇa was as is mentioned in the second verse of the inscrip-

1. उसा 2. बुधवार: 3. प्राकारे 4. जयसिंहस्य

tion has probably to be taken in the sense of the viceroy of Gujarat of the emperor of Delhi. Farhat-ul-mal was the Gujarat viceroy of the emperor Firuz Tughlak at the time. (See History of Gujarat p. 231).

Text

1 ॥ ऽ० ॥ ॐ नमः [ः०] श्रीगणेशाय ॥ पातु वस्तुकुलातिलिंग विश्वंभरो हरिः । जयान्
पुनातु तत्तीर्थं विष्णुविष्णुगयाह्वया ॥ १ आसीद् **गुर्जरराज**
2 मुख्यसचिव [ः०] श्रीतेजसनुः पुरा श्रीरागः सुजनद्विजावनधनो म्लेच्छकुले ध्माकुले ॥
तत्पुत्रः सचिवाग्रणीर्जयति सत्कर्मठ
3 यः प्रश्रया रागद्धाजकरराजकार्यचतुरः प्राग्वाटवंशांकुरः ।२ स्वस्ति श्रीमत्प्रभासाधिपति-
शिवसदाराधनावाप्तलक्ष्मीस्तुल्यः
4 श्रीभर्म्मभूपो जयति जननयः शांतिदृक्छल्यवृक्षः । तन्मंत्री **कर्मसिंहः** सचिवसुरगिरिः
ध्मासुरारार उर्वीभर्तारं साधुना
5 गौचरणविनयतः सेवमानोऽतमानः ।३ यत्राम पामरमपीह पुनाति यत्र आहे प्रशांति
पितरोऽक्षयतृप्तिमेव । तत्तीर्थमेतद
6 मलोपलवद्धमूलशोधनमुच्छ्रितनिपानजलसंचयः । ४ उद्धृत्य यः सगरभास्करसद्यमूला-
त्सन्मंडपं परिकरेण समं
7 समंतात् । नन्दं सुबन्धमिह कारयति स्म पूजां माप्यान्हिकीमनुदिनं ननु **सोमनाथे** । ५
स्वश्रात्**मेघ**नृपतेः परलोक
8 वासीत्स्याय नित्यजलधान्यनिधिं द्विजेभ्यः । श्रीभर्म्मभूपतिरदात्सचिवेन येन विज्ञापितोऽ
भिनवमेघपुराभ्रहारं ।६ श्रा
9 या वंद्याः सुरशाखाः प्रथितसुयशसस्ते जनार्दनाद्या एकः श्रीकर्मसिंहः स्फुरति कलियुगे
सेवकः सत्परोक्षे ।
10 ग्रामं यः स्वामिनानप्रथितनतनुत स्वःस्थितौ मेघराजे विप्राणां स्वाशुशुक्षिं श्रुतिविचयमिह च
स्थापयामास साक्षात् । ७ अस्तूर्त पात्र
11 वन् गावः सुरपत्तनगोपुरे । आहवे कीर्तिसद्मनो वा श्रीमारममेलयत् । ८ वंशवृद्धिकराः
संतु रामाद्यास्तस्य नंदनाः । सुरवृक्षोपमाः
12 श्रीमालपूर्ववरा(सः) समाः । ९ किं दुर्लभं महदुदासनया यदस्माकाटिन्धगेहमपि
विष्णुगयातटस्थः । लब्धा सुदर्शनतटुं सुजनाय दत्ते स्नाने
13 गदाधरनतौ च मतिः तुष्टः । १० ज्ञानं ददिर्मति जनेषु भानुः सानंदमा**नंदपुर**द्विजा
मयः । लिखितः श्रुतोस्तासुतवाक्षुदेवः सांगस्मृती चक्र हमा (मां) प्र
14 शस्ति । ११ लिखितेयं पंडितसर्वादित्येन ॥ सूत्रधारसूत्रनेनोत्कीर्णा । संवत् १४३७ वर्षे
आषाढ वदि ६ (५ ?) शनौ ॥ श्रीः ॥ शुभं भवतु । विष्णुः श्रीयतां ।

MAHUVĀ (?) SODĀVĀV

No. 40] V.S. 1437. [1381. A.D.

The subjoined inscription was found in a well called Sūdāvāva at Mahuvā in the Bhavanagar State. Devanāgarī transcripts of it were found in the collections of the Bhavanagar Museum and of the Forbes Gujarati Sabha, Bombay, from which this article is prepared.

After an invocation to the god Gaṇeśa the inscription goes on to record that a Brāhmaṇa, named Nārāyaṇa of Bhāradvāja gotra had a son named Vāmana, who by his wife named Jālhu had seven sons. Dhāku, who was the eldest of them was a brave warrior and was a minister of king Sālha. Nārāyaṇa had another son named Kṛṣṇārka, and a third one named Sūrāditya, who was not only well versed in Sāmaveda but also in dramaturgy and horse lore. The latter's son was Nāyaka, who was in the service of king Mahīpāla (probably the Cūḍāsamā king of the name). Nāyaka's son was Nandana, who was the minister of king Satyarāja, the younger brother of king Mahipāla. Satyarāja's wife was Hīnādevī. He made a pilgrimage to the sacred place Gayā leaving Sūda, the son of Nandana behind him to look after his estates. Sūda was married to Sahajaladevī, the daughter of Rāṇa. For the use of the public Sūda's wife Sahajaladevī caused a well to be built in v.s. 1437. The inscription was composed by Paṇḍita Viśveśvara and was engraved by the mason Nārāyaṇa, son of Sālhā.

Nothing is known of king Sālha mentioned in the record. The king Mahipāladeva may be the Cūḍāsamā king of Junagadh. But it is nowhere said that he had a younger brother named Satyarāja, probably because he died during his pilgrimage to Gayā etc.

Text

1 सर्वाणि कर्माणि समृद्धिमेति भवति यत्पूजनतो पुरस्तात्। नमो निधीनामधिपाय तस्मै कस्मैचिदस्मै

2 गणनायकाय। १ यः पुष्यात्पुण्यपदेशः श्रुतिपठनपटुः प्राग् नरद्वाजगोत्रे श्रीमान्नारायणाह्वयः समजनि सु-

3 कृती श्रोत्रियो विप्रवर्य्यः। प्राप्तः पांडित्यभाजां प्रपतिसदने पूज्यतां पूतनाना राज्ये सर्वाधिकारी पु-

4 रिमहत महामंडपीमंडनस्य। २ तस्मादभूदद्भुतकीर्तिशाली सर्वार्थवेद्वामन एव सूनुः। यथानुरूपे

5 पितरे वरात्मनात्मतां यो मतिमानयाप्य। ३ अथ **वामनः** प्रसुरभूवुदितो न तु वाचया समग्रहीदवनीं।

6 अयमेव विक्रमशतैर्जगतीं चरितार्थवत्तितिमां वहूपे। १४ **जालहूदेवी** यतमा **वामनस्य** प्रासूतासौ सप्त पु-

7 त्रान् प्रगल्भान्। संस्कारा[ढ्या]न् जन्मलस्तत्र **ढाढु**र्ज्येष्ठः श्रेष्ठः **सालह**भूपालमंत्री। १५ श्रुतशालिनः सुहृ-

8 त्तिनः सुभटा नृपतिप्रियः प्रसुरमाम्मयुताः। सहजैः परस्परमनल्पमुदैः त्रियताभवापुरवनी-वलये। ६ अत्यर्थसाहस-

9 रसः समराग्रगामी [ढा] ढुर्ढढप्रहरणोऽथ रणोत्सवोभूत्। मुख्यप्रतापप्रचुरोदयतस्तरस्वी वश्यां निनाय वरमेदपि-

10 कां परेभ्यः। ७ **नारायणस्य** तनुजे मनुजेषु मुख्ये **कृष्णार्क**नाम्नि समगादधिकार-लक्ष्मीः। यः स्वाः प्रजाः स्वतनयानि

11 व पालयान: सरैभगीतनिजशुभयम् विभेद । ८ **सूरादित्यस्तत्कनीयान्महीवान्** यो गांधर्वं वेदमुचैर्विनेद ।

12 तालोपेतं गाव्यशास्त्रं हवानां शिक्षां चैव प्राप्तवांस्तद्धितात्मा । ९ **नायकः** प्रभुरभूदनंतरं धर्म एव किल मूर्तिमा-

13 श्रितः । स्नानदानजपविष्णुपूजनैर्यो यथाविधिकृतैः पवित्रितः । १० नीतिवेत्ता धर्मशास्त्र-प्रवक्ता वभे कार्ये यं **महीपा**-

14 **स्तदेवः** । राज्ञामग्रे यः प्रजार्थं च हुत्वा पुण्यां कीर्तिं प्राप रूपद्वयेपि । ११ **नायकः** प्रभुरभाव **नंदनं** स्वसुहृदां

15 दिवानिशं । मोक्षिता स्वसुकृताहणत्रयाधेन पूर्वजवरं परंपरा । १२ यस्मिन्जाते सर्वतः पूर्वजानामानंदोभूद्विशेषतां

16 दीर्घमायुः । सत्यवाग्भ्यां पुत्रपौत्रश्रद्धौ तृप्तिर्येषां तोयपिंडप्रदानैः । १३ माघमासि मकरस्थिते रवौ तीर्थनाथमभिग-

17 म्य येन च । तर्पितः पितृगणः प्रसारिभिर्मेगि वारिभिरमंदा... । १४ अथ कृताधिकृतिः पृथिवीपतिस्तदनुजः स

18 च **सत्यनरेश्वरः** । उदयतोर्न्हतोरतयोर्मही रविनिशाकरयोरिव राजते । १५ करोतु कार्याणि त्रिदं तनोतु पुष्टाद्

19 दृप्तिं खलु **सत्यराजः** । **सौराष्ट्रदेशे** विपुले यदाज्ञा प्रवर्तनायोत्सहते कमेण । १६ राजाधिकारनिरतेन विनानिका-

20 रं येनार्थधर्मैरमेव विचक्षणेन । गोभूहिरण्यरजतानि वितीर्य दुःस्थाः सुस्थापितानिनिधनिप्र-परंपरापि । १७ **हीमादेवी**

21 पुत्ररत्नेन येन धन्या तिष्ठतीरेवंहृद्येन । सुरुपधामोत्तमैणा तेजसा वा उर्व्यां ख्यातस्तेन **मुख्याह्वनामा** । १८

22 गंगातरंगानवगाह्य गाढं श्रीविष्णवं विधुमर्चयित्वा । प्रदाय पिंडं च **गदाधरा**ग्रे चकार पुण्यं पुरुषुण्यतीर्थे । १९

23 गंगादितीर्थजफलेन विराजमानः कीर्त्या सितांशुधवला गुरुगौरगात्रः । वेणीवलानि विमलानि विगाह्-

24 मानः श्रीसूदसत्रमधिकारपदे निवेश्य । २० तेन तीर्थगमनाय समुद्यताः सार्थगाः शतसह-स्रशो जनाः ।

25 तारिताः सुरसरिद्वयाविभिस्तीर्थकोटिभिरुदारकर्मणा । २१ पुष्यन् तुष्यन् हर्षयन् सुहृदः स्वान् वर्षय-

26 र्थानिर्वितार्थसार्थैसार्थं । दंडन् दुष्टान् राजदंडात्प्रचंडाक्के **सूदः** सर्वैसार्थं कृतार्थं । २२ श्रीसूदगोत्रेगृहि-

27 णी सद्गुणोपरूपा नित्यं पतिव्रतायुता निजधर्मैगोत्रजी । स्नानादिसर्वनियमानि समाचचार सौभाग्यभाग्यसहिता

28 **सद्गजल्हुदेवी** । २३ वर्षाणलानि रसनानि रसायनानि स्वादूनि भोजनशतानि च ब्राह्म-णेभ्यः । पात्राणि स्वर्णरजतानि

29 विलोभितानि रम्याणि **राणतनया** वितताद साध्वी । २४ इह महति निपाने सर्वपुण्य-प्रधाने मधुरजल-

30 निधाने कुर्वतः स्नानदाने। वस्तु गच्छगामी स त्रिया सेव्यमानो इदयदयितकामान्पूरय-
न्पूर्णेन्दुः। २५

31 श्रीसूदसचिवश्रेणी : प्रशस्तिश्चित्रकृद्विमलगणैः पूर्णा। रसवसुविद्वियवर्षे सकलजनस्लाघ्य
कीर्तिर्वा॥ २६

32 संवत् १४३७ वर्षे वाचारंभः। पंडित श्रीविश्वेश्वरेण लिखिता। सूत्रधार साल्हासुतना-
रायणेनोत्कीर्णा।

BHAVNAGAR MUSEUM

No. 41] DATE MISSING [about 1381.

In the collection of the Bhavanagar Museum a rubbing of a fragmentary inscription was found, a transcript of which is given below. Nothing is known of the whereabouts of the original stone from which the rubbing was taken. The fragment, as seen from the rubbing contains beautifully engraved letters and measures 11" by 6".

The sixth and the twelfth lines of the fragment record the name of a minister named Sūda, who must evidently be the same as is mentioned in the inscription of v.s. 1437 published above. In the ninth line Harirāja and a king named Satyarāja (श्रीसत्यभूमीपति) are mentioned. The latter is known from the previous inscription. In the seventh line Gayā is mentioned where Satyarāja had been on pilgrimage as we know from the twenty-fifth line of the previous inscription. The fragment elicits no further useful information.

Text

1 ... तस्य सचिवस्य.....
2 ... परै परंपरां यः प्रत्या.....
3 ... मिति साप्तशतैरपेतः शूरो.....
4 ... वैदे शाकुनं विष्णुभक्तः। ९ .....
5 ... दत्वा प्राप्य राज्याधिकारं सं.....
6 ... यं जगति सूदसंज्ञितं । मो.....
7 ... ह्तोस्मानेष गत्वा **गयायै** अद्यो...
8 ... निरपीपहारिनिः। १४ विजयते ...
9 ... **हरिराज** राजा श्री **सत्यभूमीपति**...
10 ... रानि सुकृतानि विनिर्मितानि। दे.....
11 ... वत ?। दौहित्रेणाम्युपेतो धर्मेण.....
12 ... भिधाति सूदः सचिवः कृतार्थः.....
13 ... नंदतु, राजहंसः। २० वेन .....
14 ... ग्नो [1]दुर्मदेशे गच्छन्माग्रे.....
15 ... लोकविद्वत्तपनवि.....
16 ... सद्युतानि च भोजना.....
17 .... वाने प्राणिभिः .....
18 ... नपायुधा। अ .....

1. Read दुर्ग

BAḌULĀ

No. 42] v.s. 1440. [6-2-1384.

In the village Baḍulā in the Sūtrāpāḍā mahal of the Junagadh state there is a well which contained the following inscription. The stone is at present preserved in the Watson Museum, Rajkot. The inscribed portion measures 12"×9". Its language is good Sanskrit. The poet is fond of puns.

The object of the record is this—A Nāgara, named Soma, begot from his wife Gaṅgā, a son named Mādhava. He was a minister of a king, whose name is not recorded. He begot from his wife Madanikā, a son named Dhāndhama, who was married to a lady named Kilhaṇadevī, daughter of another Nāgara, named Jasakarṇa and his wife Lakshmī. Jasakarṇa was in the employ of prince Sohī. From Kilhaṇadevī Dhāndhama had two daughters named Hānsū and Jānsū who were both well versed in singing, dancing and playing at musical instruments, and who seemed as if they were Rambhā and Menakā descended from heaven to the earth to worship Somanātha. They caused to be dug a well in the village Burgala at a cost of 500 *tankas* on the 14th of māgha in v.s. 1440.

Text

1 ॥ ७। ० ॥ ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ प्राग् बभूव गुणरत्नसागरो नागरोऽत्र किल **सोम**
2 ॥ सेज्ञया । रौद्रयौवनतरंगुंगया **गंगया** प्रमुदितः स्वजातया ॥ १ तस्य सुन्दर
3 ॥ य मंत्रि**माधवा** (वो) धांधमंगलमवाप धार्मिकं । मोदितः प्रमुदनामहोदया ।
4 ॥ त्त [द्द०] पद्मया **मदनिका**भिधानया ॥ २ मंत्रि धांधमकरध्वजाभिधा केलतीय किल **की**
5 ॥ **लहणदेवी** । गीतवाद्यरतिनर्त्तनदक्षे द्वे सुते जनयति स्म सुरूपे ॥ ३
6 ॥ हांसूजांसुसंज्ञिते द्वे भगिन्यौ वावीमेतां पारबामासतुस्ते । जाने रंभा
7 ॥ मेनका नाकलोकात् श्रीसोमेशं सेवितुं भूमिमास्ते ॥ ४ समभवदद्भुत
8 ॥ वर्गः कलिकर्गः[1] स्तत्र **जस्तकर्णः** । मातामह हह दयितो लक्ष्म्या देव्याः स
9 ॥ दाचारः ॥ ५ स्त्रीरत्ने न [द्व०] यत्नेन पालिते किल लालिते । अवृणीमविद्व पूर्त्त मूर्त्त धर्म्मं
10 ॥ क्षियत्नुः ॥ ६ राज्ञः प्रतीहारपदे बभूव **सोहीति** नाम्ना किल राजपुत्रः । अवे
11 ॥ क्षि[2] तस्योपकृतीरसंख्यास्तं पूर्त्तधर्म्मे नृपि भेजतुस्ते ॥ ७ श्रीवृषविक्रम सं
12 ॥ वत् १४४० वर्षे माघसुदि १४ दुरगलग्रामे हांसूजांसू टंका ५०० नाणी कारापिताः (ता) ॥

RANAVĀV

No. 43] v.s. 1440 [10-10-1384.

This inscription is incised on a *Pāliā* in the village Ranāvāv in the Porbandar state. The inscribed portion measures 18"×20".

It records the death, on Monday, the tenth of the bright half of Aśvina in v.s. 1440, of Rāula, son of Rā [ṇa] Lākhā, in the time of Rāṇa Bhāṇa, son of Sihha, who had made the Turk bow down his head before

1. Drop the Visarga. 2. अवेक्ष्य.

him for his offence of killing Hāṭi Rāyagaṇa, but who bowed down his head before the gods, the preceptors, and the Brāhmaṇas.

Text

1 [1]संवत् १४४० वर्षे अस्वन
2 सुदि दसमि सोमे [स्वाम्–]
3 — भीशंभसुत रागभीमा
4 ग हुठि राईयगि मितिक्य
5 दो सात–द तुर्कसोअ अना
6 म्यं जन्मान्येम प्रवर्तते ! दे
7 वगुरुबाह्मणचरण स पूजि
8 सीस नाम्बेते रा० लाधा
9 सुतु रा० राउळ सुता चयतु

SOMANATHA PATAN

No. 44] v.s. 1442. [1-7-1385.

The subjoined inscription was originally found set up in the eastern i.e. the Triveṇi gate of Somanātha Pāṭaṇa. It is now built up in a wall of the Vahivatdar Kacheri there. The record is neatly engraved and is in a good condition. The engraved portion measures 1-4" × 1-9". The record is of a high poetic value and is of much historical importance.

It was once published on p. 252 of the *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*. A detailed review of the same appeared in a Hindi monthly called "*Sākitya*" of Calcutta in Vol. I, pt. I p. 279 ff. and in the *Kotrikā* Vo. IV. p. 343 of the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā.

The record opens with an invocation to Brahmā in the form of the *linga* of Someśa. The next four verses describe the sacred place called Prabhāsa. In the following verses is mentioned a Yādava king named Bhīma who by his wife Māṇikyadevī had a very virtuous daughter named Yamunā. The tenth verse mentions a king named Dharma,[2] born in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family which was as much famous on the earth as the families of the sun and the moon. This Dharma married the princess Yamunā, mentioned above. She caused a well, a water trough etc., to be built on Saturday, the 8th of the dark half of Āṣāḍha in v.s. 1442.

In the margin of the beginning of the first three lines is made a note to the effect that the temple of Sangameśvara was built on the 13th day of the bright half of Jyeshṭha in v.s. 1448 after which the inscription seems to have been engraved.

1. This is an excellent case to prove that the calculation of the Vikrama Saṁvat in Kathiawad was कार्तिकादि.

2. The reading is clearly Dharma; but if it is a mistake for Bharma then he was the Vājā king mentioned in the Somanātha Pāṭaṇa inscription of 1432 and in the Dhāmlej inscription of 1437. For the Vājās were a section of Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

The author of this inscription wrongly states in l. 14 that the Rāṣṭroḍa i.e. the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family is the third one distinct from the Solar and Lunar families. For in a number of inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas before v.s. 1000 the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family is said to be a section of the Yadu family and belonging to the Lunar race (See Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā Vol. IV, p. 348 ff). The king Bhīma belonging to the Yādava family mentioned in the record probably belonged to the Jāḍeja family of Cutch, whose descendants are the present ruling family of Cutch. (See ibid p. 356).

Text

1 संवत् १४४८ वर्षे ॥ ए।० ॥ ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ अव्यक्तं व्यक्ततां यातमलक्षं लक्षतां गतं ॥ सोमेश-

2 संगमेश्वर(:) ॥ लिंगच्छलतः स्पष्टं ब्रह्म पुनातु वः ॥ १ वा भारती शब्दमयी चतुर्विधा ततो-

3 ॥ चिरं भाति जडा वलाहिनका ॥ क्षेत्रे **प्रभासे** शिवनाम्न संस्थिता पंचप्रवाहा

4 ॥ जगतोस्तु शांतये ॥ २ श्रीपें विधृत्य वदनालक्षालमोलं वागदेवता कवयती

5 ॥ व हि विस्मपूर्व [।०] कस्माद्विवादसमिनंति च दर्शनानि तत्वं विचारपरतंरं न हि [ं]विद-

6 ॥ सित ॥ ३ तत्तत्तर्क यस्य मुखे सरस्वती नर्मे धृता येन हरिहरादयाः ॥ सामान्यजंतो-

7 ॥ रपि मुक्तिदं यत् केनोपमेयं नगरेण तत्स्यात् ॥ ४ गीतोहमेकेन हि वाडवेन

8 ॥ दृष्ट्वा पुरे वाडवमुख्यलक्षं ॥ स्तुतिं चदत्तर्ण एष धीः करोर्मिनिस(स्त)रणौ नम-

9 ॥ स्यन् ॥ ५ अहो प्रसिद्धः खिल **यादवानां** पंशोवतंसो हि वसुंधरायाः ॥ तत्राभवद्भीम-नृपो (पो) रिगीमः

10 ॥ श्रीभीमचित्तो न जनेषु गीमः ॥ ६ एवंगुणं तं पतिमाप्य रम्यं **माणिक्यदेवी** सुतरां चकासे ॥ तयो-

11 ॥ श्च योगाद्यमुना प्रवृत्ता किं स्यादयेयं नवमी च सिद्धिः ॥ ७ नाम्ना भवेद्या यमुना न निम्नया राहो भ-

12 ॥ वेद्यो यमगर्भचारिणी ॥ भैमी भवेद्या न हरिः स्वयंवरे मदालसा वा न भवेन्मदा-लसा ॥ ८ शीले

13 ॥ न गंगा भवतीति श्रुद्धा वा नामधेयाद्यमुना प्रसिद्धा ॥ सरस्वती तद्वदनाम याति प्रयाग एषोनिनयो

14 ॥ विभाति ॥ ९ वंशो प्रसिद्धौ हि यथा **रवींद्वोः**(दू)राष्ट्रोडवंशस्तु तथा त्रि(वृ)तीयः ॥ तत्राभवद्धर्मनृपोतिधर्म्मी-

15 ॥ स्तस्माच्छिवं सा यमुना जगाम ॥ १० दत्तानि दानानि यथाखिलानि तपांसि तप्तान्य-तिनिर्म्मलानि ॥ श्रुता-

16 ॥ नि पुण्यान्यतिनिश्चलानि प्राप्तानि सर्वाणि जनैः फलानि ॥ ११ या कारयामास नवापि वापिका सर-

17 ॥ स्त्रिदेवायतनप्रपाश्च ॥ तया प्रतोलीमुखमंडनोपमं निर्मापितं चारुरमत्र सुंदरं ॥ संव १४४२ व-

18 ॥ र्षे आषाढ वदि ९ शनौ ।

PHULAKĀ

No. 45] v.s. 1443. [1386. A.D.

The following inscription is engraved on a stone lying on the bank of a tank to the east of the village Phulkā situated at a distance of eight miles to the west of Unā in the Junagadh state. It measures 10″ × 12″.

It records the death in v.s. 1443 or Śaka 1308 of the son of Masāhaṇī Lakhaṇa of the Paramāra community during the victorious rule of Śavagaṇa, who must be identical with the king of the same name in another Phulkā inscription of v.s. 1448 published below.

Text

1 संवत् १४४३ वर्षे शा-
2 के १३०८ प्रवर्तमाने
3 राजश्री शावगणविज-
4 यराज्ये परमारन्याति मसा-
5 हणी लषणसुत...
6 –॥.....

MESVĀṆA

No. 46] v.s. 1444. [11-12-1387.

This inscription is on a *pāḷiyā* standing to the south of the Deri to the east of Mesvāṇa. Above the inscribed portion which measures 1′.3″×1′. are engraved the effigies of the sun and the moon and the Śiva-lingas.

It records the death on the amāvāsyā day of the month of Māgasar in v.s. 1444 of a Cāvḍā warrior in a fight in the reign of Mokalasiṁha, who must be a king of the Cūḍāsamā family.

Text

1 स्वस्ति श्रीसंवत् १४४४ व-
2 र्षे मेसुआणग्राने श्रीमोक-
3 लसीहराज्ये मागसरमास
4 कृष्णपक्षे अमावास्यायां[1] वि-
5 धौ बुधदिने पूर्वनक्षत्रे धण-
6 स्ये चंद्रे चावडा घांग जज
7 झासी गोंढा उश्र गाम भाज
8 .....

KHORĀSĀ

No. 47] v.s. 1445. [1-2-1389.

This interesting inscription was originally obtained from the temple of the sun in Khorāsā, an old village in the Chorwāḍ mahāl of the Junagadh state, twelve miles to the north-west of Somanātha Pāṭaṇa. It is at present

1 There was a solar eclipse on this day.

lying in the temple of the Nāganātha Mahādeva at Chorwād. The inscribed portion measures 1-5" × 1-2½". Though the inscriber has done his work very beautifully a number of grammatical mistakes have crept in the writing portion, which fortunately is excellently preserved.

This inscription was formerly published in the *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, by Cousens on p. 250.

The record opens with an invocation to the sun god. It then mentions that after Paraśurāma had destroyed the Kṣatriyas their women had from the Brāhmaṇa men a progeny which was (subsequently called Brahma-Kṣatri). One of these families had for their progenitor the sage Maṅkaṇaka (and hence was called Makvāṇā family). It was considered one of the thirty-six Kṣatriya families. In the Rohelā tribe of this Makvāṇā race a powerful king named Lūṇiga was born. He came to Saurāṣṭra from Mārvād. His son named Bhīmasiṁha received in *giras* the villages Pancālaka, Kālija, and others. Bhīmasiṁha's son Lāvaṇyapāl died at Kālija leaving three sons named Lakṣmasiṁha, Lakhaṇapāl, and Lakṣa. Of these Lakṣmasiṁha was slain in battle at Junagadh. His son was Rājasiṁha who was a brave and gallant man. He was killed in battle at Bet Śaṅkhoddhār.

From the eleventh verse the description of a second royal family begins: In the Vāghelā family, which is one of the thirty-six Kṣatriya families, and which was ruling at Karkarapuri (modern Kānkroli) in Mārvād a king named Kṣemarāja was born. His son was Somabhrama. The latter had a son named Vīra. Seeing the country wholly occupied by the Muhammadans Vīra left Mārvād and came to Saurāṣṭra and took service with Khangāra (who was evidently the Cūḍāsamā king of Junagadh). When Patshaha Muhammad had invaded and attacked Junagadh and the Girnar hill (Raivata Parvata), Vīrarāja sent away Khangāra on the shoulders of his brother's son, Bhīmadeva and himself gave his life in his defence. Vīra had a daughter named Ratnā, who was married to the king Rājasiṁha of the Makvāṇā family mentioned above.

Rājasimha had four sons named Malla, Mattarāja, Muñja and Mohana. Mohana was slain while endeavouring to recover cows driven from Khorāsā by robbers. Malla was then appointed to govern Khorāsā by the prince Śivarāja. This Malla had a wife named Vimalā, born of a Paramāra family, who was very devoted to him. Malla repaired the temple of the sun in Khorāsā, which was formerly built by one of his predecessors.

At the end of the inscription the names of the sons of Malla and of his brother Mattarāja are given, followed by the date of the record, viz. Monday, the fifth of the bright half of Phāgaṇa of v.s. 1445. The composer of the record was Travāḍi Vācchā and the engraver Madhusūdana Nārāyaṇa, son of Sālhā. The latter had also engraved the Dhamleja and Mahuva inscriptions of v.s. 1437.

The Patashaha Muhammad mentioned in the record was the Sultan Muhammad Tughlak, who invaded Gujarat and besieged and took Junagadh

and took Rā=Khangār (v.s. 1381-1407) prisoner and subdued the country. The king Śivaraja mentioned in the record was probably the same Śivaganja, the Vāja king mentioned in the Phulkā inscription of 1443 and 1448, Chorwād inscription of v.s. 1450 and in the Bhuvātimbi inscription of v.s. 1457.

Text

1 ॥ । ७ ॥ ॐ नमः शंभवाय[1] । तापप्रघं त्रिभुवनस्य तनूकरोतु तेजस्ततिस्तरणिजा तिमिरे-
2 र्वतारिः पुनती प्रबोधं पंकेरुहेषु च सतां हृदयेषु वृत्ते । १ ये रैणुकेयेन रणांगणांतर्नीताः[2]
3 क्षयं क्षो-
3 णिभुजः क्षणेन । ते क्षेत्रजा ब्रह्मकुलप्रसूतास्तदाख्यका ख्यातिमुपुः क्षितीशं[3] । २ नृहं-
4 सर्वसत्प्रथितप्रशंसस्त-
4 दंकभूनांकणकार्पिवंशं[4] । तृसंसविज्ञ सद्वदस्यर्थं सः षट्त्रिंशदंशक्षितिपावितंसः । ३
5 मरुस्थलीमंडलमौकदेशे
5 देशे दशारोहिणि रोहिलाद्यौ[5] । विशालभालः कलिकालकालस्तत्रानवद्यूपिगभूमिपालः
6 ४ स सैन्यपालन्वचरः[6] सुरा-
6 ङ्गां प्राप्य प्रतापैकनिधिर्बलेन । तस्यांगजोभूद्भुवि भीमसिंहः समस्तशौर्यादिगुणैरुपेतः[7] । ५
7 तत्रापि पंचालककालि-
7 जाविभामावलिभासविलासवृत्तिः । लावण्यपालस्तनयस्तदीयो बभूव सूरः[8] समरे
8 कराल: । ६ निजप्रतापं तपनं त्रलोक्यां[9] य-
8 शः शशांकं च पटु प्रकाश्य [।] लावण्यपालः किल भूमिपालः स कालिजे काल-
9 वानतमत्तनागः । लक्ष्मसिंह [:] सुतो सुस्थो लक्ष्मो लषणपालकः । ८ लक्ष्मसिंहो-
9 लसद्दीनलनाफलकामुकः । जगाम
10 जीर्णदुर्गं स सत्तरादमरावतीं[10] । ९ तस्य सूनुरनूनं[11] श्रीराजसिंहोनवद्युति । विभेद
10 शैलषे शैलीके[12] सूतो मार्तंडमंड-
11 लं । १० षट्त्रिंशं[13] क्षत्रवंशप्रथितगुणगणः[14] शौर्यगर्जद्विषन्नीविध्वंस्यापिदानोद्भुतकर-
11 कमलः[15 16] शंखशास्त्रज्ञवर्यो-
12 गः । प्रीणन्पात्राणि पुण्यैरविरतविहितैर्विश्वविख्यातकीर्तिर्वाघेलावंश ए [प] क्षितितल
12 वलये तद्गुणां मातृपक्षैः[17] । ११
13 भूमण्डलस्य मरुमंडलमंडनं या सोदर्कैकरपुरीति[18] गरीयसी या । श्रीक्षेमराज
14 इह राजसनाजराजि वि-
14 भ्राजमानगुण एव रराज राजा । १२ सोमश्रमः कमत एव बभूव भूपसद्रूपरूपनिरु-
14 पितविग्रहरूपः । म्लेच्छाय

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1. शिवाय 2. रणांगणांतानीता 3. भगुः क्षितीशः 4. i.e. the Makwana family 5. Rohilla is a Rajput clan. 6. लाचरः 7. श्वेतः 8. शूरः 9. त्रिलोक्यां 10. समरा 11. उन्नूनः 12. i.e. the Shankodhar island near Dwarka 13. शद्त्रिंशक्षेत्र 14. प्रथित 15. द्विषत्नीवैधव्य 16. दानोत्थित 17. पक्षे 18. Represents the present Kankaroli village in Marvad.

15 नेति बहुलेपि न देशसीमां तत्याज गोत्रिभिरपि प्रबलैः परीतः । १३ वीरोगज[1]ः श्रवर-
16 वीरकृतस्ततोस्य **सौराष्ट्र-** मंडलमवाप सपादलक्षैः । यो वारवारनयसारविचारचारुः **खंगार**नामगुणसौहृदमाच-
17 चार । १४ स श्री**महम्म-** दबृहन्मदघातसाहिकांक्षेपि **रैवतगिरा**वपि **जीर्णदुर्गे खंगार**भूपमुपबाह्य स **भीमदेवं** भाद्यः सुत[2] सुभटश-
18 त्यमपि प्रमीतः । १५ **रत्नादेवी** प्रथनदुहिता वीरवा **राजसिंहान्महसुखं**[3] तनुजमपरं **मत्तराजं**[4] लेभे । **मुंज** त-
19 स्याप्यवरजनदो **मोहनं** गोग्रहेरीग्रम्नन्त्राणांस्तृण[5] मिव रणे यः **खुरासें**[6] निवासे । १६ मन्ये मत्त राज-
20 ब मुंजो व्यंजव्रजः स्वजने[7] मोहनब । चत्वारोमी सामसुख्या तपाया **रत्नादेव्यां राजसिंहा**त्प्रसूताः । १७ प्रवराजि
21 हिरावलिकनो युवराजः[8] श्री**शिवराज**भूपतिः । **खुरवास**कवासस्थानने न्यसुनन्मह-मुत्तुङ्गसद्गुणां[9] । १८ दृष्ट्वा तत्र पु-
22 रा पुरातनपठितं पार्वोजपाणेः त्रिंशप्रासादं निजपूर्वपुरुषपरप्रीत्यै स्वपुण्याय च । कालांते पतितं कृतार्थितमतिर्लेक्ष्मी
23 व्यधैर्नूतनं[10] तत्कालादचलांचकार[11] निवतं तं **महुदेवो**भिधः[12] । १९ तद्भार्या **विमला** देवी सती सीतेव सा बभौ[13] । **परमार**कुलोद्भूता नारी-
24 गुणगणावृता । २० आनीय चातुर्धरणीयविप्रान्सा[14] **महुदेवेन** विचित्रमंत्रैः । सन्मंडपे मंडलकुंभकेदीनेदोवसाकारि रविप्रतिष्ठां[15] । २१
25 **रोहेला मालदे**भार्या **विमल**ः[16] सुत वूडा आपा देपा राणा सांगा खूमसी[17] बई हांसी, मालदेवभ्रातृनातरा[18] भार्या बई नामलबे सुत लीषा हरराज
26 बाघेला ? मूलराजः । संवत् १४४५ वर्षे[19] फाग[20] सुदि ५ सोमे तृपदी[21] वाछा कवि सूत्र साल्हासुत मधुसूदननारायणः आचार्य लेखः सुत पुरुषा[22] प्रतस्टा[23] ।

DHANDUSAR

No. 48] v.s. 1445. [1-2-1389.

The following important inscription is found in a celebrated well called Hāni vāv in the village Dhandhusar under the Junagadh state, at a distance of nine miles north-west of Junagadh. It was very finely engraved but is now disfigured here and there. The inscribed portion measures 1-1″ × 2-1½″.

This inscription was once published on p. 245 of the *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency.*

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1. वीरोगजः 2. सुतं 3. महं 4. The letter च seems to have been omitted before मत्तो 5. °त्रिभ्रत् 6. The modern Khorasa. 7. स्वजने 8. Drop the श्री as it violates the metre. 9. न्ययुनन्महतुल्यसद्गुणं + सद्गुणं 10. व्यधै० 11. तत्काला० 12. देवाभिधः 13. बभौ 14. चातुर्धरणीय 15. प्रतिष्ठां 16. विमला 17. बाई 18. मत्तराज 19. वर्षे 20. फाल्गुन 21. त्रपदी 22. पुरुषा 23. प्रतिष्ठा

The record is in Sanskrit poetry which is on the whole a good one. The poet named Trivāḍi Śri Rāma seems to be a Nāgara Brāhmaṇa. The meaning of a few phrases in the record is not clear. The record opens with an invocation to the god Viṣṇu as a *Jalaśāyin* described in beautiful poetry. Then follows the genealogy of the Cūḍāsamā kings as follows :—

There was a king named KHANGĀR, whose son was named Jayasiṁha. After him Mahīpati became the king and he was succeeded by his younger brother Mokalasiṁha. He had defeated the army of the kings of Kaccha and Sindha at Bhumbhali (Bhūbritapalli) i.e. modern Ghumli. Under orders of the Muhammadan emperor he made Vāmanasthali his capital. His minister was Gadādhara, whose son was named Vaijyanātha, who though he was young bore the burden of the kingdom. His wife named Hānī built at Dhandhusar a well on Monday, the 5th day of the bright half of Phālguna of v.s. 1445. The date is expressed both by words and figures. The composer of the *praśasti* was Travāḍī Śri Rāma and the engraver Nārāyaṇa. The latter is mentioned also in Nos. 39, 40 and 47.

As regards Mokalasiṁha's shifting his capital to Vāmanasthali (i.e. modern Vanthali) and his fight with the Kaccha armies the following is stated on p. 497 of the Kathiawad Gazetteer : Zafar Khan, afterwards Sultan Muzafar, exacted tribute from Maṇḍalika II, after his expedition in 1394 A.D. and previously to this he, agreeably to the orders of the Viceroy of Gujarat on behalf of Sultan Firoz Tuglak, who placed a Thānādār at Junagadh, removed his capital from Junagadh to Vanthali and obeyed his sovereign's orders. By this monarch's order he marched against Ghumli and subdued the chieftains on the coast.

The name of the king of Kachha who was defeated by Mokalasiṁha is not given but he was probably a Jadeja king.

Text

1 ॥ ॥ ॐ नमः श्रीगणेशायः[1] ॥ कनकनकर्कं[2] [क] पकलितसंगर्कारितं वि [नं] द्रक [ग] ळालना परतले [न] संवाहितं [।०] रसालसदशो भवं

2 श्रपदपद्म[3] सत्पदयतो जयाय जलशायिनः क्षणतः प्रबोधोदयः ॥ १ श्रीचंद्रचूडचूडाचंद्रं **चूडास्समस्त**मक्षतवन्। जयति नृपद्दंसवं-

3 शोत्तंसः संतत्रशंतितो वंशः । २ श्री [चं]गारस्तत्कुले खलखल [क्षोणीक्षुण्णाशेष] निर्द्वेषिपक्षः । यत्रामित्रक्षत्रनक्षत्रनाशव्यक्षाशिक्षाशस्त्र-

4 श्रव्यक्षोधरागे । ३ तस्याभवत्तनुभवः[4] क्षितिभूर्त्तिभीरु, . .क्षपाऽत्र विजयी **जयसिंहदेवः** । तीक्ष्णक्षुरप्रप्रखखंडितचंडचौरमुंडा-

5 वली कं[म]लकुड्मलमालयैव । ४ तस्मादस्य कृतिर्विजेष्य विकृतिः पापे कृते निःकृतिर्योग्या यस्य मतिं [द्धिं] जेष्यबुगतिर्दुष्टे-

6 षु गो संगतिः । विद्यायां निष्णिति [र्णतौ] परिचितिर्यस्या [गमे] निष्ठितिः संग्रामे क्षिति-**तिर्महीपति**रिति स्थातः क्षितौ भूपतिः । ५ **जयसिंह-**

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1. गणेशाय 2. कन 3. स्वपद 4. तनुभवः ।

7 देवतनुजो नतु वो मनुजोऽनुजोस्व दनुजारिगणे[1] जलसीतलः कुलिनि **मोकलसी**तल-
सीमवन्मकल [को] मलसीतलनाक (?)। ६ **भूंमली-**
8 भोक्तुसेन भैरवेण ?-पुरहिपा। सुक्षा [**मोक**]**लसिंहे** [न] कतली किल संघुनः। ७
भूभृत्यङ्गिरनीयत प्रतिभटैर्वा जातु **कच्छेश्वरैः** पाप्रा-
9 य प्रभुणापि **सिंधु**[पति]नाप्यत्वेन भि (!) त्वेन वा [।०]...मिश्र...हवेव पुरुषैस्तां
भूवल.....तुं [व]
10 रक्षणः श्री**मोकलः** क्षमापतिः। ८ आदेशादिह देश-देशनगतु ? श्री**पातसाहिप्रभोः**
सचो निर्मितनव्यभव्यनवनप्रासादशालादि-
11 भिः। वापीकूपसरोनिधानविविधोद्यानादिभिर्द्योतितं श्रीम**द्धावन**श्यामनामनगरं महाजधानीं
जगुः। ९ वाहंस्वतीवीशानशीप्यपी[2]-
12 ता ? चाणक्यमाणिक्यवचो विनीतः। कामंदकी [वृ] दरमंदिरश्रीमेदाधरो यस्य गृहेऽस्ति
मंत्री। १० तत्रं [दनो] नंदति वैद्यनाथ-ना-दमे-
13 स्वरजासूजाकृत्। कुमारभाऽवैपि च वैन सार[ख्याता]रमारो विमरां बुभूषे। ११ **द्वानी**
मिहानीय कृतार्थमा [नी स्थानी प्रधानी]
14 कृतराजधानी। स्वंभाति सेभावयमेति स्म रंभा देभाकृवृंभारिपुरे चिरंनात्। १२ **धंधू-**
सरस्युत्तम [लोकलाभ] लोभात्-
15 वापीडगकारि वापी। आपीय पीयूषजलं न तापी तापं न पापं बुबुधे च पापी। १३
राजति यशःप्रशस्तिर्भुवास्थास्तां
16 चकार कोऽपि कविः। शरयुगम्नुसंवश (त्स)र १४४५ वर्षे फागु(ल्गु)[ण०] सुदि
पंचमी [सोमे। १४]...प्रशस्तिकर्ता त्रिवाडि
17 धीरामः [।०] सूत्र नारायण[4] प्रशस्तिमुत्कीर्णा। राज बाछामाली च (वा)ई रतनी
सुता च (वा)ई द्वानी[5] वापी कारयिता। सु (शु)भं भवतु। श्रीः।

AVANIA

No. 49] v.s. 1447. [9-2-1391.

This inscription is engraved on a *pālio* called Mātrino pālio at the village Avāniā. It measures 1'-4"×1'-4".

It records the death of a warrior whose name is illegible on Thursday, the fifth of the bright half of Phālguna in v.s. 1447 during the reign of the Sultan Nāsiruddin, who is also mentioned in the Mangrol inscription of v.s. 1452.

Text

1 स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १४४७
2 वर्षे फाग [ण०] सुदि ५ गुरु-
3 दिने सुरत्राण **निसर-**
4 **दीन**राजे अदिवाणी
5 आपामे राजवेवासी-
6 द्व सहितेन

1. The meaning of this sentence is not clear.
2. द्वामन 3. ष्वी 4. नारायणेन प्रशस्तिरुत्कीर्णा 5. द्वान्या

PHULKĀ

No. 50] v.s. 1448. [26-11-1391.

This inscription is copied from a *pāḷio* standing on the bank of a big tank in the village Phulkā in the Urā mahāl of the Junagadh state. The inscribed portion measures 11¾" × 10½".

The inscription states that Masāhaṇi Lākha, son of Sāpā (or Sāyā) built a temple on the bank of the Phulkā tank in v.s. 1427 (Śaka 1292). Afterwards in the year 1448 on Sunday, on the new moon day of the month of Kārtika he died when Śavagaṇa was the reigning king, and Arjunadeva Paramāra was his minister.

It is not known to what family king Śavagaṇa belonged. He seems to be identical with the king of the same name mentioned in the Phulkā inscription of v.s. 1443, and in the Bhuvāṭiṁbi inscription of v.s. 1457 published below and was probably one of the Vājā kings of Somanātha Pāṭaṇa, who ruled over the coast line, called Nāgher, from Mādhavpur to Jāfrābad. It can also be suggested that Śivagaṇa may be identical with the king Shivarāja mentioned in the Khorāsā inscription of v.s. 1445 and the Chorvāḍ inscription of v.s. 1450.

Text

1 स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमसमयाल-
2 तीत संवत् १४४८ वर्षे कार्तिक व-
3 दि अमावास्यां रविदिने ज्येष्ठानक्षत्रे
4 राय श्री[श]वगणराजये मामात्य अर-
5 जनदे परमार मसाहणी सापा सुत
6 मसाहणी लाखा स्वर्गद्वारेण संप्राप्त [॥]
7 फलद्यामे संवत १४२७ वर्षे सरो-
8 वर प्रासाद पंचम्या श्रीशाके १२९२
9 प्रवर्तमाने अशाश्वतानि सरीराणि
10 धिनवो नैव साश्वित नित्यं स
11 न्याइतो मृत्यु रुतैन्यो धर्मसंग्रहा [॥१]

BAGASRĀ (SIL)

No. 51] v.s. 1448. [23-2-1392.

This inscription is engraved on a yellowish *pāḷio* standing in the western quarter of the village Bagasrā (Dhed) in the Junagadh state. It measures 10" × 6" and is in a bad condition.

The record refers to the reign of Mokalasiṁha evidently of the Cūḍāsamā family and of the Pancakula headed by Pabā, and mentions that on Friday, the first of the bright half of Phālguna in v.s. 1448 a woman named Nāyaki, mother of Patasi ? became a sati.

Text

1 ॥ ७१" ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीसंवत्[त्०] १४४८ वर्षे फा:
2 ॥ मोकलस्य(सि)हविजयराजये महं० पबा पं-

3 ॥ चक्कुअप्रतिपत्तौ [वर्ग]सराग्रामे
4 ॥ सामंतसुत पतसी मातु नाचकि (१) पा-
5 ॥ मग सुदि प्रतिपदायां तिथौ
6 ॥ शुक्रदिने विला...सगमनं...
7 ॥ सुभं भवतु

CHORWAD

No. 52] v.s. 1450. [15-8-1393.

This inscription is engraved on a *pâlio* lying in the Nâganâtha temple in Chorwâd in the Junagadh state. It measures 15½"×13".

The object of the record is this—In the Cûdâsamâ family there was a brave man named Guhilottama. His son was Śûra. (The name of Śûra's son is illegible). His grandson was named Pâthâka. When Śivarâja attacked Chorwâd Pâthâka fought against him with 36 soldiers but fell in the battle on Friday, the 9th of the bright half of Bhâdrapada in v.s. 1450, Śaka 1316. His wife named Patasî thereupon became Satî.

King Śivarâja in the inscription must be the same as that mentioned in the Khorâsâ inscription of v.s. 1445. The Cûdâsamâ family mentioned in the record seems to be a minor branch of the royal family of Junagadh.

Text

1 ॥ ५।° ॥ सैवत् १४५० वर्षे भाद्रपद शुदि ९ शुक्रदिने पूर्व (र्वा) नक्षत्रे सौभाग्यनाम
2 योगे[1] तस्मिन् श्री शाके १३१६ प्रवर्तमाने दक्षिणायने शर्श[2] ऋतौ पं-
3 चत्स[र०] थिक[म०]नाम। वंशे **चू[डा]समानां** च। नाम्ना [च] **गुहिलोत्तमे**[3] धर्म्मे-
4 कार्वे सदा युवे। सत्यार्थं नाम संतति। १ तस्य पुत्रो रणे **शूर(रो)** नाम्ना
5 सुरो महामतिः। तस्मात् [कमात्त ?] नामाऽभूत् गुणैः सवात्तथ भूपतेः। २
6 तस्य सूनुर्महातेजा **पाथाको** रणकोविदः। ज्ञानदानसदादेवच्-
7 चाऽचैनपरायणः। ३ वदा श्रीशिवराजस्य सैन्यं प्रचलितं महत्। [चो]
8 रवाडे महाग्रामे **युद्धं** कर्तुं स[मा०] ववौ। ४ तदा ये कातरा भीता
9 केपि मध्ये स्थिता नराः। केपि युद्धमकुर्वाणा दृष्ट्वा सार्थो (?) वहि-
10 र्ययौ। ५ सैन्यसागरमायांतं गत्वा पार्श्वमुवाच ह। अहमत्र स्थि-
11 तो युद्धं ने सार्द्धं कि न करुषेथ। ६ एवमुक्त्वा ततो युद्धं कृत्त्रिंशत्
12 बलिभिस्तदा। कुर्वाणः सुरसंघातैरेकः सोयं महाभुजः। ७ एवं
13 रथाश्वपादातैरसंख्यातैरनेकधा। यदा ममार संग्रामे
14 सुरस्त्रीभिस्तदा गृहीतः। ८ तस्य पुत्रस्य[4] चत्वारो देवसीहौ च
15 सर्वण [ः०] सिंहाभिधानो(नः) सर्वे ते जयवंतो भवंतु ते। पतसी (?)
16 स्त्री स्वर्गं गाः (ता) सन् द्वेवद्विजगुरुगोत्रणा प्रसातु[5] दीर्घायु
17 भैवतु [।०] *(To be continued)*

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1. योगे एतस्मिन् 2. शिशिरे 3. गुहिलोत्तमः 4. पुत्रास्तु 5. प्रसीदन्तु or देव...गोत्रजाणां प्रसादात्

MISSING THE ESSENTIAL

By

MRS. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

In my country, possibly in India also, one may without fear avow loyalty to a given creed, or profess detachment from any and all. One may be sufficiently interreligious to discern true elements in one and all. But it is possible that this wider sympathy is not the result of discerning something that is, I hold, essential about one and all world-religions at their birth. This is that, in their original form, in the inspired New Word they brought to man there and then, they taught him something about himself, that we can, at all times, say was for him there and then a More.

If we take the scriptures of those world-creeds *as a whole*, without seeking a distinctive message as given at the start, we may find, on the contrary, that they present us with, not a More, but a Less in man's nature, life and destiny. And we, lacking time or will to make historic inquiry into their evolution, accept what we read, at first or at second hand, as integral to their teaching, first and last. It, or any of it goes to constitute the teaching of the general name under which the religion is known. We thus get a false idea of what a given creed has stood for at its beginning. We read some formula to which institutional stiffening at this and that date has brought the given religion, and we say : 'That's what Hinduism or Christianity or Buddhism teaches'.

If we keep our 'it says so' to ourselves, harm, the harm of the half truth, the twisted truth is wrought, but it is as light set 'under a bushel'. It is when men who, knowing only the half-truths, the twisted truths, take them for the genuine New Word of the More in Man, become 'verts to a shrunken creed and publish propaganda ; further, it is when the philosopher and man of letters, saving trouble, accept these propaganda results as fit to be cited as a genuine gospel, and not as the formulas of a degenerate church —it is then that the mischief infects, spreading like a canker.

Philosopher and man of letters may rejoin : 'We are not concerned to disentangle the original message from the institutional formulas. We refer to what our day calls the given -ism'. This might pass did they refrain from citing scriptural passages as what the Founder said and taught ; might pass, did they just say : 'Moslems or Buddhists of to-day teach....' Were this so, I for one, shouldn't worry. It is the hopeless want of discernment in their references that brings me grumbling to print.

I am not presuming to hold a brief for all historic creeds. But I have, in my husband's wake, spent years in helping to make accessible, by printed text and translation and comment, a corpus of ancient scripture : the so-called Pali Canon and exegesis of Hīnayāna Buddhism. And the present fractional acquaintance, on the part of propagandists and the general reader (and

author), with the results of scholars' labours over some fifty years exposes 'Buddhism' to peculiar and dangerous liabilities. Namely, the facile making of references places the maker of them at the mercy of (*a*) the half-knowledge of the propagandist, (*b*) the often misleading work of translators. He does not realize, does not know, that, unlike his own Western religious tradition, Buddhism lacks as yet anything that can worthily be called 'higher' criticism, that is, historical criticism having regard to evolution in history and in philology. Much has been, is being, done in the latter line, but its results have not yet been applied to the history of Buddhist doctrine. And a little is being done along the former line. But the fact remains, that in the history of religion (I put aside philosophy, as for Buddhism a very late comer and of merely scholastic importance), 'Buddhism' is a *very new study*, and should be referred to with as much caution as I, *e.g.*, should use, were I citing from a text-book on magnetism.

Reared in countries where the Christian tradition is dominant, we are, to some extent, aware, that not all which is here or there accepted as orthodox teaching or observance can be referred to its Founder. We should not cite the Pauline injunction about women being head-covered when "praying or prophesying", or the emergence of Madonna-worship in the 4th century (rebuked as heresy) as the teaching uttered by Jesus. But when Buddhism, is cited, it is often analogous doctrines that are ascribed to its Founder, that most libelled of men. 'Higher criticism' is no easy study in Christianity, but it is far harder in Buddhism, wherein historic data are fewer, and where canonical compilation was longer in taking birth, and for centuries remained, oral only.

Not realizing this, the citing speaker or writer is content to borrow uncritically from the output of the propagandist, who, working at second-hand, is at the mercy of the translator—translator who, as I have been recently suggesting,[1] has better won the Italian punning title of *traditore*, not *traduttore* only, than most. Were he who cites to consult the most recent results of scholarship (and so long as a Pali Text Society, now in its 58th year, still exists, guidance can easily be got), he might be relatively safe. But I have lately noticed citations from propagandists' issues, and I find the results somewhat disastrous. True, citation has also been made from, not propaganda, but from the work of an expert. But the expert was a professor of a European literature, (not of Pali) and he, in the one posthumous venture now published, has shown, in translating, no historic discernment, but a misleading of him who cites.

The citations referred to are in two notable books, which will not fail to make their mark on the thoughtful reader of our day. They are Lord SAMUEL'S *Belief and Action*, and Mr. Aldous HUXLEY'S *Ends and Means*. In the former the many references to 'Buddhism' are not singled out as subjects for argument, and I might have passed by in silence, were they not in a notable book. In the latter, a monastic 'teaching', quoted as

[1] *To Become or not to Become*, London, 1937.

'Buddhism', would seem to be used somewhat as a sheet anchor, and any misleading in result becomes for the genuine original message the worse libel. I pick out a few references in these works, taking the former first.

I find it quoted as "Buddhist doctrine" that "there is no misery like existence", as from the anthology called *Dhammapada*. Reference here is made, not to the published texts (there are some dozen translations) but only to two propagandist works. Now as one of the dozen (and one of the more recent) translators, I have to confess that nowhere can I find any verse out of the 423 in this anthology which could rightly be thus translated. The nearest is 202: which more accurately rendered would be

There are no ills like unto body and mind.

But to render these useful if limited instruments of the Man by the word 'existence' is to go too far, even for the atheistic degeneracy that ate its way into early mediæval Buddhism. Buddhists do not like to be told, that man's consummation, which came to be called Nirvana, wherein body and mind would be no longer needed, was a non-existence.

Again, reference is made to "the Buddha having declared: 'I teach only one thing: suffering and emancipation from suffering"...a self-limiting which is, over against what are usually admitted to be his teachings, absurd, and which is a wrong translation to boot. When I introduced this saying to England in a Home University Manual 22 years ago,[1] I was careful to render it: "Just this have I taught....." The particle *eva* is, in early Pali, not the exclusive 'one only'; it is merely emphatic. But here the 'traitor' translator came in: not the English Lord CHALMERS who, failing to retain the emphatic Pali, wrote: "have I consistently taught", but the Schopenhauerian German, K. NEUMANN, who wrote, "Nur Eines..." But citation has been made from the uncritical propaganda only.

Once more, on the subject of fatalism, Lord Samuel has the very forcible judgment: "The mischief that this perverse and illogical creed has wrought to millions of men through thousands of years is beyond imagination." In the main I agree; man is a born striver, thanks be, but in fatalism he has taken upon himself the rôle suitable only for a Disposer, who is alone fitly Fatalist. But then come the lightly swept-in cults, and we read, that Buddhism, considering "the world as something at best worthless, urges spiritual detachment rather than effort for betterment, as the way of salvation." (As if effort for betterment were not the ever recurring refrain of the very essence of original Buddhism!) And hints that the doctrine of Karma (action as result-bearing) has sometimes been interpreted as a form of fatalism. Here no reference is given, but from what I know of the scriptures, the Buddhist doctrine of responsibility (or as they put it: the "not-being-freed-from", i.e. from results of action), as true for life as a whole and not in this world only, contains *no hint of fatalism*. The post-mortem judge is shown saying to the delinquent: 'These acts were not done for you by

[1] This I rewrote with maturer views, in 1934.

any one else; they were done by you, yea, by you, and you must bear the consequences. You could have left them undone; you were "careless".'

Here is no mere misery making up life; here is opportunity again and again, yea, and in many lives. The central teaching of the Way shows that:—the long long Way leading through the many lives to the Peak (*agga*), the Beyond-That, the Supreme, the Goal, however reticent the Founder was in trying to word the not yet worthable. How eager with hope of this kind is a verse near to that which was misquoted:

Let but desire be born for the ineffable;
let but the mind of him therewith surcharged be,
from sense-desires unbound:—Upstreamer is he called.

The man long absent from afar safely returned
gives joy to kinsmen, friends and well-wishers,
Thus also him, who worthy work has done and from
this world to other gone, those worthy works receive
and welcome, as kinsfolk a dear one (safe) returned.

Here, if I err not, is that More in man's life and destiny taught by the first men before ever their leader figured as 'Buddha'. The monk-world, grown to preponderance, brought in a teaching of a Less in and for man, a shrivelled gospel, which I unruffled see called 'Buddhism', so only the 'Buddha', as, not a mythical god-let but a historical man, be in no wise dragged into it.

The other writer, to whose references to 'Buddhism' I take exception, makes even more than does Lord Samuel of the monkish ideal of detachment, which he prefers to call non-attachment. He sees in this an "ideal at the very heart of the teaching of the Buddha" (p. 5), matching it with another "Buddhist doctrine" that "desire is the source of illusion". He also shows curious readiness to accept propagandist statement, but he does consult one other source. This is a recent posthumous translation of the Dhammapada with Essay, written years ago by the late Irving Babbitt, once professing French literature at Harvard. Now for me the 'Essay' is chiefly valuable for its saying, that "in its essence Buddhism is...a psychology of desire", and that "knowledge in matters religious waits upon will." This is for me fine and true, but the problem how to reconcile these statements with the damning utterance, that will or desire is the source of illusion does not seem to have struck the borrowing author.

There is, it is true, a damning utterance about will or desire, occupying a strong place in the Pali Canon:—the second of the so-called Four Truths. But, whereas I have seen it cited as 'source of illusion or of ignorance (*moha*), the formula has neither of these, but only 'ill' (*dukkha*). And a word held derogatory is used for desire, namely, thirst.

It is good to note one word of caution where Mr. HUXLEY comes riding so serenely on the twin mount of propagandist literature and a side-issue

published by a literary expert in French; he does once write "discourses *attributed to* the Buddha" (p. 325), for which relief much thanks. But there is cheerful appreciation, as of a historic truth, that Buddhist teaching "concentrates on meditation". Quaint it is how this false notion of the much-prescribed Dhyana (Pali: jhana) has laid hold of the 'vert'. Dhyana was not meditation; it was the making attention a *tabula rasa* for psychic communication. It was the later monk who converted this into mental hypnosis, or again, still later, into the practice of rosary and praying wheel.

But where the caution I note breaks down is in that matter of "non-attachment" as being for "the Buddha" a central ideal. Here is an utterance neither true nor worthy concerning the Founder of a world-religion. It is essential, in the New Word brought to man by such a man, that it be a positive message, a message telling of a More, not a Less, in man's nature, life, destiny. It is an even weaker word to tell man "Don't get attached!" than it is to tell him "Get freed from!" The will must be fed with something positive, else only harm is wrought. Jesus showed this well and truly with his 'emptied house' figure. Gotama too gave better food than "non-attachment".

For him whose central religious conception of himself and of man was, not recluse, actual or *in spe*, but 'wayfarer', there is the middle way, not of loving his fellow or of disliking him, but of fellowship in wayfaring. Here we have a blend of the Gotama and Jesus gospels. Way-fellowship will allow for the Good Samaritan. I wayman, thou wayman: let us wayfare together! Here is combined a healthy degree of amicable detachment, like that of two friendly pilgrims, distinct units, each with his own long past and long future, but just here and now within touch, in a common stride. The opportunity is here and now; the Goal lies far ahead; you and I marching along, if we are willing wisely, in a More, a More whereby the Most that is ineffable is ever being lifted to a higher power, till the day and hour, maybe very different for each, when will come consummation.

And it is a new message about this More, and not a teaching about life as a less or man as a less, that each Helper of men has been moved to bring to birth. Every world-creed has this More, and let us see to it, that we cite that word of the More and no longer busy ourselves about the later, the degenerate Less, whereby we miss the really Essential in the great world-gospels.

How does not Buddhism, how especially does not the original New Word in it, need to say with Maréchal VILLARS to his king: ....defend me from my friends! Or with G. CANNING'S, *New Morality*: Save, save, oh save me from the candid friend! For it is largely its would-be friends who hand over mistranslations and other misrepresentations of it for the alien reader and writer to use with an unsympathetic will. To use, I must add, with an incurious, uncritical carelessness, such as we should not find in references made to the literature of any other field of history.

REPETITION IN PRAKRIT SYNTAX

By

A. M. GHATAGE.

The device of repeating a word or a grammatical form in close succession to express an idea of greater emotional intensity or one of frequent occurrence is used in nearly all the languages and is a survival of the early devices used by the speaker. Whenever the emotional colouring of the individual's experience is strong enough, it finds expression in language by this device of repeating the word expressing the idea. Even though it is, in this manner, primarily a means of giving expression to one's emotions, in course of time it came to acquire some intellectual meaning as well, such as the ideas of totality and continuity.

The repetition of forms pertains to nearly all the grammatical categories, to words of all kinds and in few cases even to parts of words. Thus we find substantives, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, pronouns and others repeated to express different ideas connected with them.

Historical grammar regards INTERJECTIONS and forms of IMPERATIVE to be perhaps the oldest elements of the language. Naturally this device of repetition which is intimately connected with the early beginnings of a language finds greater scope with them. Nearly all the interjections are used with a repetition, while forms of the imperative of the second and the third person usually express some kind of command and concession, ideas which are often required to be stated with emphasis and this is accomplished by repeating the words. AMg : *hantā hantā bahave kandiṁsu*/Ay. I. 9. 1. 5. "Look hear, Look hear, so cried many people." JM : *avvo avvo tti vāharanti hasanti sīsā* / Vas. 127. 16. "They cry, Alas, Alas, and the pupils laugh." *eha eha siggham dacchaha acchariyam* / Vas. 134. 28. "Come, do come quickly, see the wonder." Sometimes when the expression is not very strong, the forms of the imperative are separated from each other, one of it standing at the beginning as a place of emphasis, and the other at the end of the sentence, which is the normal place of the verb. AMg : *uppayāhi khalu bho paumavaraposarīyā uppayāhi* / Sut. II. 1. 6. "Fly up, Oh you beautiful lotus, fly up." *gaccha tam tumam devāṇuppiyā sālāḍavim corapallim vilumpāhi 2 abhaggasenam corasenāvaim jīvaggāham giṇhāhi 2 mamam uvayehi* / Vip. 75. "Go, you beloved of the gods, to the camp of the thieves called Sālāḍavī and plunder it, take hold of the chief of the thieves Abhaggasena alive and bring him to me." JM : *tato tīe bhaṇiyam ehi ehi tti* / Vas. 53. 4. "Then she said, come, come." *tā pahiya turiyaturiyam vaha vaha ullavai kalakaṇṭhī* | Vaj. 651. "Therefore, O traveller, proceed quickly, so says the cuckoo." In all such cases we find the original meaning of this device, to give greater emphasis to the idea expressed, in its pure form and obviously there is no scope for any change in the meaning itself.

The remaining finite forms of the verb are not often repeated. The VERBAL DERIVATIVES, however, are repeated in order to give expression to different meanings, the idea of frequency being prominent. When the form refers to the same subject it serves to point out that the action is done by him repeatedly. P : *puṭṭho puṭṭho cāhaṁ tesaṁ vyākareyyaṁ* / MN. I. 13. "Being repeatedly asked I will explain to them." AMg : *kasappahārehiṁ tālemāṇā 2 kaluṇaṁ kāgaṇimaṁsāiṁ khāveṁti* / Vip. 63. "Beating him repeatedly, they make him eat his own flesh in a pitiable manner." *chippatūreṇaṁ vajjamāṇeṇaṁ 2* / Vip. 68. "While the trumpets were blown." *evaṁ duṁbuddhī kiccāṇaṁ vutto vutto pakuvvai* / Das. IX. 2. 19. "Thus a wicked pupil does when repeatedly asked by the teacher." JM : *te ya bhayavaṁto paṇamaṁto paṇamaṁlo aikkamai* / Vas. 74. 14. "Saluting those venerable sages repeatedly he goes forward."

The repetition of these forms also points out the fact that the action is not repeated but performed continuously. It must, however, be admitted that the distinction between the continuous and the repeated action is mainly due to the primary meaning of the verb and is not the direct result of the device of repeating. When the meaning of the verb does not admit of the idea of repeated performance it naturally develops the idea of continuity. AMg : *pagaḍhijjamāṇe 2 uvāgae* / Vip. 11. "He approached dragging it continuously." *tae ṇaṁ sā miyādevī ... paḍijāgaramāṇī 2 viharai* / Vip. 12. "Then that queen Miyā continued to keep awake." *taṁ haṭṭhasagaḍiyaṁ aṇukaḍḍhamāṇī 2 uvāgacchai* / Vip. 16. "She approaches dragging the wooden cart after her." Sometimes the sense of totality is also expressed by repeating the verbal derivatives. P : *laddhaṁ laddhaṁ vināseti* / Sn. 105. he destroys all that he gets."

Slightly different meanings are found expressed by repetition of the verbal forms in the following illustrations. P : *so tathāgate cakkhupathaṁ vijahante vijahante yeva pasannamano kālaṁ katvā suttapabuddho viya devaloke ... nibbatti* / Dh. Co. I. 23. "While the Tathāgata was passing out of the sight, he, having died with a delighted mind, was born in the world of the gods, as if awakened after sleep." *imassa dassanaṭṭhāya āgatāgatā anto gehe sāpateyyaṁ passissanti* / Dh. Co. I. 21. "All those who come to see him will see the wealth inside the house." A gerund when repeated may show an habitual action. P : *so tato nikkhamitvā araññe gāyitvā gāyitvā anto dārūni uddharantiyā itthiyā gītasaddaṁ sutvā sare nimittaṁ gaṇhi* /Dh. Co. I. 12. "Coming out from there he took as the object of his thought the voice of a woman having heard her sound of the singing, the woman who was collecting wood in the forest by singing." JM : *so tatha jimiuṁ jimiuṁ ahijjai* / U. Tikā. fol. 124. "He studies by taking his meal there."

In the Ardha-Māgadhī prose, however, we often find the number 2 used as a sign of repetition usually after the verbal forms and sometimes after other words. *tae ṇaṁ sā meyādevī miyāputtassa dāragassa aṇumaggajāyae catāri putte savvālaṁkāravibhūsie karei 2 bhagavao goyamassa pāesu pāḍei 2 evaṁ vayāsī* / Vip. 14. "Then that queen Miyā adorned the four sons

born after the child Miyāputta with all ornaments, placed them at the feet of the venerable Goyama and spoke thus." *miyaṁ deviṁ āpucchai 2 miyāe devīe gihāo paḍinikkhamai 2 miyaggāmaṁ nayaraṁ majjhaṁmajjheṇaṁ niggacchai 2 jeṇeva samaṇe bhagavaṁ mahāvīre teṇeva uvāgacchai 2 samaṇaṁ bhagavaṁ mahāvīraṁ tikkhutto āyāhiṇaṁ payāhiṇaṁ karei 2 vaṁdai namaṁsai 2 evaṁ vayāsī* / Vip. 19. "He takes leave of queen Miyā, comes out of her house, comes out of the town of Miyaggāma passing through the very centre, comes to the place where the venerable ascetic Mahāvīra was, salutes and bows him and says as follows." In the innumerable cases of this type the use of the figure 2 is not exactly the same as in the cases cited before. As shown by the meaning and the parallel passages the figure 2 does not here suggest the simple repetition of the verbal form after which it is placed but the gerund derived from the root after which it comes and points out the succession of acts thus enumerated. More accurately it should have been represented by the addition of the syllable *tiā* after the figure in the text. This itself is a peculiar Prakrit idiom which requires explanation.

More frequent is the repetition of the NOUNS in their inflected forms. Here also the locative forms are the most frequent. The use of the locative to express a particular point in place or in time is susceptible of repetition more than the meanings of other cases, and naturally repetition is favoured in this case. Locative of time repeated : P : *māse māse kusaggeṇa bālo bhuñjetha bhojanaṁ* / Dh. 70. "The fool may take meals on the tip of a Kuśa grass month after month." *māse māse sahassena yo yajetha sataṁ samaṁ* / Dh. 106. "Who performs sacrifice for hundred years by spending a thousand month after month." *divase divase ā sattisatāni navamavā patiyyuṁ kāyamki* / Th. 2. 473. "Even if three times seven hundred spears were to fall on the body anew on each day." *āharimsu dine dine* / Mhvs. 5. 29. "They brought day by day." *adāpesi dine dine* / Mhvs. 5. 84. "He caused to be given day by day." AMg : *māse māse u jo bālo kusaggeṇa u bhuñjae*/U.9 44. "The ignorant person who eats with the blade of the grass month after month." JM : *tiṇṇeva ya koḍo addhaṁ ca diṇe diṇe ya rayaṇāṇaṁ, pāḍei dhaṇayajakkho* | Pau. 21. 16. "The demi-god Dhaṇaya showered three and half crores of jewels every day." The locative of place repeated : P : *yojane yojane dentu makādānaṁ mahītale* / Mhvs. 5. 179. "Let them give the great gift on the earth at every yojana." *kule kule appaṭibaddhacitto*/Sn. 65. "With his mind unattached to all the families." AMg : *miyaggāme nayare gehe geheˇ kāluṇavaḍiyae vittiṁ kappemāṇe viharai* / Vip. 9. "In the town of Miyaggāma he lived maintaining himself by pitiously begging from house to house." *caccare caccare khaṇḍapaḍahenaṁ ugghosijjamāṇaṁ* / Vip. 37. "At every square he was being proclaimed with the beating of a small drum." *pacchā jāyā gamissāmo bhikkhamāṇā kule kule* / U. 14. 26 "Later on, O sons, we will wander by begging from family to family." *pae pae visīyanto saṁkappassa vasaṁ gao* / Das. II. 1. "Disheartened at every step and under the influence of his desires." JM : *ṭhāṇe ṭhāṇe jasaṁ lahai* / Vaj. 6. 82. "He gets fame in many places."

Other case forms of nouns are also found repeated but not to the same extent. AMg : *appege paliyantesiṁ coro coro tti suvvayaṁ, bandhanti bhikkhuyaṁ bālā* / Sut. 1. 3. 1. 15. "Some ignorant persons bind a monk of good vows on the border land by calling him a thief." *chaṇaṁ chaṇaṁ parinnāya logasaṇṇaṁ ca savvaso* / Ay. 1. 2. 6. 5. "At every moment knowing the view of the people from all sides." Sometimes the two words are joined together in a compound so that the first word does not receive its proper grammatical inflection. P : *aññvicarantānaṁ maggāmagge kathā udapādi* / DN. I. 235. "While wandering there arose the conversation on the way." AMg : *urālāiṁ māṇussagāiṁ bhogabhogāiṁ bhuñjamāṇe viharai* / Vip. 50. "He lives enjoying the great human pleasures of different types." *pakkamanti disodisiṁ* / U. 27. 14. "They go in different directions." JM : *doṇṇi si kheyālasaṁgamaṅgāiṁ* / Pau. 16. 80. "Both of them with all their limbs full of exhaustion." *sukaṁsuheṇaṁ kālaṁ gamei* / Vas. 75. 28. "He spends the time in happiness."

In one particular instance we find that the same noun is repeated but in two different grammatical forms both of which however, have the same meaning. JM : *nayaraṁ ciya porāṇaṁ rāyapuraṁ nāma nāmeṇaṁ* / Pau. 2. 8. "The old town Rāyapura by name." *saccaṇāi nāma nāmeṇaṁ* / Pau. 19. 32. "Saccanai by name." *jaṇayassa mahādevī āsi videhi tti nāma nāmeṇaṁ* / Pau. 26. 2. "The chief queen of king Jaṇaya was Videhī by name." *arihasaṇo nāma nāmeṇaṁ* / Pau. 31. 23. "Arihasaṇa by name." *sunando nāma nāmao āsi* / Vas. 74. 24. "Sunanda by name." *mandaro nāma nāmeṇaṁ* / Vas. 75. 22. "by name Mandara." This usage can also be met with in the Rāmāyaṇa. *sikharaṁ nāma nāmataḥ* / I. 27. 10 ; *nandanaṁ nāma nāmataḥ* / I. 27. 13 ; *keśinī nāma nāmataḥ* / *I.* 38. 3. Metrical considerations and the desire to fill in the line may have been responsible for this repetition but its presence in Vasudevahiṇḍī would suggest that the close joining of the word *nāma* with the proper name as in *jambūnāmo* often occurring therein must have also helped to add the adverbial form *nāmeṇaṁ* or *nāmao* in addition to the word *nāma*.

In this connection a peculiar idiom must be noted. Along with the usual phrase for expressing a continuous action from place to place, in which the first word is put in the ablative and the second in the accusative as the first is regarded as the starting point of the action while the second alone is thought to be the goal of the action, we often get phrases in which the word in the accusative is merely repeated. P : *kālaṁ kālaṁ bhavā bhavaṁ sakkāyasmiṁ purakkhatā* / Th. 2. 199. "entangled in the view of believing in the permanent thing from time to time and from birth to birth." *raṭṭhaṁ raṭṭhaṁ vicarissaṁ sāvake vinayaṁ puthu*/ Sn. 444. "I will wander from kingdom to kingdom teaching the followers." Such an idiom must be at the basis of the word *gāṇaṁgaṇie* in U. 17. 17. where it refers to a pupil who is in the habit of wandering from one gaṇa to another. Speaking grammatically in these cases both the words are in the place of the object and the expression should therefore mean going to one place and then to another.

In the ultimate sense of both the idioms there is very little difference but while the first implies some kind of sequence the second is free from any such connotation. It should be further noted that the translation of a word when repeated as "every" is not very accurate. Often it leaves out the idea of succession implied in the original and adds the sense of totality which may not be always present in the original. Of the same import is the phrase in which the instrumental is used instead of the ablative of the first word which is followed by the same word in the accusative: P : *tena hi bho imaṁ purisaṁ daḷhāya rajjuyā pacchābāhaṁ gāḷhabandhanaṁ bandhitvā khuramuṇḍaṁ karitvā kharassarena paṇavena aṭṭhiyāya aṭṭhiyaṁ siṅghāṭakena siṅghāṭakaṁ pariṇetvā. . . /* DN. 23. "then having bound strongly this person with strong ropes with his hands behind, having shaved him, and carrying him from road to road and from square to square with the beating of a drum of a shrill sound. . . " JM : *eyassa pavarakitti gehaṁ geheṇa bhamai jiyaloe* / Pau. 15. 66. "His fame wanders from house to house in this living world." A similar illustration can be found in the Rāmāyaṇa in I. 1. 30. *te vaneṇa vanaṁ gatvā nadīstīrtvā bahūdakāḥ.* This idiom is simply a recasting of the first by changing the ablative case into the instrumental as in course of time the two cases were often confused and mixed together. Some change in the meaning of this idiom can be seen in such an illustration as *anubandhi padāpadaṁ* / Sn. 446. "he followed him step by step" where the compound expression is clearly formed on the analogy of such expressions as : P : *te mayaṁ vicarissāma gāmā gāmaṁ nagā nagaṁ* / Sn. 180. "We will wander from village to village and from mountain to mountain." *vinipātaṁ samāpanno gabbhā gabbhaṁ tamā tamaṁ* / Sn. 278. "He fell down from one birth to another and from darkness to darkness."

A peculiar type of repetition of nouns is to be found in cases where we find the same word twice used but in two different syntactical relations, usually once as the subject and again as the predicate of the same sentence. This was already noted by the Sanskrit rhetoricians who gave it the name *chekānuprāsa.* Aś : *gaḍhā sā hoti pīti pīti dhammavijayaṣi*/K. XIV. 13. "That love is the deep love which pertains to the conquest of religion." JM : *taha vi hu haṁso haṁso kāo kāo cciya varāo* / Vaj. 358. "Even then the swan remains a swan and the crow a crow :" M : *raikiraṇāṇuggahiyāī honti kamalāī kamalāī* / Vis. "The lotuses become lotuses when touched by the rays of the sun."

ADJECTIVES are often repeated to point out the intensity of the quality expressed by them. P : *khippaṁ giraṁ eraya vagguvaggu*ṁ / Th. 1. 1270. "Quickly put forth words which are very sweet." *paramaṁ paramaṁ ti yodha ñatvā akkhāti vibhajati idheva dhammaṁ*/Sn. 87. "Whosoever, having known it to be the highest religion preaches and explains it." AMg : *mahayā mahayā saddeṇaṁ ugghosemāṇā* / Vip. 32. "Proclaiming with a very loud voice." *mahayā 2 saddeṇaṁ . . . āraṣie*/Vip. 43. "He cried with a very loud voice." *ghoḍayapucchaṁ va tassa maṁsiṁ kavilakavilāṁ*/Upa. 94. "His moustaches were very tawny like the tail of a horse." In the fre-

quent phrase *mahaimahāliyāe parisāe* of the AMg. canon we find the adjective repeated with the first word retaining its locative form as *mahaï* corresponding to Sanskrit *mahati* which however, loses its inflectional value as can be seen from its being used with a feminine noun.

Adjectives can also be repeated with a distributive sense. P : *tena kho pana samayena sambahulā abhiññātā abhiññātā brāhmaṇamahāsālā manasākaṭe paṭivasanti*/DN. I. 235. "At that time there lived in the village Manasākaṭa many great Brahmins all of whom were well-versed." *paccati muninō bhattaṁ thokaṁ thokaṁ kule kule*/Th. 1. 248. "The food for the monks is cooked in different families a little in each." AMg : *saehinto saehinto gihehinto paḍinikkhamanti*/Vip. 23. "They come out of their respective houses."

Slightly different meanings like that of totality or diversity can also be found expressed by the repetition of adjectives. AMg : *bhaddagaṁ bhaddagaṁ bhoccā vivaṇṇaṁ virasaṁ āhare*/Das. V. 2.33. "Having eaten all that is good he may bring the food which is colourless and tasteless." P : *evarūpaṁ vā evarūpaṁ vā pāpaṁ kammaṁ akaraṁhā ti na jānātha*/MN. I. 14. "You do not know that you have done such and such an evil deed." Sometimes this repetition of the adjectives is concealed on account of the false etymology. AMg : *ṭhaviyaṁ saṁkamaṭṭhāe taṁ ca hoi calācalaṁ*/Das. V. 2. 33. "It may be placed for crossing, and may be shaking" where the word *calācala* originally a repetition of the adjective *cala* was thought as a compound of *cala* and *acala*.

The repetition of the ADVERBS is fairly frequent. They also show a variety of meanings expressed by this device. Aś : *esa eu kho mama anusathiyā dhammāpekhā dhammakāmathā cā suve suve vaḍhitā*/T. I. 6. "Now by my preaching of the law love for the law and the need of the law have increased in the respective fields." P : *Yañce viññū pasaṁsanti anuvicca suve suve*/Dh. 229. "That the wise praise him discriminately day by day." *visavanto tato tato*/Sn. 205. "Flowing from those different places." *iccetaṁ atthaṁ bhagavā punappunaṁ akkhāsi*/Sn. 251. "Thus the Lord preached this meaning again and again." *tena kho pana samayena bhesiko nakāputo bhagavantaṁ piṭṭhito piṭṭhito anubaddho hoti*/DN. I. 226. "At that time the barber Bhesika was following the Lord from behind." *aniccāni gahakāni tattha tattha punappunaṁ*/Th. 1. 17. "The houses are transitory and there again and again." *bhikkhave tadā mama puttena katakammaṁ pacchato pacchato anubandhi*/Dh. Co. I. 17. "O Monks, at that time the acts done by my son followed him from behind." *visuṁ visuṁ pure rajjaṁ kamato anusāsisuṁ*/Mhvs. 2.11. "They ruled in due order individually." *tahiṁ tahiṁ cetiyāni akārasi*/Mhvs. 5. 175. "he erected the Cetiyas in different places." AMg : *Mahabbalassa ranno abhikkhaṇaṁ 2 kappāyaṁ geṇhai*/Vip. 60. "He often took taxes from king Mahabbala." *payāhiṇaṁ karento puṇa puṇo vandai sakko*/ U. 9. 59. "Sakka saluted him often and often while circumambulating him." *neyāuyaṁ suyakkhāyaṁ uvāyāya samīkie, bhujjo bhujjo duhāvāsaṁ asukattaṁ tahā tahā*/Sut. 1. 8. 11. "Following the right

doctrines he exerts himself, as one becomes more and more the receptacle of misery so his bad thoughts increase." *pāvāiṇo puḍho puḍho kittayantā sayaṁ sayaṁ diṭṭhi karenti pāu*/Sut. 2.6.11. "The upholders of the wrong faith explaining their different views maintain their own opinions." *anto anto pūidehantarāṇi pāsai*/Ay. 1.2.5.5. "Inside and further inside he sees the rotten parts of the body." *saṇiyaṁ saṇiyaṁ paccosakkai*/Upa. 101. "He slowly recedes back." JM: *so pāvai abhiseyaṁ uppajjai jattha jattha naro*/Pau. 32.78. "The man wherever he is born obtains coronation." *bhattumaraṇadukkhiyā mamaṁ ca soyamāṇī māyā me sukkakaṭṭharukkho iva vaṇadaveṇa soyaggiṇā anto anto ḍajjhai*/Vas. 36.8. "My mother troubled by the death of her husband and lamenting for me was burning inside and inside with the fire of grief like a tree with a hollow by the fire of forest conflagration." *ehi kuṇasu pakkhiṇaṁ devaulassa maṇḍaṁ maṇḍaṁ pariti*/Vas. 81.5. "Come and go round the temple slowly." *suyaṇasamāgama vaggi niccaṁ niccaṁ sukāvei*/Vaj. 655. "Like the meeting with a good man fire gives pleasure constantly." Ap. *puṇu puṇu paṇavivi pañcaguru*/P.-pr. 1.11.1. "Having saluted the five teachers again and again."

The NUMERALS are repeated in a distributive sense. Aś: *pañcasu pañcasu vasesu anusayānaṁ nikkhamantu*/D. III. 9. "In each five years they will go on a tour." *etāye ca aṭhāye hakaṁ dhaṁmaṁ pañcasu pañcasu vasesu nikkhamayisāmi*/D. 21. I. "For this purpose every five years I will send out." P: *duve duve putte janayi kālo sā*/Mhvs. 6.37. "She gave birth to sons two at a time." JM: *aṭṭhaṭṭha nāḍayāi dāre dāre ya naccanti*/Pau. 2. 52. "At every door were dancing groups of eight shows." *causu vi dīsāsu majjhe havanti cattāri cattāri*/Pau. 2.52. "In the middle of the four quarters there were four of them each." P: *saggakāyaṁ agamaṁ sakiṁ sakiṁ*/Th. 1. 259. "I went to the heavens once in each."

The PRONOUNS are very often repeated to express the idea of totality. Aś: *taśi taśi pakalamaśi pujetaviya cu palapāśaḍā-tena tena akālama*/K. XII. 32. "On occasions other religionists ought to be honoured in different ways." *aṭha cā ketha punaṁ puna lipite taṣā taṣā athaṣā madhuliyāe yena jane tathā paṭipajethā*/K. XIV. 21. "Here it is written again and again on account of the sweetness of this and that subject so that men may follow them." *se taṁ apahaṭā taṁ taṁ dhaṁmavaḍhi pāpovā*/T. VI. 3. "Giving up this and that they should develop their religion." P: *yaṁ yaṁ padesaṁ bhajati tattha tattheva pūjito*/Dh. 308. "In whatever place he goes he is honoured there." *Yena yena hi maññanti tato taṁ hoti aññathā*/Sn. 588. "Whatever they think it becomes something otherwise." *te te āvikaromi*/Sn. 84. "I will explain them all." *taṁ taṁ ahaṁ dhīra tatheva maññe*/Sn. 349. "I also think the same O courageous man." *vicarihaṁ tena tena lābhasakkārasussukā*/Th. 2.92. "I wandered here and there desirous of profit and honour." *naggā pakiṇṇakesī haṁ tena tena vicārihaṁ*/Th. 2. 133. "Naked and with the hair let loose I wandered here and there." *ubbāsīyati so so ca yaṁ yaṁ gāmaṁ upeti so*/Mhvs. 6.22. "Every village in which he goes is deserted." AMg: *jā jā vaccai rayaṇī na sā paḍiniyattai*/U. 14.24. "Every night that

passes does not return." *jai tā kāhisi bhāvaṁ jā jā dacchasi nārio*/Das. 2. 9. "If you love every woman whom you chance to see." *tehi tehi uvāehiṁ taṁ taṁ saṁpaḍivāyae*/Das. IX. 2.20. "He should carry all that out with all means." JM : *te te ṭhāveki vase*/Pau. 11. 102. "Put all of them under control." *jā jā ḍālā lambai.....sā sā taḍatti tuṭṭai*/Vaj. 124. "Every branch which he holds breaks suddenly." *je je kulammi jāyā te te gayakumbhaniddalaṇā*/Vaj. 201. "All those who are born in the family are capable of breaking the temples of the elephants."

The second person pronoun is repeated : AMg : *tumaṁ tumaṁ ti amaṇuṇṇaṁ savvaso taṁ na vattae*/Sut. 1.9.27. "To call thou is not elegant and so one should never speak it." The reflexive pronoun is repeated with a distributive meaning. P : *sakaṁ sakaṁ diṭṭhi paribbasānā viggahya nānā kusalā vadantī*/Sn. 878. "Referring to their own views the clever ones explain differently." *sakaṁ sakaṁ diṭṭhimakaṁsu saccaṁ*/Sn. 882. "They claim their own views to be true." AMg : *evaṁ aṇāṇiyā nāṇaṁ vayantā si sayaṁsayaṁ*/Sut. 1.1.2.16. "Thus the ignorant ones claiming that knowledge is their own." *sayaṁ sayaṁ pasaṁsantā garahantā paraṁ vayaṁ*/Sut. 1.1.2.23. "Praising one's own views and blaming those of others." *sae sae uvaṭṭhāṇe siddhimeva na annahā* / Sut. 1.1.3.14. "Liberation is possible in one's own view and not otherwise." The interrogative pronoun repeated : JM : *kiṁ kiṁ ti ullavantā uppaiyā nahayalaṁ turiyā*/Pau. 9. 73. "They quickly flew in the sky crying 'what is it, what is it?'." *ke ke ime paulthā moṭṭūṇa gharesu gharaṇīo*/Vaj. 650. "Who are those who have started leaving behind their wives in the houses?" *kiṁ pi kiṁ pi cintanto*/Vaj. 23. "Thinking something."

PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES repeated : P : *ettakaṁ vā dukkhaṁ nijjhiṇaṁ ettakaṁ vā dukkhaṁ nijjetabbaṁ*/MN. I.14. "This much misery is conquered and this much is yet to be conquered." *Paramaṁ paramaṁ ti yodha ñatvā* / Sn. 87. "Who knows it to be the highest." AMg : *jakkhā uttaruttarā*/U. 3.14. "The demi-gods, higher and higher." *saṁsāramāvanna paraṁ paraṁ te veyanti bandhanti ya dunniyāṁ*/Sut. 1.7.4. "Coming to life they bind more and more and suffer miseries." *saṁvacchareṇāvi ya egamegaṁ bāṇeṇa māreu mahāgayaṁ tu*/Sut. 2.6.52. "In a year having killed only one elephant by the arrow." *sāyāgāravie ege ege sucirakohaṇe*/U. 27.9. "Some hanker after pleasures and others entertain anger for a long time." JM : *mā puṇavavi ahiyayaraṁ pāvihaha paraṁparaṁ dukkhaṁ*/Pau. 26. 74. "Do not suffer more and more misery again and again to a greater extent." *patteyaṁ patteyaṁ vakkhāraṁ kittaissāmi*/Pau. 2. 54. "I will explain the regions individually."

PARTICLES are repeated : P : *evaṁ evaṁ vicarantaṁ pāpima upagacchasi*/Th. 1. 1213. "O wicked one, you follow me while wandering in this manner." AMg : *jāvaṁ jāvaṁ ca ṇaṁ abhikkamei tāvaṁ tāvaṁ ca ṇaṁ mahante udae ...seyaṁsi nisiṇṇe paḍhame purisajāe*/Sut. 2.1.2. "While he proceeded further the first man sank deep in the great water and mud." JM : *eso suyaṇasahāvo namo namo tāṇa purisāṇaṁ*/Vaj. 37. "This is the nature of good men

a repeated salutation to these men."

PARTS OF WORDS are repeated to give an intensive meaning to the expression. The first syllable of a verb is often repeated to give emphasis to the idea, and this must have been the origin of the reduplication. JM : *e-ehi savaḍahutto majjha tumaṁ mā cirāveki*/Pau. 8.173. "Come in front of me, do not tarry." *dyāraṁ mattagayaṁ e-ehi mahaṁ savaḍahutto*/Pau. 8. 218. "He calls the intoxicated elephant to come to face him." Ap : *abbhatthio si de-deki tema*/Mahp. 1.6.14. "You are requested to give me." Here also belong the innumerable cases of immitative words like JM : *jogajagentasoke*/Pau. 14.134. *gumugumugumanta*/Pau. 2.40. where the first syllable is repeated and the grammatical inflections are added only to the last.

Another type of repetition which survives in the modern languages is the one in which the PRESENT PARTICIPLE is repeated. Ap : *raṅganteṇa ramanta-ramantē manthau dhariu bhamantu aṇante*/Hp. 85.6.2. "Taking delight and playfully, Ananta took the churning rod." *bhūvaibhūmi kamantakamantaho*/Hp. 87.6.9. "Going over the land of the king."

Finally we find WHOLE SENTENCES or long phrases are repeated to give emphasis. P : *appeva nāma siyā bhesike, appeva nāma siyā bhesike ti*/DN. 1.226. "It may be so Bhesike it may be so." *kahaṁ ekaputtaka kahaṁ ekaputtikā ti*/Dh. Co. I. 23. "How is it O my only son, how is it?" In the following case the idea is expressed with greater force by repeating the sentence and changing the order of words there. JM : *jaṁ ajja dhuhiyāe giyaṁ taṁ vāiyaṁ paḍujāṇiyā jaṁ vāiyaṁ paḍujāṇiyā taṁ gāiyaṁ ajja dhuhiyāe*/Vas. 132.8. "What was sung by the daughter to-day the same was sounded by the clever man, and what was sounded by him the same was sung by the girl."

ABBREVIATIONS

AMg. Ardha-Māgadhī
Ap. Apabhraṁśa
Aś. Aśoka's Inscriptions
Ay. Ācārāṅga
D. Dhauli Rock Edicts
Das. Daśavaikālika
Dh. Dhammapada
Dh. Co. Dhammapada Commentary
DN. Dīgha Nikāya
Hp. Harivaṁśa of Puṣpadanta
JM. Jain Māhārāṣṭrī
K. Kalsi Rock Edicts
M. Māhārāṣṭrī
Mahp. Mahāpurāṇa of Puṣpadanta
Mhvs. Mahāvaṁsa
MN. Majjhima Nikāya
P. Pāli
Pau. Paumacariya
P-pr. Paramātmaprakāśa
Sn. Suttanipāta
Sut. Sūtrakṛtāṅga
T. Delhi-Topra Pillar edicts
Th. 1. Thera Gāthā
Th. 2. Therī Gāthā
U. Uttarādhyayana
Upa. Upāsakadaśāḥ
Vaj. Vajjālagga
Vas. Vasudevahiṇḍī
Vip. Vipākaśruta
Vis. Viṣamabāṇalīlā

CORRESPONDENCE

INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS
ALLAHABAD SESSION

In 1935 was organised for the first time the All India Modern History Congress, with a view to bring together all workers in the field of the modern history of India. By the word 'modern' was meant the period of Indian History *from 1000 A. D.* as by 'ancient' was understood the period *before, 1000 A. D.* This was, of course, only a general and rough indication and adopted not with a view to ignore and split up the unity and continuity of Indian History but because there was the Oriental Conference already working mostly for the ancient period and further because some such limitation was thought necessary for the sake of convenience as far as practical work was concerned. Besides, there was no agency to bring together workers in the field of this period here called 'modern'.

The Poona Congress was organised in association with the Silver Jubilee of the Bharat Itihasa Samshodak Mandal of Poona, inaugurated by H. E. Lord BRABOURNE. It was presided over by Sir Shafa'at Ahmed KHAN, Head of the History Department in the University of Allahabad, and was attended by individual scholars and representatives of many Universities, states, research associations and governments all over India. The gathering included delegates from Assam in the North to Annamalai in the south and from Dacca in the East to Goa in the West. The programme included reading of papers, a historical Exhibition, lectures and entertainments. Some resolutions were also adopted, the most important of them dealing with the foundation of a permanent organisation to develop and perpetuate the aims and objects of the Congress.

The Poona Congress was a unique success for a first gathering of the kind. The meeting there accepted the invitation to meet next at Allahabad in 1937. Owing, however, to the intervention of the Golden Jubilee of the Allahabad University, the Congress had to be postponed to 1938. Already in the Poona session, it had been agreed to widen its scope by dropping the word 'modern'. The organisation was hence named as the Indian History Congress and the second session was held in the premises of the Allahabad University from 6th to 10th Oct. of 1938. The Congress secured Dr. D. R. BHANDARKAR of Calcutta to preside over its deliberations. The number of delegates and representatives this time had almost doubled that at Poona, and the number of papers read reached the figure 92. They were divided into eight sections, each presided over by an eminent scholar.

The following table will explain in itself :—

	Sections	President	No. of papers
(1)	Archaeology and Numismatics	Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT, D. G. of Archaeology, India.	10
(2)	Modern Indian History	Dr. BALKRISHNA, (Kolhapur) ..	16
(3)	Ancient Indian History	R. B. Dr. Krishnaswami AIYANGAR (Madras)	19
(4)	Marathi History	Prof. D. V. POTDAR (Poona)	7
(5)	Sikh History	Lala Sitaram KOHALI (Hoshiarpur) ..	4
(6)	Early Mediaeval and Rajput History	Dr. Surendra Nath SEN (Calcutta) ..	16
(7)	Later Mediaeval and Sultanat	Prof. M. HABIB (Aligarh)	10
(8)	Moghul History	Mr. KHOSAL	10

The sectional meetings were held in the halls of the History Department whereas the opening and closing sessions were held in the spacious and beautiful Senate Hall and the Vizianagaram Hall respectively. A varied programme of lectures with lantern-slides was arranged for the general public which was largely attended, the Physics theatre sometimes proving too small to accommodate fully the expectant audience.

The Historical Exhibition included many sections. The beautiful specimens of ancient sculptures and particularly the terracotta exhibited a wealth of wonderful material for the reconstruction of the history of ancient India. The numismatic section included the splendid collection of gold coins by Babu DURGAPRASAD of Benares. The Governments of India, Baroda, Gwalior and other States exhibited many rare documents and manuscripts. The Maharajas of Benares and Rampur State had sent some very illuminated manuscripts. Under the care of Rai KRISHNA DAS of Benares was exhibited a select collection of Indian Paintings gathered from various sources. This collection contained specimens of Rajput, Pahari, Kangra, Moghul and other schools, some of which were indeed very rare and exquisitely beautiful. A special section was devoted by me to an exhibition of original Marathi —Modi and Persian documents which included autograph letters of Nana Farnavis, Shivaji Vithal, Naru Appaji, Sakharam Bapoo, Sonoji Bhonsle, Raghunathrao Peshwa, the poet Moropant, Khanderao Ganpatrao Gaekwad, Parasharampant Pratinidhi and many others. Nine old Adilshahi firmans were also shown. There were in the collection also specimens of Bakhars, Mahanubhav pothis, and some Sanskrit, Marathi, Kanarese and Gujarati Mss, a few being about 400 or 500 years old. The four models of the ancient coloirs of Bhor State added a peculiar charm to the section. The Exhibition was opened by the Hon'ble Mr. SAMPURNANAND, Minister for Education, U.P., who delivered a thoughtful speech after Rai Bahadur Brajmohan VYAS had given a lucid account of exhibits in the various sections.

The report of the Poona Congress which was published on the eve of the Allahabad Session, was duly presented to the Members at Allahabad and adopted. The Constitution Committee appointed at Poona met at Allahabad, Sir Shafa'at presiding, and discussed the draft constitution submitted for its consideration. It was decided for the present to have a very simple constitution and to go ahead again with a working committee, leaving the fashioning of a more elaborate machinery to the next meeting. After some discussion, the meeting agreed to adopt the simple frame-work of a working constitution and left the further shaping of the constitution to the next session. Both Dr. BHANDARKAR and Sir Shafa'at were keen on the question of the preparation of a New History of India written mainly from the Indian view-point. In recent years the feeling in favour of such a project is no doubt growing in volume. Yet it was thought discreet to proceed cautiously in the matter. A representative Committee was, therefore, appointed to go into the question of the feasibility of such a project and to report to the next meeting. The Committee may even evolve a project in out-line if it feels optimistic about success. Resolutions endorsing the Peace-Pact of Dr. ROERICH and urging for greater facilities to scholars in archives were also adopted. Dr. TARACHAND, Khan Bahadur Azil-ul-HAQUE, Dr. Radhakumud MUKERJEE, Prof. D. V. POTDAR, Prof. SHARMA (Lahore), Dr. TRIPATHI, Dr. BALKRISHNA, D. B. Dr. Krishnaswami AIYANGAR, Dr. SEN and others took part in the discussions and made speeches in the meeting. The next session was invited by Khan Bahadur Azil-ul-HAQUE, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University to meet in that great city, as desired by the University Syndicate. This invitation was enthusiastically received by all the delegates as it meant that the Indian History Congress had now secured a firm hold over the minds of scholars of Indian history and that its status as the representative body to speak in their name had been an asserted fact. No longer could the Congress be derided as a 'Tamasha' as some of its detractors were pleased to describe it to satisfy themselves.

At Poona the Congress received the sympathy of the Bombay University, at Allahabad we marched one step forward and met actually in the premises of the Allahabad University with the backing of that body, though somewhat non-official, and at Calcutta we were asked to meet under the official invitation of that august body—the Calcutta University ! Thus have we progressed by slow though sure stages and it is now hoped that the Indian History Congress will soon come in line with its elder sisters, the Indian Philosophical and the Indian Science Congress organisations, so that historians in India can henceforward speak with one voice in its name ! The few waverers who have stood out so far will now be well-advised to give up hesitating and join hands with their comrades !

The session at Allahabad was a complete success. The sectional meetings were largely attended and simultaneous sittings of some sections, though they deprived many ardent listeners from taking full advantage of the scholarly papers read there, enabled a fuller discussion on the papers ; the lectures were inspiring and informative, the Exhibition representative, full, varied and attractive. At-Homes added to the pleasure and comfort of the company, the Excursions, official and non-official, established live contact with the dead past,—all these combined with the touch of sanctity of an occasional dip in the Sacred Triveṇi, left an indelible impression on the minds of those assembled at Allahabad.

The Allahabad Reception Committee, and particularly the Maharaja of Benares who inaugurated the Session, Sir Digby Drake BROCKMANN, the Chairman, Sir Shafa'at, the General Secretary, and Drs. Bishesbwar PRASAD and Bansari Prasad SAKSENA, the Asst. Secretaries and their collaborators, Rai Bahadur VYAS, the organiser of the Exhibition, and the enthusiastic band of volunteers, deserve our warmest thanks for their most excellent arrangements for the success of the Congress.

Poona,
25-12-38.

D. V. POTDAR.

MISCELLANEA

MR. CHATURVEDI ON PĀṆINI AND THE ṚKPRĀTIŚĀKHYA

Mr. S. P. CHATURVEDI has honoured me by learnedly criticising my two articles (*IHQ* Vol. X, pp. 665-670; *IC*. Vol. IV, pp. 387-99) on Pāṇini in *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, pp. 450-459, and I hasten to return the compliment. It is perhaps still too early for me to make another pronouncement on the subject, for THIEME has not yet replied at all, and Prof. CHAṬṬOPĀDHYĀYA has so far only promised a reply. Prof. Louis RENOU has informed me that he too has prepared an article on the problem raised in my two previous articles, but that too has not yet been published. In the present short note I shall therefore confine myself only to explaining why in spite of Mr. CHATURVEDI's able defence of the traditional interpretation of the Sūtras in question I am unable to accept it.

I am glad to see that Mr. CHATURVEDI admits that *nodāttasvaritodayam* (Pāṇ. VII. 4. 67) is indeed a verse-foot. But he adds: "a serious student of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* knows very well that this so-called unmistakable metrical rhythm can be traced in many other Sūtras of P." Yet, I may point out perhaps that although this is one of the most discussed Sūtras of Pāṇini which engaged the special attention of GOLDSTÜCKER, WEBER and LIEBICH, none before me had detected this metrical rhythm. GOLDSTÜCKER concluded from the use of the term *udaya* in this sūtra that the art of writing was known in ancient India, and millions lost their hearts to him. WEBER and LIEBICH, unconscious of the metrical rhythm of this sūtra, thought that the use of the term *udaya* in Pāṇini was in itself an argument for his posteriority to the Prātiśākhya. Yet when I argued that the metrical rhythm, *plus* the term *udaya*, *plus* the anomalous grammatical construction, which is admitted also by Mr. CHATURVEDI, might together constitute positive proof to the same effect, I was rewarded merely with scepticism. Attributes are the constituents of substance, and concurrent possibilities constitute proof: I was but following this principle of logic when I concluded that Pāṇini was indebted to the Ṛkprātiśākhya for his last Sūtra but one. Mr. CHATURVEDI is at pains to show that the verse-foot *nodāttasvaritodayam* occurs only twice in the Prātiśākhya, but what he fails to recognise, and what I pointed out in both my previous articles, is that it is used in exactly the same sense and context in Pāṇini and the Prātiśākhya. Does it not, to some extent at least, make up for its rarity of occurrence? I do not understand how my conclusion becomes "still more implausible when we remember that this 'metrical' line is not the monopoly of the R.P. only, but occurs in the *Vāj. Prātiśākhya* also". Are we not all agreed that if any Prātiśākhya can be proved to be pre-Pāṇinian it is only the Ṛkprātiśākhya? How can the occurrence of the word in question in the Vāj. Prāt. influence our considerations of the relation between Pāṇini and the Ṛkprātiśākhya?

Coming to the Pragṛhya-sūtras, Mr. CHATURVEDI like THIEME and Prof. CHAṬṬOPĀDHYĀYA insists that the word *anārṣe* in Pāṇ. I. 1. 16 signifies everything but the Saṃhitā-text, whereas I have tried to show that it means the Pada-pāṭha and nothing else. I have also pointed out that in the only passage—as I now see from the Poona index of the *Mahābhāṣya*—where Patañjali uses this word, signifies precisely the Padapāṭha. I have shown that the counter-example in the Kāśikā is taken from the *Saṃhitā*-text of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, which confirms the view that '*anārṣa*' signifies only the Padapāṭha. I may add that in Ṛkprāt. I. 58 and III. 23. precisely the indicatory *iti* of the Padapāṭha has been called '*anārṣa*'. In Atharva Prātiśākhya I. 81 (*āmantritaṃ cetāvanārṣe*), which is but the replica of Pāṇ. I 1. 16, the word '*anārṣa*' has again been used in this same sense. In the older litera-

ture at least there is nothing to show that '*anārṣa*' (either noun or adjective) signified anything but the Padapāṭha. Uvaṭa (on I. 58) too like the authors of the Kāśikā, explains "*anārṣād ītikaraṇāt*" by "*avaidikād ītikaraṇāt*", but the examples and the only counter-example given by him prove beyond every doubt that he had only the Padapāṭha in view. How can we then maintain, in face of such unanimous testimony, that Pāṇini's '*anārṣa*' signifies everything but the *Saṃhitā-text*? The onus lies with Mr. CHATURVEDI now to prove that the word "*anārṣa*" has anywhere been used to signify anything else than the Padapāṭha. He will have to accept my interpretation so long as he cannot do this. It is astonishing to see that he has quoted (p. 455) passages out of the Kāśikā and the Bālamanoramā, clearly stating that '*anārṣa*' means Padapāṭha, to prove that this word signifies the whole non-Vedic literature *including* the Padapāṭha! Evidently it has never struck Mr. CHATURVEDI that Pāṇini in using this specific term might have had some thing particular in view and not the non-Vedic language in general. Such is the hypnotism of tradition!

I am glad to see that Mr. CHATURVEDI has not argued like THIEME that the mention of Śākalya in Pāṇ. I. 1. 16 would be redundant if '*anārṣa*' means Padapāṭha. I have shown above that his own attempt to prove that '*anārṣa*' means everything but the Saṃhitā-text is utterly furtile. I should therefore be justified in further dealing with this and the succeeding Sūtra in starting with the assumption that '*anārṣa*' in Pāṇini, as in the Prātiśākhya, signifies only the Padapāṭha.

To meet my argument that the specific case of *iti* following upon a vocative form in *-s* is of infinitesimal importance from Pāṇini's point of view, Mr. CHATURVEDI blandly declares that "it is not true that Pāṇini is silent as to the general problem of the final *-o* before initial vowel" (p. 457), and thus, surely enough, comes to the conclusion that my difficulties are self-created. In his opinion there is therefore no difference between the final *-o* in general and that of vocatives so far as sandhi-contraction is concerned! Evidently Mr. CHATURVEDI has forgotten that the *-s* in vocative regularly undergoes sandhi in the Ṛksaṃhitā but the particles in *-o* never do so. Thus Pāṇini in I. I. 16. declared these particles to be truly unchangeable, but in the following sūtra he declared the vocatives to be pragṛhya *only in the Padapāṭha* (*anārṣe*). This is fully in conformity with the state of things in RV. But already Patañjali seems to have misunderstood Pāṇini, for his examples of I. 1. 15 are taken from the Padapāṭha (*āho iti* etc.) It has moreover to be remembered that when a final vowel is declared to be pragṛhya the general assumption is that it *is* liable to sandhi; thus Uvaṭa commenting on Ṛkprāt. II. 74 clearly states: *pragṛhyalakṣaṇataḥ praśleṣe prāpte* etc. Cases of real non-sandhi in the Saṃhitā have been dealt with by Pāṇini in VI. 1 115 ff., but there he uses the word *prakṛtyā*, not *pragṛhya*. I ask Mr. CHATURVEDI to consider all this and also to look up the literature on the Sandhi of vocative *-s* given in my previous article, and then say whether he is prepared to admit that Pāṇini in I. 1. 16 refers only to the Padapāṭha or not. If he concedes this he will have further to admit, as I have shown before, that Pāṇini's direct source of information on this point could have been only the Ṛkprātiśākhya. It is not true that the cases of non-sandhi of the vocative *-o* are fully covered by Pāṇini's sūtras as Mr. CHATURVEDI agrues (p. 457). I shall not take examples from the Ṛksaṃhitā in this connection, for I have explained before that metrical texts can prove nothing as to the contractability or otherwise of a final vowel. The symbolical *iti* of the Padapāṭha being equally misleading, we have to depend solely on the prose mantras. Therefore I referred to the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, where we find cases of sandhi and non-sandhi of this vocative *-o* side by side. Thus TS. I. 3. 14. 7; *śūno 'si*, but II. 5 12 5: *śatakrato 'nu*. Here the case of non-sandhi in *śūno asi* has not been provided for by Pāṇini, though the analogous case *uro antarikṣam* (TS. I. 3. 8. 1.) has been (Pāṇ. VI. 1. 117). Not is the case *pito ā* (TS. V. 7. 2. 4) covered by these sūtras. Mr. CHATURVEDI will

now realise, I hope, that Pāṇini actually saw much further than he had suspected, and yet it was not far enough.

Mr. CHATURVEDI rejects my suggestion regarding Pāṇ. VI. I. 27 as "too ingenious." I take it as a compliment, and I am not at all convinced by his arguments that the traditional interpretation of this sūtra is correct. He argues that even when the last two words (*śrāvaś ca*) are separated from the main sūtra the particle *ca* would be equally redundant. I do not consider this objection to be reasonable. The particle *ca* would be redundant only when the whole is read as one sūtra as in the present text, but when the last two words are separated it would serve the definite purpose of connecting the two parts and therefore would not be redundant. If Mr. CHATURVEDI wishes to press this point seriously he will meet with difficulty elsewhere where Pāṇini himself uses the particle *ca* at the end of a sūtra to connect it with the preceding aphorism,—as, for instance, in VII. 2. 98. I was not oblivious of Pāṇ. III. 4. 111 when I proposed this *yogavibhāga*, but I refuse to consider it as an analogous case, for *eva*, so far as I can see, is truly redundant here, though *ca* in *śrāvaś ca* is absolutely necessary. Mr. CHATURVEDI's other objection is that the examples given by me of the non-sandhi arising out of this *yogavibhāga* are taken from the Taittirīya Saṃhitā and not from the Ṛksaṃhitā. But have I not repeatedly said that examples from the Ṛgveda are always inconclusive? It is strange to see that this argument would be urged against me.

Let us now take up the *uñaḥ ūṅ* problem. I am rather mystified to see that Mr. CHATURVEDI has discussed only that side of the problem which may be turned into account to support his own theory, and completely ignored the rest. He does not even mention that Pāṇini's own sūtra was *uñaḥ ūṅ*, one and undivided, and that it was only Patañjali who broke it up into two. I have pointed out before that Patañjali was compelled to do this because he had taken '*Śākalyasya* in I. 1. 16 to mean "*Śākalyasya mataṃ*", to the inevitable result of that monstrous *s iti*, which also Mr. CHATURVEDI does not even mention. I do not see the utility of discussing the problem with Mr. CHATURVEDI unless he is prepared to explain these anomalies. He makes the gratuitous remark that I had forgotten Pāṇ. I. 1. 14 when discussing this sūtra. In spite of his gentle admonition to revise my studies, I am as convinced as before that the invariable sandhi of *s* in *asaḥ s indra*, for instance, is not covered by Pāṇini, for Pāṇ. VIII. 3 33 renders it optional.

As for Mr. CHATURVEDI's treatment of Pāṇ I. 1. 19 I must confess that at first I could not at all understand what he intends to convey until I came across the illuminating sentence: "He should note that the written Saṃhitā text does not join in Sandhi 'Gauri' and 'tanū' with the following vowels as it does in the other hundred cases" (p. 459). It is clear from this that in his opinion the forms *gauri* and *tanū* are entitled to special consideration as pragṛhya, even though the *iti* which follows them in the Padapāṭha may be of no significance at all, simply because in the Saṃhitā text they do not join in Sandhi when Sandhi is possible there. This is simply preposterous. Everybody knows that there are hundreds of final vowels in the Ṛksaṃhitā which do not join in Sandhi though it is possible, but are not on that account treated as pragṛhya in the Padapāṭha, whereas the so-called pragṛhyas (like *dampatī* etc.) are furnished with this *iti* in the Padapāṭha even though they actually combine in Sandhi in the Saṃhitā. Contraction or non-contraction in Saṃhitā has nothing to do with *pragṛhyatva*. But the inalienable characteristic of every vowel declared to be pragṛhya is that it is followed by *iti* in the Padapāṭha. Hence the anuvṛtti *Śākalyasyeti* from *amāṅi* into Pāṇ I. 1. 19 is absolutely necessary. I am absolutely unmoved by the argument that Pāṇinīyas like Mr. CHATURVEDI do not accept this anuvṛtti. For my chief purpose is to find out what was the true intention of Pāṇini, and not to investigate how it was distorted by the Pāṇiniyas.

Calcutta. BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

FLYING MECHANISM IN ANCIENT INDIA

Flying mechanism was not altogether unknown to the Indians. The *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra* speaks of two types of machines, heavy and light.[1] The shape of the machines was like that of a *Garuḍa* bird. There was the sitting accommodation for the passengers inside the bird. A big bird was made of light wood with parts firmly fixed and fitted with two wings. The engine or apparatus (*rasayantra*) was inside the body and a pot of burning fire was kept underneath to heat mercury (*pārda*) by the energy of which (*rasaśaktyā*) the machine was propelled. People used to fly in the sky even over long distances with the help of the two wings moved by wind and set to work by the application of energy produced from heated mercury in the small boiler inside the machine. In this way also a heavy wooden bird could move about in the sky like a celestial car. If the machine was of a heavy type, four pots full of mercury were placed inside the bird. The mercury was heated by the burning fire in the iron pot, with the result that it helped the bird to fly easily in the sky.[2]

The machine was so skillfully made that it could fly out even through the window as we find in the *Bodhirājakumāravatthu*.[3] The master builder with his wife and children sat inside the bird and flew through the window of the palace. The well-seasoned and sufficiently dry timber was used to make the flying conveyances. Timbers of fig and such other trees were used. It was possible to conquer a city or a kingdom with the help of these machines. Fully armed with weapons, going in wooden conveyances towards the Himalaya, a city was conquered and was named *Kaṭṭhavāhanapura*, and the king was named *Kaṭṭhavāhanarājā* who ruled the kingdom righteously.[4]

Calcutta B. C. LAW

1. *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra*, Chap., 31, Verses 96 & 97.
2. *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra*, Chap. 31, *Yantravidhāna*. For other details, see "Flying Machines in Ancient India" By BARUA and MAJUMDAR, *Calcutta Review*, Decr. 1933, pp. 287 foll.
3. *Dhammapada Commentary*, Vol. III, pp. 134 foll.
4. *Sutta Nipāta Commentary*, Vol. II, pp. pp. 757 foll.; *Dhammapada Commentary*, Vol. III, p. 135.

NOTES OF THE MONTH

The proposed opening of the Deccan College in Poona as a fully equipped modern research and post-graduate institute specialising in Linguistics and History, heralded by H. E. Sir Roger LUMLEY in his opening address at the plenary session of the Historical Records Commission in December last, appears to be a move in the right direction. As indicated by H. E. the Governor of Bombay, the intention of the Government appears to be the establishing of the two departments from June 1939 as a nucleus for expansion of research on modern scientific lines to other fields. While research in History and Sociology is more or less well-known, the subject of Linguistics appears to be somewhat in the back-ground in our national education.

In this connection it is worth reproducing the following from Prof. Otto JESPERSON's Presidential Address at the inaugural session of the Fourth Linguistic Conference held at Copenhagen in 1936 (*Actes*, pp. 26-27) :—"It is a curious fact that though language plays an important rôle in the life of the individual as well as of the nation, the science of language has had some difficulty in asserting its claim as the equal of other sciences. There is no recognised name for it in English corresponding to French *linguistique*, Italian *glottologia*, Danish *sprogvidenskab* or German *Sprach-wissenschaft*. English people generally say *philology*, *comparative philology*, and the man who studies it is called a *philologist*, which is rather confusing as the corresponding term in continental languages means something different—what in English is generally covered by the terms *scholar* and *scholarship*. Most English people take a linguist to mean a man with a wide practical as distinguished from a scientific knowledge of foreign languages. There seems, however, to be a growing tendency to use *linguist* and *linguistics* in the same sense as on the continent, thus, for instance, in the Linguistic Society of America, which corresponds to the Philological Society of London, and I shall take the liberty of using the words *linguist* and *linguistics* in this sense.

"Linguistics as the science of language in its widest sense—comprised in three French terms, *parole*, *langage*, *langue*—has points of contact with many other branches of science :

through phonetics with physics and physiology,
through the thoughts expressed in language with logic and psychology,
through the linguistic communities with sociology,
and thence also with anthropology and ethnology,
further with history, especially with cultural history as expressed in the slogan "Wörter und Sachen," and finally,
through the spread of languages with geography, thus in the study of place-names and in the great linguistic atlases now published or in process of being published in many countries.

"We learn from all these sciences, but I think we may also maintain that the science of language is capable of throwing light on many problems in each of these sciences, so that there is a fruitful interaction between all these branches of human knowledge."

Time was when India led the world in the science of language, and the honoured names of Pāṇini, the Vārttika-kāra and Patañjali stand at the very head of the ancient or modern Linguists. The *Prātiśākhyas*, with their minute and detailed observations of linguistic data, provided a wonderful key which was only utilised in the proper manner by the scholars of Europe. The study of grammar and the science of language in Europe until the beginning of the last century was ridden with the half-

knowledge of an eclectic type, traditionally handed down from the Greek and Latin scholars; it was with the "discovery" of Sanskrit and its likeness to Greek and Latin (and Celtic) by Sir William Jones, and the enlarging on this by Bopp and the Grimm brothers that the modern science of Linguistics was born. The wonderfully accurate description of sounds given in the *Prātiśākhyas* supplied a truely scientific foundation for the study of modern Phonetics: for of all languages Sanskrit alone preserved in its alphabetical arrangement the strict scientific classification of sounds according to their articulation. The analysis of the language by grammarians like Pāṇini, who stands supreme in the field, provided the basis for a similar study of other Indo-European languages, and today we have a General Linguistics covering every phase of all articulated speech used by human beings throughout the world. But the land which gave birth to the science of grammar has lagged behind in its contributions to comparative grammar; this is a subject which, we must admit, is a definite contribution of Europe to world-thought. India with her teeming millions speaking a variety of tongues is virtually a linguist's paradise, for herein are spoken some of the members of the major linguistic families of the world. India is truly a melting pot of varying cultures offering to the historian of culture and language material of first rate importance. It was at the instance of the International Congress of Orientalists that the Government of India organised a Linguistic Survey of India under the direction of Sir George A. Grierson; that monumental work indicates briefly what India can and must do to regain her lead in the science of linguistics. It is not for us to dwell here on the different aspects of the subject as applied to Indian or other conditions. The decision of the Bombay Government to start a Linguistics department as part of the research scheme embodied in the revival of the Deccan College appears to us at this juncture as an appropriate gesture, recognising the current need of the country for scientific investigation in its different linguistic groups.

So far India has always looked towards Europe for even a scientific study of er languages. The first scientific and linguistic grammar of Sanskrit has come to s from the late Prof. Jacob Wackernagel; the first descriptive and critical grammars of Prakrit and Pali are respectively due to Pischel and Geiger; the first inguistic grammar of an Indian language is Jules Bloch's *Formation de la langue marathe*. While we admit that the science of comparative grammar is a purely modern product, due to the great grammarians of Europe of the last century, there should be no reason why Indian scholars trained in these methods should not contribute something fundamental in these directions. We welcome the contributions of our European brother scholars, but regret with them that India has not produced the type of work which will further the cause of Linguistics to the extent that her opportunities, her genius and her greatness eminently qualify her.

The main reason appears to be the lack of opportunities, absence of proper training or equipment, and above all of encouragement and sympathy from the learned bodies in the country. The Government of Bombay, therefore, deserves the thanks of all researchers in their bold move to organise and equip a department covering all aspects of the subject and meeting the latest requirements. The inherent genius of India, which produced in the ancient days linguistic giants like Pāṇini and Patañjali, has been lying dormant for the last 2,000 years. With the unfolding of opportunities in these directions the Bombay Government's action is tantamount to putting back India prominently on the international map of Linguistics. We are fully confident that the age-old tradition of India qualifying her to the supreme position in this science will be maintained some day by a new Pāṇini or Patañjali, culminating in the opening of new fields of research and fundamental contributions to the science. We congratulate the new spirit of scientific awakening which has inspired the Government to encourage and sponsor such schemes for the national upliftment of the country.

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The first bulletin of the Tenth All-India Oriental Conference which is to gather in Hyderabad in the Deccan under the august patronage of His Exalted Highness the Nizam, announces the meeting of the conference in the third week of December 1939. The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar HYDARI, President of the Executive Council and Chancellor of the Osmania University is the Vice-Patron. The Hon'ble Nawab MAHDI YAR Jung Bahadur, Vice-Chancellor of the Osmania University and Political and Educational Member will be the Chairman of the Reception Committee; Prof. Qazi Mohamad HUSAIN, Pro-Vice-Chancellor, is the Vice-Chairman of this Committee. The Conference will meet under the auspices of the Osmania University with Mr. Ghulam YAZDANI, Director of the Archaeological Department, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, as the General President.

The tentative list of the sections of the Conference is given as follows: 1. Aryan, Iranian and Indo-Aryan Studies; 2. Vedic and Classical Sanskrit; 3. Islamic Culture and Religion; 4. Arabic, Persian and Turkish Studies; 5. Philosophy and Religion; 6. History, Chronology and Geography; 7. Archaeology, Epigraphy and Numismatics; 8. Anthropology and Mythology; 9. Fine Arts and Technical Sciences (including the Arts and Culture of the Deccan); 10. Philology and Indian Linguistics; 11. Modern Indian Languages:—Hindi, Telugu, Marathi, Kanarese, Tamil, Malayalam, etc. and 12. Urdu.

The programmes will include reading of papers by eminent scholars, discussions, symposium, lectures, social entertainments and state functions. Exhibitions of Fine Arts, rare manuscripts, historical documents and local antiquities will be organised by various institutions besides visits to places of historical and archaeological interest in and around Hyderabad, and particularly the world famous Ajanta and Ellora Caves.

The membership fee of Rs. 10. entitles each member to participate in the sectional meetings, lectures and social functions and to a free copy of the published Proceedings of the Conference. The Local Secretary is Prof. M. NIZAMUDDIN, Head of the Department of Persian and Fellow, Osmania University, and all correspondence concerning the Conference is to be addressed to him.

We trust that with its great historical and cultural traditions the Hyderabad session of the All-India Oriental Conference will not only be an all-India one, but will also prove to be an international event. It would have been indeed a unique occasion if the Brussels Conference had been combined with the tenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference at Hyderabad this year. It is the hope of every Indian Orientalist that one session at least of the International Congress should be held in India.

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It is the policy of the Bombay Government to encourage research work in the regional languages. Lump provisions of Rs. 12,000 recurrent and Rs. 8,000 non-recurrent have been provided in the budget estimates for the year 1938-39 for the scheme of research work in Kannada Literature. The detailed scheme for the purpose has not yet been submitted by the Committee. The Committee has however submitted details regarding the utilisation of the lump provisions made in the current year's budget on account of the scheme. On the basis of these details a scheme for the work to be undertaken during 1939-40 has been formulated.

The Gujarat Vernacular Research Society has decided to organise a Post-Graduate Department (to be recognised by the Bombay University) for studies and research in (1) Gujarati, (2) Sanskrit and Ancient Indian Culture and (3) Economics. The work of this Department will be undertaken by the Society with effect from the academic year 1939-40. As it is the policy of Government to encourage research work in ancient and regional languages, it is proposed to give a recurring grant-in-aid to the extent of Rs. 12,000 to the Society for this Post-Graduate Department on

condition that it is recognised by the University and the details of expenditure are approved by Government.

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We note with satisfaction the progress of the Archæological Department of the Baroda State under the able direction and guidance of Dr. Hirananda SASTRI, M.A., M.O.L., D. Litt., as evinced by their report for 1936-37. The department carried out during the year under report conservation of old monuments at Dabhoi, Patan, Vasai, and Buradia. Among these monuments we note the conservation of the beautiful stepped well at Patan called 'Rani Vav' built by Udyamati, the queen of king Bhimdeo I (11th century). The excavation work has also yielded fruitful results, among which mention may be made of 200 silver coins of Emperor Kumara Gupta I (about 413 A.D.) found at Amreli and 40 new inscriptions (between the years 745 and 1852 A.D.), one of which belongs to the reign of Sultan Ghiya Suddin Tughlak. Among the coins discovered and examined those of Rudrasena I and Rudrasena III are noteworthy. The inspection and listing of the monuments in the state carried on by the department is as important as it is commendable. We trust that Mr. A. S. GADRE who is now entrusted with this work will have before long discovered the possibilities of new fields for exploration and research, which will require at least for some years greater budget provision by the state authorities than the amount of Rs. 23,888 allotted by them during 1936-37.

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The second Bulletin of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute at Prague is published as a Supplement to the Archiv Orientální (Vol. X, No. 3 for December 1938). It records the useful work of the Institute for the last ten years (1928-38) carried out under varying circumstances. Founded by the far-sighted President Liberator T. G. MASARYK in 1928, the Institute has established within the short space of 10 years a periodical of first rate importance, the *Archiv Orientální*, now running its 11th year, under the editorship of Prof. HROZNY, with its own Arabic, Syrian and hieroglyphic Hittite types; it has built up its Library, Monograph Series, founded scholarships and arranged for lectures by foreign orientalists. In 1935 the Institute together with the Museum of Applied Arts arranged an exhibition of Chinese Art under the patronage of the Minister of Education and the Chinese chargé d'affaires.

The organiser and first President of the Oriental Institute, Dr. Rudolf HOTOWETZ, resigned after occupying the chair for 10 years and having rendered great services in establishing and developing the Institute, with the object of retirement. His place as President now deservedly goes to Prof. Dr. B. HROZNY. Among the members of the Research Section are: Honorary 1, Member-Patron 1, Fellows 19, Active Members 38 and Corresponding Members 50.

For practical purposes of research the Institute is divided into several Societies: Chinese, Indian and Japanese. After some interrupted work on the sinological side the Chinese Society was established in 1936 and the inauguration took place on the 30th November. At the close of the year 1937 the Society had 41 members. The Indian Society was inaugurated on 4th May 1934, and the work of the following years was marked by lectures on a variety of Indian topics; at the close of 1937 this Society had 54 members. The activities of the Japanese Society were inaugurated on 8th March 1934.

Besides the 10 volumes of *Archiv Orientální* the Institute has already published 5 volumes of Monographs of Archiv Orientální and a few more are under preparation. The honoured name of the late Prof. WINTERNITZ is associated with the Indian department, and we are sure that the traditions created by him will now be carried on by Prof. Dr. V. LESNY, Prof. Dr. Otto STEIN and Dr. O. PERTOLD. We wish the Institute a long life of research activities in spite of the recent political and other disturbances which must naturally (but unfortunately) have repercussions in this field also.

LUIGIA NITTI-DOLCI

31 JUILLET 1903—1 JANVIER 1939

L'année 1939 s'est ouverte pour les indianistes de France sous le signe d'un deuil cruel : la mort subite de Luigia NITTI-DOLCI, emportée par une embolie foudroyante, le 1-er Janvier, quinze jours après la naissance de son deuxième enfant.

Luigia NITTI-DOLCI, fille de M. Francesco NITTI, ancien Président du Conseil de l'Italie pré-fasciste, est née à Naples le 31 Juillet 1903. C'est là qu'elle a fait ses premières études, au lycée d'abord, puis à l'Université où elle a acquis une solide et riche connaissance des langues classiques et le goût des recherches philologiques. Peu après l'avènement du régime fasciste, en 1923, elle s'expatrie avec toute sa famille et, après un court séjour en Suisse, vient s'installer à Paris. Entrée à l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes à la Sorbonne, elle ajoute à ses études précédentes la linguistique indo-européenne et se consacre de plus en plus à l'indianisme ; Sylvain LÉVI, A. FOUCHER, Jules BLOCH la comptent bientôt parmi les plus brillantes de leurs élèves. Au bout de peu d'années elle est invitée à participer avec le Professeur Louis RENOU et Mme N. STCHOUPAK à l'élaboration d'un Dictionnaire Sanskrit-Français. Vers l'époque où cet ouvrage paraît, en 1932, ses maîtres lui confient l'édition d'un manuscrit dont M. Sylvain LÉVI vient de recevoir du Népal la photographie : c'est une grammaire prâkrite, jusque là inconnue, attribuée à Puruṣottama. L'analyse et la critique de ce texte se développent en une étude de vaste envergure ; ce qui devait d'abord servir d'introduction à l'édition devient une œuvre magistrale : *Les Grammairiens prâkrits* ; le texte de Puruṣottama, publié à part n'en est plus "qu'une pièce justificative". Ces deux publications—dont on trouvera par ailleurs un compte-rendu détaillé[1]—ont valu à Luigia NITTI-DOLCI le grade de Docteur ès-lettres qui lui fut décerné, avec la mention la plus haute, le 30 Juin 1938. Dans une plaquette publiée en souvenir de Luigia NITTI-DOLCI par l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne de l'Université de Paris (Février 1939), MM. L. RENOU et Jules BLOCH ont fait ressortir la haute valeur scientifique de l'auteur et l'importance de sa grande thèse, devenue dès à présent "un des classiques de l'indianisme",—opinion qui se trouve abondamment corroborée par de nombreuses lettres émanant des indianistes les plus réputés de divers pays. En même temps que ses deux thèses, Mme NITTI-DOLCI préparait l'édition de la Première Śākhā du *Prâkṛta-kalpataru* de Rāmaśarman, qui doit paraître prochainement dans la Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes et dont elle a signé les derniers "bon à tirer" quelques jours avant sa mort.

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1. A review of these two books will appear in the next issue of the *NIA*—S. M. K.

Mais Luigia NITTI-DOLCI ne se contentait pas d'être une savante de premier ordre ; en même temps qu'à ses recherches philologiques, elle se consacrait inlassablement à l'oeuvre d'assistance à ses compatriotes, comme elle exilés. Cette assistance elle la pratiquait sous les formes les plus variées ; quand il s'agissait d'être efficacement secourable, aucune besogne, si humble qu'elle fût, ne lui semblait indigne d'un effort et, dans tous les domaines, le moindre de ses actes était empreint des mêmes traits, inoubliables à qui l'a connue : lucidité compréhensive de l'esprit, inépuisable générosité de coeur, simplicité sans nulle affectation, probité intellectuelle, courageuse droiture,—qualités qu'elle appréciait par dessus tout chez les autres et dont, sans y penser, elle nous donnait sans cesse l'exemple. Elle possédait, m'écrit un de ses camarades d'études, " le don particulier de se faire aimer ", et même chez ses aînés, l'affection qu'elle inspirait se teintait d'admiration,—admiration pour son oeuvre de savante, réalisée, dit M. RENOU, " sous l'heureuse conjonction du travail et du don ", pour l'éclat et l'hardiesse de son intelligence, pour la richesse de sa culture, et aussi pour sa vie même, vie studieuse toute de courage et de dévouement, que ses camarades ne cesseront d'evoquer comme une leçon de haute portée morale.

Paris. NADINE STCHOUPAK.

ĀBHARANA

By

J. GONDA

In the dictionaries the word *ābharaṇa-* is rendered by "ornament, decoration ; Schmuck, Schmucksache". From a quotation found in a commentary on the Śakuntalā 4, st. 5, which runs as follows : *syād bhūṣaṇaṃ tv ābharaṇaṃ caturdhā parikīrtitam āvedhyaṃ bandhanīyaṃ ca kṣepyam āropyam eva tat*, we learn that among these "ornaments" various kinds of objects are reckoned: *āvedhyaṃ bhūṣaṇam*, that means *kuṇḍalādi*, "ear-rings etc.", *bandhanīyam*, "ornaments that are to be tied (bound)" viz. *kusumādikam*, "flowers and the like", *kṣepyam*, by which *nūpurādikam* is meant, "ankle-ornaments etc.", and, lastly, *āropyaṃ bhūṣaṇam* which is explained by *hārādi* "strings or garlands of pearls etc."

As for the etymology of the word, it is beyond doubt that it is to be connected with *bharati* "to bear, carry, wear, keep etc.". Now *bharati* being used in connection with *valaya*—"a bracelet" (Śakuntalā st. 6, 6), with *mālā-* "a wreath, garland" (Rām. 3, 46, 16), with *vāsas-* "a garment, dress" (RV. 7, 77, 2) ; with *kārpāsikavastrayugam* "a set of cotton garments" (Varāham, BS. 48, 72) etc., we might feel inclined to explain the strength of the preposition in the same way as e.g. in *ā-ḍaṣkāṭi* or *ā-dhatte* (cp. Manu 11, 104 *svayaṃ vā śiśnavṛṣaṇāv utkṛtyā-dhāya cāñjalau*, "himself having cut off his...and having taken them in *his* joined hands" ; Rām. 5, 33, 2 *śirasy añjalim ādhāya* "having laid *his* joined hands on his head"), or in *ā-nī* (cp. Mbh. 3, 75, 25 *pariṣvajyānayam āsayat*, "clasped him in *his* arms") and the like : it is a well known fact that the preposition *ā* sometimes "confers on the verbal form the value of the middle voice". And, in fact, some scholars have explained the meaning of the word in this way : "that which is taken up or put on, viz. ornament,...trinkets".[1]

On second thoughts, however, this explanation does not seem to be the correct one.

In the oldest texts the verb *ā-bharati* is found many a time, and here it does not mean "to wear, to put on", but "to bring". In the Atharvaveda-saṃhitā the verb is used to point out the idea of bringing. "Whence brought he the hair, whence the sinew ? etc.", *kutaḥ keśān...ābharat* ; "who brought the colour in the body ?", *ko asmin varṇam ābharat*, is asked in a mystic hymn on the constitution of man (11, 8, 12 ; 16 ; see also 11 ; 17 ; 10, 2) ; 11, 1, 15 we read "bring these waters", *apa ā bharailāḥ* ; often we see that heaven is brought ; 11, 5, 19 Indra by brahmacārya brought heaven for the gods ; cp. 14 ; 4, 23, 6 ; 8, 9, 14 ; 10, 8, 21 ; 13, 2, 39. Compare also 9, 4, 10 ; 13, 1, 55 ;

1. RHYS DAVIDS-STEDE, *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, s.v.

6, 11, 1. Besides, we hear that a cloud is "brought by rays", that means "composed, produced by rays": 13, 4; 9 (cp. *sam-bhṛ-*). Often the object of the verb is refreshment, a "good thing" etc.: 18, 4, 88 (RV. 5. 6, 4) "Agni...bring thou food for thy praisers" (*iṣaṁ stotṛbhya ā bhara*); cp. 18, 1, 21 (RV. 10, 11, 4); 1, 6, 4 (cp. 19, 2, 2) "weal for us be the waters which are brought in a vessel (*kumbha ābhṛtāḥ*)"; 3, 10, 7 "O spoon, bring you to us *iṣ-* and *ūrj-*"; 6, 63, 4 "Agni, bring thou to us good things" (RV. 10, 191, 1), *sa no vasūny ā bhara*, see also 4, 32, 3; 5, 7, 6; 4, 13, 5; 18, 3, 67.

Then the verb is used in connection with words which denote things possessing a magical power, such as lifegiving plants, medicinal herbs, shells. In a hymn to the plants (8, 7), for the restoration of health of a person, which is used (Kauś. 26, 33; 40 Comm.) "with a gilt and lacquered amulet (*maṇi-*) made of splinters of ten kinds of trees" (Keśava, ad Kauś. 26, 33-40), these plants are addressed in the following way: (8) *agner ghāso apāṃ garbho yā rohanti punaryavāḥ...bheṣajīḥ santv ābhṛtāḥ* "...be they remedial when brought". Now, these plants give life to men (*puruṣajīvanīḥ*, 4), they are powerful, they have strength and *vīrya-* and therewith they free the sick person from the *yakṣma* (5), they take away the effect of poison and witchcraft, and therefore "they must come hither" (10); diseases and demons tremble at these plants, when they are brought (*ābhṛtābhyaḥ*; 14 f.); "so many all-remedial (herbs) I bring unto thee (*ā bharāmi tvām abhi*; 26). 6, 137 is used in a remedial rite to fasten and increase the hair (see Kauś. 31, 28 and Keśava); a *kārṣmārīpalāśamaṇi-* is to be bound on; the first stanza says that the herb is brought (*ābharat*) from Asita's house. 6, 52, 3 (to free a person from unseen demons etc.) "the life-giving plant of Kaṇva... have I brought". The hymn 4, 10, in connection with a pearl-shell amulet, protects from evils and distress: (4) "this... shell, born in the sky, in the ocean, brought hither out of the river (*sindhutas pary ābhṛtaḥ*) is for us a life-prolonging *maṇiḥ* (amulet)". The commentary of Dārila ad Kauś. 42, 23 says that AV. 2. 4 is used with a *Jaṅgida*-amulet (*maṇi-*), which is to be bound on with a string of hemp (see also the commentary ad AV. 2, 4, 5), now this also is brought from the forest (5). See also 7, 45, 1. AV. 3, 24 is used (Kauś. 21, 1 ff.) to promote the prosperity of grain; the herbs and the words of the person speaking are "rich in milk" (1), "accordingly I bring[1] by thousands those that are rich in milk, and who make the grain much" (2). Also of magic, of power, magical power itself the verb is used. According to Kauśika, AV. 8, 5 is used in a rite for general prosperity (Kauś. 19, 22) and in a rite against witchcraft (Kauś. 39, 7); the hymn accompanies the binding on of an amulet; in stanza 9 the witchcrafts that are made by ourselves and those that are *anyebhir ābhṛtāḥ*, "brought by others" are exorcized. In 5, 31, which is a hymn to counteract magic, we read that "he" has brought it (the witchcraft) by what was not the road (10, *apathenā jabhāraiṣām*), and we send it forth (*pra hiṇmasi*) by the road. See also 6, 125, 2; 10, 1, 19. AV.

1. Here the Paipp. text has *ā karāmi*.

11, 5, 22 in a hymn which extols the brahmacārin, runs as follows : *idaṃ sarvaṃ brahma rakṣati brahmacāriṇy ābhṛtam*, "all these brahman brought in the brahmacārin protects". In a hymn to prolong the life of a person, 8, 2, the words *asuṃ ta āyuḥ punar ā bharāmi* (1) seem to be used to accompany the pouring of a stream of water on a person's hand or another act that has the same blessing and protecting effect.[1]

So it is clear enough that in the Atharvaveda the word is used by preference in connection with words denoting magical power or a thing that possesses such power etc. which is "brought to" a person. Likewise it is used of the composing parts of the body, which are "brought" to man, that means which will form part of him. "To wear" an amulet, however, is expressed by *bharati* : AV. 2, 4, 1 ; 8, 5, 12 *yo bibhartīmaṃ maṇim* ; 19, 26, 1.

Also in the Ṛgveda *ābharati* is met with many a time. I confine the quotations to these : in the literal sense "to bring (near)" the word is used e.g. RV. 10, 102, 10 *nāsmai tṛṇaṃ nodakam ā bharanti*, see also 3, 29, 1. Very numerous are the cases, where a god, generally Indra or Agni, is requested to bring near a treasure, wealth, (e.g. 1, 12, 11 *sa* (= Agni) *na stavāna ā bhara...rayiṃ śravatīm iṣaṃ*), "refreshment" (5, 6, 18), "splendour" (*dyumna-* 5, 10, 1), "drink" (*pītu-*, 8, 32, 8), "food" (cp. 10, 20, 10), "swiftness" (*vāja-* 1, 63, 9) ; the property of the enemies (2, 30, 10), cattle (3, 54, 15) ; superiority, power, strength (*savas-*, 6, 19, 6-8) ; *bhāga-* 2, 17, 7 ; *brahma prajāvad* "an offspring granting brahma" 6, 16, 36, "a collection of riches, properties" (*saṃbharaṇaṃ vasūnām* 7, 25, 2). Now and then the verb is found without an object ; 3, 36, 9 (to Indra) *ā tu bhara* ; 8, 33, 12 ; sometimes a god is the donee : 1, 4, 7 soma to Indra ; 2, 36, 5 ; 6, 16, 47.

Consequently, we may conclude that in the Ṛgveda *ā-bhar-* does not mean "to wear", but to "bring near", especially of things that are desired or that have a strengthening or invigorating power. The adjective *ābharadvasu-* means "bringing near property" (5, 79, 3, Uṣas). In later times the meaning of *ābharati* remains the same. It is connected with *sūdam* (Taitt. Br. 1, 2, 1, 3), *ūrjam* (1, 2, 1, 2) ; *śatrūyatām bhojanāni* (2, 4, 1, 1), *vasu* (2), *rāyaḥ* (4, 7), *bhagam* (2, 5, 4, 1). As for other shades of meaning in the Purāṇas I refer to the dictionaries.

As for the substantive *ābharaṇa-*, in Sanskrit literature it is clearly a synonym of the words *alaṃkāra-* and *bhūṣaṇa-*, whose semantical development I discussed elsewhere.[2] See for instance the description of the adorning of Śakuntalā : Kāl. Śak. 4th aṅga : *āharaṇoidaṃ rūvaṃ*, "your beauty worthy of ābharaṇāni", *idam alaṃkaraṇam*, "here is a.", st. 5 *ābhārāṇāṃi, aṇuvajuttabhūsaṇo aaṃ jaṇo*, "we have never used *bhūṣaṇāni*,[3] *ābharaṇaviṇioaṃ*—"the employment of *ābharaṇāni*". Just as many others which are usually rendered by "ornaments" and which in fact often have that meaning, *ābharaṇa-* is

1. See WHITNEY-LANMAN, *Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā*, p. 476.

2. See my papers : The meaning of the word *alaṃkāra*, NEW INDIAN ANTIQUARY, *Thomas-Festschrift* (1939) pp. 97-114 and the meaning of ved. *bhūṣati*, printed by Messrs Veenman & Sons, Wageningen, Netherl., 1939.

often to be translated by "talisman, amulet"; frequently the articles meant are at once "ornaments" and "amulets". An instructive text is AV. 14, 2, 12. During the marriage ceremonies when the wedding-cortège comes in sight of the house (Kauś. 77, 14) the mantra AV. 14, 2, 12 has to be recited: ... *paryāṇaddhaṃ viśvarūpaṃ yad asti syonaṃ patibhyaḥ savitā tat kṛṇotu*, "what of many forms is fastened round about it, let Savitar make that agreeable to the husbands"; see also Āpast. G. S. 6, 6[1], where *asyām* for *asti*, which seems to be the better reading. Now Haradatta's commentary to Āpast. says: *yac cāsyām paryāṇaddhaṃ sarvato bandhubhir naddhaṃ viśvarūpaṃ ābharaṇādi*, so it understands the words of the "ornaments" worn by the bride. If so, it is clear that Savitar is not invoked to make ornaments pleasant to the wearer, but objects that have a magical value. The first half of the stanza gives suport to this view: "I cause the bridal-car to be viewed by the houses...with a friendly, with a not evil eye", *aghoreṇa cakṣuṣā*. Both the Mantra and the *ābharaṇādi* are to protect against the working of the evil eye.[2] Elsewhere, ointment is put on the eye of a person, whose evil eye may be dangerous.[3]

That the *ābharaṇāni* of marriage ceremonies etc. are at the same time *māṅgalyāni*, appears from many a description, see e.g. Kāl. Kum. 7, 1 ff. Up to this day gold and other metals have their protective influence particularly in the form of ornaments.[4] RV. 1, 33, 8 we read that the Dasyus were "adorned with maṇis": *hiraṇyena maṇinā śumbhamānāḥ* and in spite of that "ornament", that is to say in spite of its magical assistance, they were vanquished by Indra. The dakṣiṇā to be given when the apaciti-ekāha is offered, is a chariot drawn by four horses[5]; the charioteer wears a niṣka and a garland, the chariot itself is "adorned" with golden ornaments, mirrors[6], a tiger's skin etc., it is *sarvābharaṇā*, fitted out with all kinds of containers of magical power.

Animals too often wear amulets, see from many texts e.g. Vaśiṣ. B. S. 44, 5, where the word *pratisara-* is used: for their well-being "horses should have attached to their necks (*puṣṭyartham*), by means of a *pratisara-* marking nuts, rice, costus... "In the *Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. Mārgapālī we read[7] *mārgapālīṃ prabadhnīyād... pādape kuśakāśamayair divyāṃ saṃskāraiḥ*

1. M. WINTERNITZ, *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell*, Wiener Denkschriften, 1892. p. 70.

2. "Ein Hauptübel, vor dem man sich durch das Amulett zu schützen trachtet, ist der neiderfüllte "böse blicke." SCHRADER-NEHRING, *Reallexikon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, I, p. 48. See also CALAND, *Altindisches Zauberritual*, p. 79, n. 27.

3. Śāṅkh. G. S. 1, 16, 5; RV. 10, 85, 44.

4. Cp. CROOKE, *An introduction to the popular religion and folklore of Northern India*; Allahabad, 1894, p. 194.

5. See Jaim. Br. 2, 103; Āp. Śr. S 22, 12, 4—9, etc.

6. See CALAND, *Jaim. Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl*, p. 157.

7. Quoted by J. J. MEYER, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation*, II, p. 163.

bahubhir mudā, bhūṣayitvā gajān aśvān aṅkuśāgrākiśāmyutān govṛṣān mahiṣāṃś caiva ghaṇṭābharaṇabhūṣitān etc. Here the elephants, horses, etc. are adorned with bells and *ābharaṇāni*. Bells are, as is well-known, effectual instruments to avert all kinds of evil, they are "die mit Segens- und Abwehrkraft angefüllten Gefässe der Vegetations- und Zeugungsgenie".[1] And, doubtless, the *ābharaṇāni* have the same function. Varāh. B. S. 44, 15 the elephant and the horse are to be *honoured* (*abhyarcitaṃ kṛtvā*) with new clothes, perfumes, garlands and incense, which are able to avert evil too. See e.g. the gajaśānti Viṣṇudh. Pur. 2,50; Garuḍa Pur. 210, 34 ff.

During the feast of Bali (see e.g. Bhaviṣyott. Pur. 140) the city is adorned and fitted out with amulets against wordly and unseen dangers; the whole description is worth reading. Newly-ripened corn is an evil-averting substance[2]: its ears are used in adorning and at the same time protecting a city: Skanda Pur. 9, 19. Also nāgavallī, "piper betle" is used in embellishing a city during feasts; furthermore we know that it brings *saubhāgyam* (Varāh. B. S. 77, 35). During the Kaumudī-festival, which is to be kept *lokavibhūtaye* "for the welfare of the world", and other feasts many adornments are made.[3] When prince Aja arrived at the house of his relative, it was adorned with auspicious decorations (Kumāras. 7, 16), such as garlands, flags, etc. Mats. Pur. a. 274 we read that "ornaments" are to be offered together with a sword, a shield and an armour. It is well-known that jewels, pearls, etc. dispel danger, sickness, sorrow, procure wealth, renown, good luck etc.: see e.g. Varāh. B. S. 80, 1; 18; 81, 27; 82, 6; on the other hand they are called *bhūṣaṇāni*: 81, 31; 36.

Threads and the like, coloured ones by preference, were used as ornaments and amulets.[4] I mention also the *rudrākṣa*.[5] A conch-shell is a very auspicious thing[6]: it is called an *ābharaṇa-* e.g. Kādambarī p. 157, 3 (N. S.[7]).

I need not dwell on the custom of binding a thread with ornaments (*rakṣā-, rākhī*) on the wrist of a person to preserve him from evil,[7] nor on the little tubes of gold or silver which are tied above the elbows as charms to ward off ill-luck.[8]

Also anointing may be called a kind of *ābharaṇa-*, see e.g. the commentary to Kādambarī p. 171, 7 N. S.[7] *dhavalaṃ yac candanaṃ tasya sthāsakā ābha-*

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1. Meyer, *o.c.*, p. 164.
2. Not only in the Sanskrit literature. See e.g. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India* 21, p. 153; Meyer, *o.c.* II, p. 115.
3. I refer to Meyer, *o.c.* II, 193; II, 145, etc.
4. See also Crooke, in *Hastings' Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, III, 444.
5. See also Rogerius, *Open-deure*, ed. Caland (Den Haag 1915); pp. 58 f.; *Ziegenbalg, Malabarisches Heidenthum*, ed. Caland, pp. 113 ff.; Caland and Fokker, *Drie oude Portugeesche Verhandelingen over het Hindoeisme* Akad. v. Wet., Amsterdam, Lett. N. R. 16, 2(1915), p. 198.
6. Cp. Meyer, *o.c.* I, p. 233.
7. See e.g. M. M. Underhill, *The Hindu religious year* (1921), p. 134.
8. See e.g. Dubois-Beauchamps, *Hindu Manners*, etc., p. 336.

varṇaviśeṣāḥ. And, as is well-known, anointing brings prosperity, see e.g. Kāl. Kum. 8, 20 ; 23 ; Ath. Veda 10, 3, 17 let the varaṇa- amulet anoint me with *yaśas* ; cp. 3, 22, 2 ; 4, 9 ; 19, 31, 12 ; 19, 44. 10, 1, 25 the kṛtyā is *abhyaktā, aktā-* and *varaṇakṛtā-* ; see also Gobh. G. S. 1, 8, 8 ; 13 ; 3, 1, 19, etc.

In this way, a great number of examples might be given to demonstrate that decorations represent bringing of luck and prosperity.

We know that with many people the belief exists that magical power can be transferred to other persons or other things which, in that case, are filled with power themselves. Talismans or amulets are power-filled objects which are portable and attachable ; they have their effect on the spot where they are fastened. Power can be attracted by means of talismans, the wearer, his body, the whole of his person are filled with strength, are strengthened by such a power-bearer : it gives "luck", protection in general ; it confers upon him courage, cleverness and all kinds of desired qualities.[1]

Now it is very clear from many a Vedic text that also in ancient India amulets were intended to give power, energy, strength, etc. AV. 19, 28, 1 *imaṃ badhnāmi te maṇiṃ dīrghāyutvāya tejase*, "I bind for thee this amulet, for long life, for energy"; as appears from the second half of the stanza it is an amulet of darbha (TBr. 1, 4, 4, 1). AV. 10, 6, 6 Bṛhaspati put on an amulet in order to force (*maṇiṃ...ojase*). AV. 10, 3 is used in connection with the binding on of amulets of varaṇa for welfare : 10, 3, 12 *sa me rāṣṭraṃ ca paśūn ojaś ca me dadhat*. cp. also 19, 31, 9 ; 12 : *tejo 'si tejo mayi dhārayādhi rayir asi rayiṃ me dhehi*. 10, 6, 4 "let this golden-garlanded (*hiraṇyasraṅ-*) amulet which bestows...greatness..." ; 19, 24, 6 "thou hast dressed thyself in this garment", *parīdaṃ vāso adhithāḥ svastaye* ; 4, 10. 7 "that pearl (*kṛśana-*) I bind on thee in order to prolong thy life strength" etc. By an amulet (*maṇi-*) the abundance of food and savours are seized (*gṛhṇe* ; AV. 19, 31, 4). The use of magical cords, strings, garlands is found all over the world ; these objects may possess strengthening and protective power.[2] I only refer to the story found in the Kathāsaritsāgara, ch. 37, where a person succeeded in recovering his strength by the virtue of the string on his neck (37 ; 128).[3]

Therefore the original meaning of *ābharaṇa-*, to my mind, appears to be "the bringing near, the attracting (of magical power, of a desired kind of power) ; bringing near ; the object that brings near, with which they bring near, they attract power". To the same root belongs also the word *avabhṛtha-*,

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1. As for literature on the subject : CROOKE, *o.c.*, III, 442 ; B. FREIRE MARRECO, *ibidem*, III, 392 ; PFISTER, in *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* I, 375 ; my paper in *Acta Orientalia*, 15, 311ff. In Dutch : Lievheersbeestjes, bepaalde armbanden ; bezijzers *brengen geluk aan* ; see also LÉVY-BRUHL, *La mentalité primitive*, p. 390.

2. See the essay in TAWNEY-PENZER's translation of the Kathāsaritsāgara, 6, pp. 59 ff.

3. Cp. also Kādambarī, p. 447, 1 ; p. 547, 5 ; p. 380, 3. N. S.[7] Compare A. SCHARPÉ, *Bāṇa's Kādambarī*, Diss. Utrecht 1937, p. 97.

which, as is well-known[1], is the putting (carrying) in, or letting float away on water of the things which are to be disposed of after the offering, because they have come into contact with the mysterious magical substance. Also the sacrificer and his wife have a bath and put on new clothes after having removed mysterious power which has clung to them. As appears from the mantras the sacrificer takes consecration (dīkṣā) with him into the water[2]. Now the water itself becomes a container of magic power[3]. As I take it the word *avabhṛtha-* means "the carrying into or pushing in of the magical substance,—power (into the water)".[4] As for the verb *apabharati* we may compare Taitt. Br. 3, 1, 2, 11 *apa pāpmānaṃ bharaṇīr bharantu* etc.; see also RV. 10, 59, 8. The compound *ud-bhar-* is used AV. 2, 3, 4; 5 in connection with a remedy, brought up "from out of the ocean, from out of the earth" [Śat. Br. 7, 5, 1, 22 *sarvasmāt pāpmana* "has lifted me from out of all evil"]. Compare also *pari-bhar-* AV. 7, 45, 1.

That *ābandhana-* is met with (cp. e.g. Viṣṇudh. Pur. II, 109, 37 *ṛcāṃyajū samastena sūktenābandhanaṃ bhavet*; cp. *rākhībandhana*; *ā-bandh-* AV. 3, 9, 3; 5, 28, 11; *ābandha-* "ornament" Lex) does not, of course, present difficulties, no more than the word *gaošāuuāra* which is found in the Avesta (Yt. 5, 127; 17, 10), and rendered by "earrings; Ohrschmuck, Ohrgehänge"; "*gaoša-* ["ear"] *ā-vara-* was im Ohr getragen wird... vgl... ai. *ābharaṇa*-n. "Schmuck".[5] In the first place here the form of the word is *ābhara-* and in ancient Indian too there is a difference of meaning between derivatives in *-a-* and *-ana-*: *ānayana-*, subst. "bringing towards"; *ānaya-* "the girdling on with the sacred cord"; *ābharaṇa-*: *ābhara-* etc., and, moreover, it is possible that *āuara-* originally had the same shade of meaning as *ābhar-* in Vedic and Sanskrit.[6] The compound *karṇābharaṇa-* is found also in Sanskrit: e.g. Comm. to Kādambarī N. S.[7], p. 220, 23; 337, 16.

1. See OLDENBERG, Religion des Veda, pp. 407 ff; KEITH, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, pp. 303 f. As for *sam-bhṛ* compare OLDENBERG, Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft, p. 94, n. 1.

2. Maitr. S. 3, 6, 2; Āpast. S. S. 13, 21, 3.

3. See OLDENBERG, *o.c.*, p. 409, n. 2.

4. CALAND already remarked: "*avabhṛtha* bedeutet eigentlich wohl: "Das (im Wasser) Hinabbringen", Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba, Verh. Kon. Ak. v. Wet. Amsterdam, Lett. N. R. 24, 2 (1924), p. 352.

5. See Chr. BARTHOLOMAE, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (1904), 486.—In Persian however, *gošvār* or *gošk-vāra* (<**gauša-bāra*) "an earring etc."

6. See BARTHOLOMAE, *o.c.*, 938.

THE AUTHORSHIP AND DATE OF THE MRCCHAKATIKA[1]

By

R. D. KARMARKAR

The only information that we have about the author of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is found in the Prologue (Stanzas 3-7, Act I)[2] to the play, and the passage in question is undoubtedly an interpolation, for expressions like... कविर्बभूव शूद्रकः (stanza 3), क्षितिपालः किल शूद्रको बभूव (stanza 5), चकार सर्वं किल शूद्रको नृपः (stanza 7) and शूद्रकोऽग्निं प्रविष्टः (stanza 4) are used there. This, however, should not be taken to imply, as some critics have done, that the information contained therein, is necessarily untrustworthy. In fact, it would be possible to argue, with greater plausibility, the other way. The interpolator could more naturally be trusted to give a more detailed account than would have been possible if the account had been written by the author himself.

We know from the Prologue that King Śūdraka was the author of the play dealing with the love-romance of the poor merchant-prince Cārudatta and the beautiful courtesan Vasantasenā of Ujjayinī, that Śūdraka was very handsome and the best of Dvijas, well-versed in the Rg-veda, Sāmaveda, mathematics, fine arts and the science of elephants, that he had won laurels in pugilistic contests, had his eye-sight restored to him through the favour of Śiva and had performed an Aśvamedha sacrifice with great *eclat*, and that after a remarkably long life of one hundred years and ten days, Śūdraka ended his earthly career by entering the fire.

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1. This paper was read at the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference (December 1937). It is now published here with the permission of the Secretary, with a few alterations.

2. द्विरदेन्द्रगतिश्चचोरनेत्रः परिपूर्णेन्दुमुखः सुमित्रहस्तः ।
द्विजमुख्यतमः कविर्बभूव प्रथितः शूद्रक इत्यगाधसत्त्वः ॥ ३ ॥
ऋग्वेदं सामवेदं गणितमथ कलां वैशिकीं हस्तिविद्यां
ज्ञात्वा शर्वप्रसादाद्द्युपगतितिमिरे चक्षुषी चोपलभ्य ।
राजानं वीक्ष्य पुत्रं परमसमुदयेनाश्वमेधेन चेष्ट्वा
लब्ध्वा चायुः शताब्दं दशदिनसहितं शूद्रकोऽग्निं प्रविष्टः ॥ ४ ॥
समरव्यसनी व्रणादशून्यः कनकं वेदनिधिं तपोधनभ्यः ।
परबाणबाहुयुद्धलब्धः क्षितिपालः किल शूद्रको बभूव ॥ ५ ॥
अवन्तिपुर्यां द्विजवार्धकाढ्यो दुवा दरिद्रः किल चारुदत्तः ।
गुणानुरक्ता गणिका च वस्य वसन्तशोभेव वसन्तसेना ॥ ६ ॥
तयोरिदं सत्सुरतोत्सवाश्रयं नयप्रचारैः व्यवहारदुष्टताम् ।
खलस्वभावं भवितव्यतां तथा चकार सर्वं किल शूद्रको नृपः ॥ ७ ॥

Vāmana in his *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti* (8th century A.D.) mentions Śūdraka by name (शूद्रकादिप्रबन्धेषु) in connection with श्लेषगुण. He also quotes the verse वाहो बलिः (*Mṛcchakaṭika* I. 9, also *Cārudatta* I) and the passage धूर्तं हि नाम पुरुषस्यार्यसिंहासनं राज्यम्। (II.6.66;[1] this is not found in the *Cārudatta*).

The first natural impulse then is to ransack old literature to find out if there was any king answering the above description and all sorts of fantastic theories are advanced by scholars to secure this end.[2] Thus, Śiṃuka of the Andhrabhṛtya dynasty (100-200 B.C.) is taken to be identical with King Śūdraka referred to in the *Skandapurāṇa* as reigning about 200 A.D.! Others try to identify King Śūdraka with Vikramāditya, the founder of the Saṁvat era. Rājaśekhara[3] refers to a King Śūdraka whose exploits were glorified by Rāmila and Saumila (who were perhaps his court-poets; Saumila is referred to by Kālidāsa in his prologue to *Mālavikā*). In the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Śūdraka is said to have been able to live for a hundred years through the sacrifice of his life by a Brāhmaṇa. Prof. Konow identifies him with the Ābhīra King Śivadatta (about 250 A.D.). According to KEITH[4] the Śūdraka as described in the Prologue is really clearly mythical.

The discovery of the plays ascribed to Bhāsa and published in the Trivandrum series has made this confusion worse confounded. For, an unfinished play, called *Cārudatta* or *Daridracārudatta* (describing the plot up to the end of the fourth Act) bears such a close resemblance to the *Mṛcchakaṭika* that there is no doubt that either the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is an elaboration of the *Cārudatta*, or the *Cārudatta* is an abridged version of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. Both these views have found their supporters. On the strength of some resemblances of ideas and expressions, the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is declared by some to be the source from which Kālidāsa has borrowed some ideas. PISCHEL has shown that there is a close resemblance between the society as depicted in the *Daśakumāracarita* and that in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, and that the verse विभ्रतीव तमोऽङ्गानि is found both in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and the *Kāvyādarśa*. He concludes from this that Daṇḍin was the author of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

This is how the position for the moment stands as regards the authorship of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. It almost appears as though we have come across a blind alley and no further progress is possible. An attempt has been made in this paper to suggest a new line of approach to solve the problem. PISCHEL led the way in this direction but somehow or other he did not carry

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1. All references to the *Mṛcchakaṭika* are to my own edition of the play, published at Poona in 1937.

2. Mr. A. D. PUSALKAR in his paper (published in *JAHRS.* Vol. XI, pp. 33-42) gives a list of as many as 27 Śūdrakas, but regards only three of them, (1) Śūdraka Vikramāditya (3rd century B.C.), (2) Kṣudraka (5th century B.C.) and (3) Śiṃuka (Andhrabhṛtya dynasty, 73 B.C.) as historical personages. He regards the first of these (3rd century B.C.) as the author of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

3. तौ शूद्रककथाकारौ रम्यौ रामिलसौमिलौ।
काव्यं यशोर्द्रवोरासीद्यनारीवरोपमम्॥

4. KEITH: *The Sanskrit Drama*, p. 130.

his idea to its logical conclusion. A critical comparative study of the *Kāvyādarśa* and the *Mṛcchakaṭika* reveals such striking resemblances between the two works that the conclusion seems to be irresistible that both these works were written by the same author. Internal evidence of this type, it is well-known, is always a weak reed to lean upon ; similarities of expressions, ideas, situations and the like may normally show that one of the authors has borrowed from the other, but it is equally possible that the two authors may have independently come to use the same phraseology or borrowed from a common source. Bearing all these limitations under which internal evidence usually suffers, in mind, we hope to prove, that in the present case, at any rate, we would be justified in regarding internal evidence as indicative of the identity of the authors of the two works, that is, the author of the *Kāvyādarśa*—Daṇḍin—wrote also the *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

The similarities of expression, ideas, etc. in the *Kāvyādarśa* and the *Mṛcchakaṭika* pointed out below, would not, if considered severally, be regarded as being invested with any special significance. Some of these can very easily be described as more or less conventional ; but here too Daṇḍin seems in his *Kāvyādarśa* to be at pains to pick out exactly the same topics that are described at length or in detail in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. There are however some special striking similarities which definitely point to the *Mṛcchakaṭika* as their source,[1] and as it is unthinkable that Daṇḍin should have indulged in a reckless plagiarism, we are forced to fall back upon the only alternative left, viz., that he is referring to his own work in the *Kāvyādarśa*. We believe that the reader would agree with us in coming to the above conclusion, by judging of the similarities pointed out below as a whole.

We shall first refer to the similarities which appear to us to be specially striking, and then to the conventional ones, with our comments here and there.

Kāvyādarśa[2]	*Mṛcchakaṭika*
(1) भगवन्तौ जगन्नेत्रे सूर्याचन्द्रमसावपि। पश्य गच्छत एवास्तं नियतिः केन लङ्घ्यते॥ II. 172	In the Tenth Act, the Caṇḍāla says (X.36-2-3)—[आर्यचारुदत्त गगनतले प्रतिवसन्तौ चन्द्रसूर्यावपि विपत्तिं लभेते। किं पुनर्जना मरणभीरुका मानवा वा। लोके कोऽप्युत्पितः पतति कोऽपि पतितोऽभ्युत्तिष्ठति। etc.] also (X.20.3) [उद्दामेव किशोरी नियतिः खलु प्रत्येषितुं याति।]

1. There are reminiscences of Bāṇa and Kālidāsa in the *Kāvyādarśa*, but fortunately Daṇḍin makes it clear in respect of some passages at least that he is the borrower, as is made clear further on.

2. The references are to the edition by Rangacharya Raddi, published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona (1938).

(2) कामदत्ताय लोकस्यामति तं कल्पपादपः ॥ II. 85

कदमूलः फलभरैः पुण्यप्रनिशमार्पितः ।
सान्द्रच्छायो महावृक्षः सोऽयमावासितो मया ॥ 209

अलब्धविटपाभोगः फलपुष्पसमृद्धिमान् ।
सोच्छ्रायः स्थैर्यवान् दैवादेष लब्धो मया द्रुमः ॥ 210

उभयत्र पुमान् कश्चिद् वृक्षत्वेनोपवर्णितः ॥ 211

Who would deny that this is a correct description of, and directly points out to, Cārudatta?

दीनानां कल्पवृक्षः स्वगुणफलनतः सज्जनानां कुटुम्बी । I. 48

गुणप्रवालं विनयप्रशालं विश्वस्यमूलं महनीयपुष्पम् ।
तं साधुवृक्षं स्वगुणैः फलाढ्यं सुहृद्विहंगाः सुखमाश्रयन्ति ॥ IV. 32

(Cārudatta is persistently referred to as a वृक्ष by various characters in the play.)

स्थावरकः–[नरमरुद्यपरतः न पुनरेष कुलवृक्षविहगानां वासपादप आर्यचारुदत्तः ।]
X. 25-19-20

[प्रणयिजनकल्पपादपमार्यचारुदत्तं]...
X. 30-8

चाण्डाली –[सुजनशकुनाधिवासं...
सज्जनद्रुममेतम्,...] X. 4

(3) लिम्पतीव तमोऽङ्गानि वर्षतीवाञ्जनं नभः ।
असत्पुरुषसेवेव दृष्टिर्निष्फलतां गता ॥ II.362 (the whole verse in some Mss.) (II. 226. only the first line)

This verse is found in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* (I-34). It is obvious from the expression केषांचिदुपमात्वानि : (*Kāvyādarśa* II. 227), that this verse was not written by Daṇḍin himself. PISCHEL was therefore wrong in arguing that this verse was Daṇḍin's, but it does suggest common authorship of the *Kāvyādarśa* and the *Mṛcchakaṭika* all the same. Daṇḍin seems to have deliberately made room for this verse in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* (where it does not appear to be quite essential) simply because he wanted to discuss it at great length in the *Kāvyādarśa*.

(4) मृतेति प्रेत्य संगन्तुं मया मे मरणं मतम् ।
सेवावन्ती मया लब्धा कथमेव जन्मनि ॥ II. 280

The reference here is generally taken to be to उदयन and वासवदत्ता (or to कुवलयाश्व and मदालसा) But this could with equal propriety be taken to refer to Cārudatta and Vasantasenā.

न च मे वसन्तसेनाविरहितस्य जीवितेन कृत्यम् । IX. 37-1

वसन्तसेना किमियं द्वितीया समागता सैव शिवः किमित्थम् ।...वसन्तसेना न मृतास्य सैव ॥ X. 40

(5) व्युत्पन्नबुद्धिरमुना विधिदर्शितेन
मार्गेण दोषगुणयोर्वशवर्तिनीभिः ।
कामिन्यः कृतामिसरणो मदिरेक्षणाभि-
र्धन्यो युवेव रमते लभते च कीर्तिम् ॥ III. 187

धन्यानि तेषां खलु जीवितानि ये कामिनीनां गृहगामितानाम् ।
आर्द्राणि मेघोदकशीतलानि गात्राणि बाहुषु परिष्वजन्ते ॥ V. 49

This is the last verse in the *Kāvyādarśa* and there is no doubt whatsoever that it describes accurately Cārudatta in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and no one else. The expression शिशिरांशुतेन मार्गेण refers to the manner in which Vasantasenā's ornaments bring about the union between the lovers.

(6) The title काव्यादर्श itself	आदर्शः शिक्षितानाम् I. 48 This is how Cārudatta is described.
(7) अतुल्यः पञ्चबाण्यासन् कुसुमानि सलाञ्छिकः। बाहू लते वसन्तश्रीरलं नः प्रत्यक्षचारिणी ॥ II. 67	The expression प्रत्यक्षचारिणी वसन्तश्रीः undoubtedly refers to Vasantasenā.
(8) चन्दनोदकचन्द्रांशुचन्द्रकान्तादिशीतलः। II. 40	Cf. चन्दनघनसारशीलाम्बो दैवादय सुहृन्मम। VI. 26

.....

(9) नन्वात्मलाभो महतां परदुःखोपशान्तये ॥ II. 173

.....

ननु दाक्षिण्यरोपघ्नः सर्वस्य भवति प्रियः ॥ II. 174

.....

अनुगृह्णाति हि परान् सदोषोऽपि द्विजेश्वरः ॥ II. 175

All these passages point out to Cārudatta. Cf. also [दक्षिणतया परकीयमिवात्मानमवगच्छति शरणागतवत्सलश्च।] II. 14-38

(10) हृतद्रव्यं नरं त्यक्त्वा धनवन्तं व्रजन्ति वाः।
नानाभङ्गिसमाकुलालोका वेश्या न दुर्धराः ॥ III. 117
Cf. इह सर्वस्वकलिनः कुलपुत्रमहाग्रहाः।
निष्फलत्वमलं यान्ति वेश्याविहगबन्धिताः ॥ (IV. 10)

.....

स्त्रियो हृतार्थाः पुरुषं निरर्थं निष्पीडितालक्तकवत् त्यजन्ति ॥ (IV. 15)

We shall now pass on to other similarities which any poet could have thought of independently, but so many of them occur persistently in the two works, that, considered as a whole, they also could be regarded as pointing out to the identity of the authors of the two works, the *Kāvyādarśa* and the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. One, in fact, is tempted to hazard the statement that the *Kāvyādarśa* is mainly concerned with utilising the *Mṛcchakaṭika* for its purpose.

(*a*) The *Mṛcchakaṭika* describes thunder, lightning and rain at great length, referring to almost all conventions in this respect. The *Kāvyādarśa* likewise seems to do the same (though there was really no occasion for it to do so) as would be clear from the following passages in the *Kāvyādarśa*.

(1) मण्डलीकृत्य बर्हाणि कण्ठैर्मधुरगीतिभिः।
कलापिनः प्रनृत्यन्ति काले जीमूतमालिनि ॥ I. 70

(2) गुरुगर्भभराक्रान्ताः स्तनन्त्यो मेघपङ्क्तयः । I. 98

(3) श्यामलाः प्रावृषेण्यानिर्दिशो जीमूतपङ्क्तिभिः ।
भुवश्च सुकुमारानिर्नवशाद्वलराजिभिः ॥ II. 100

(4) नृत्यन्ति निचुलोत्सङ्गे गायन्ति च कलापिनः ।
बध्नन्ति च पयोदेषु दृशो हर्षोत्सुवर्मणीः ॥ II. 103

(5) जलं जलधरोद्गीर्णं कुलं गृहशिखण्डिवान् ।
चलत्व तडितां वास वर्ष कुसुमधन्वनः ॥ II. 104

(6) अवलेपमनङ्गस्य वर्धयन्ति बलाहकाः । II. 109

(7) इरत्वाभोगमाशानां गृह्णाति ज्योतिषां गणम् ।
आवहते चाद्य मे प्राणानसौ जलधरावली ॥ II. 111

(8) हयगन्धवहास्तुङ्गास्तमालश्यामलत्विषः ।
विवि भ्रमन्ति जीमूता भुवि चैते मतङ्गजाः ॥ II. 113

(9) उत्कण्ठयति मेघानां माला मुक्तं कलापिनाम् । II. 118

(10) दूरे प्रियतमः सोऽयमागतो जलदागमः । II. 133

(11) सङ्गतानि मृगाक्षीणां तडिद्विलसितानि च ।
क्षणदुर्यं न तिष्ठन्ति धनारब्धान्यपि स्वयम् ॥ II. 332

(12) प्रावृषेण्यैर्जलधरैरम्बरं दुर्दिनायते ।
रागेण पुनराक्रान्तं जायते जन्तां मनः ॥ II. 335

(13) उत्कासुन्मनयन्त्येते बालां तदलकात्विषः ।
जम्भोदरास्तडिच्चन्तो गम्भीराः स्तनयित्नवः ॥ III. 136

(b) .....
वेव मार्यन्ति पीवन्तो मधुनेव मधुव्रताः । I. 51

[This corresponds to [...किं हीनकुलमं सहकारपादपं मधुकर्यः पुनः सेवन्ते।...अत एव ता मधुकर्यं उच्यन्ते।] *Mṛccha.* II. 64-66]

(c) कन्थे कामयमानं मां न त्वं कामयसे कथम् । I. 63
[Cf. एषा गर्भदासी...न मां कामयते । I. 32-6]
.....

(d) पारावतः परिष्वज्य रिरंसुखुम्बति प्रियाम् । II. 10
[Cf. ...तिष्ठतु दयितासहितस्तपस्वी पारावतः । V. 11, 22]

(e) नलिन्या इव तन्वङ्गचास्तस्याः पद्मनिभाननम् ।
मया मधुव्रतेनेव पातुंपायमरम्यत ॥ II. 45
[Cf. अम्भोजिनी लोचनमुद्रणं किं भानावनस्तंगमिते करोति ॥ X 58, ...आर्यपुत्र अत एव साचेतनेति चुम्ब्यते।]

(f) विष्णुना विक्रमस्थेन... II. 101
[Cf. सं केशवोऽपर इवाकमितुं प्रवृत्तः । V. 2]

(g) अरत्नालोकसंहार्यमवार्यं सूर्यरश्मिभिः । II. 197

[Cf. for a similar construction involving a qualified identity, दूतं ...असिंहासनं राज्यम् । II. 6-66, वीणा is वस्सुदोषितं रत्नम् III. 2-11 and वशोपवीत, अमौक्तिकमसौवर्णं ब्राह्मणानां विभूषणम् । X. 18]

(h) मल्लिकामालभारिण्यः...ज्योत्स्नाभिसारिकाः ॥ II. 215

[Vasantasenā goes to Cārudatta, dressed in the manner of an Abhisārikā.]

(i) विकृष्य केशेष्वाकृष्टा कृष्णा येनाग्रतो मम ।
सोऽहं दुःशासनः पापो... II. 282

[Cf. एषोऽहं गृहीत्वा केशहस्ते दुःशासनस्यानुकृतिं करोमि । I. 30. 4
केशवन्दे परामृष्टा चाणक्येनेव द्रौपदी । I. 39.]

(j) महीयद्...दक्षः प्रजापतिर्वासीत् स्वामी सप्तिरथश्च सः । II. 321

[Cf. अवति वृषभकेतुर्दक्षयज्ञस्य हन्ता । तदनु जयति भेत्ता पन्नगः कौणपारेः ॥ X. 46]

(k) किं केकाकाकुः काव्ये III. 92

[Cf. ..... किं काकायसे का का इति । V. 11. 39]

(l) The *Kāvyādarśa* refers to सुगत (III. 174), the *Mṛcchakaṭika* describes the शाक्यश्रमणक, his dress etc. in detail.

It is not intended to suggest that Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyādarśa* does not draw upon any other work for his illustrations. In most of such cases—and these are not very many—he himself makes it clear that he is borrowing from others. Where no such indication is forthcoming, it would not be wrong to infer that Daṇḍin draws upon his own composition. Thus the following passage is clearly borrowed from Kālidāsa,

प्रसादयत् प्रसिद्धार्थमिन्दोरिन्दीवरद्युति ।
लक्ष्म लक्ष्मीं तनोतीति प्रतीतिसुभगं वचः ॥ I. 45

Cf. with this, मलिनमपि हिमांशोर्लक्ष्म लक्ष्मीं तनोति (*Śākuntala* I)—The expression इति प्रतीतिसुभगं वचः is a clear pointer that लक्ष्म लक्ष्मीं तनोति is a quotation...Two more passages in the *Kāvyādarśa* can be traced to Kālidāsa :—

यस्याः कुसुमशय्यापि कोमलत्वधा रजाकरी ।
सापिशेते कथं तन्वी हुताशनवती चिताम् ॥ II. 286

[This reminds one of

नवपल्लवसंस्तरेऽपि ते मृदु दूयेत यदङ्गमर्पितम् ।
तदिदं विषहिष्यते कथं वद वामोरु चिताधिरोहणम् ॥ (*Raghu* VIII. 57)]

and प्रभातप्रायं हि तरलं दृश्यते न तदाश्रयः । II. 129

[Cf. न प्रभातरलं ज्योतिरेति वसुधातलात् । *Śāk.* I]

It has been already pointed out that in the case of the verse लिम्पतीव तमोऽङ्गानि (II. 226, and II.362) the expression केषांचिदिह (II.227) shows that the verse is merely quoted in the text.

The passage सुखं जीवन्ति हरिणा वनेष्वरसेचिनः । (II.341) is similarly seen to be a quotation, if we consider the next passage सेयमप्रस्तुतैवात्र मृगवृत्तिः प्रशस्यते । (II.342)

It is only in the case of the passage,

अरत्नालोकसंहार्यमहार्यं सूर्यरश्मिभिः ।
दृष्टिरोधकरं पुंसां यौवनप्रभवं तमः ॥ II. 197

which bears a striking similarity with केवलं च निसर्गेतः एवमानुनेयमरत्नालोकोच्छेद्यमप्रदीपप्रभावनेयमतिगहनं तमो यौवनप्रभवम् ॥ in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, that there is no definite indication of its being a quotation. It appears to us, therefore, that the similarities indicated above in the *Kāvyādarśa* and the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, though they might appear innocent enough taken singly, point out, if considered as a whole, to something more than mere borrowing from another writer.

Nor does there appear to be any inherent improbability about this view. The author of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* was undoubtedly a southerner. The Goddess Kālī or Durgā is there referred to as सह्यनासिनी[1] (a northern writer would have certainly written विन्ध्यवासिनी). Candanaka talks of कर्णाटकलहप्रयोग (VI. 20-21) and refers to several southern peoples (द्राविणात्या अव्यक्तभाषिणः । ... कर्णाट...द्रमिड...चोल.... VI.20.8-9); words like वरण्डलम्बुक, खुप्पनोड्ड etc. point out to the same thing.

The author of the *Kāvyādarśa* likewise was a southerner. He mentions the कलिङ्ग, चोल, and कावेरी (...कलिङ्गवनसंभूता...॥ चोलाः कालगुरुश्यामकावेरीतीरभूमयः । III.165-166). The verse भासिक्यमाप्या परितश्चतुर्वर्णविभूषिता । अस्ति काचित् पुरी यस्यामश्वर्णङ्गिणा नृपाः । (III.114) is generally supposed to refer to the city, काञ्ची[2] and the पल्लव kings (according to some commentators, the kings referred to are either पुण्ड्रक or शूद्रक). Similarly the verse इति साक्षाल्लते देवे राज्ञो सप्ततयर्मणः (II.279) is usually taken to refer to नरसिंहवर्मन् or रणसिंहवर्मन् (with the reading राजवर्मणः) who ruled about the middle of the 7th century A.D.)[3]

We have not here taken into account the similarities between the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and the *Daśakumāracarita*, because the text of the *Daśakumāracarita* is very corrupt and shows clear signs of being revised and enlarged by more than one hand. Neither is it necessary for our purpose, for no one challenges that the *Kāvyādarśa* is the work of Daṇḍin and our thesis is that the author of the *Kāvyādarśa* was the real author of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

If then, Daṇḍin wrote the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, how did this work come to be known as a शूद्रकप्रबन्ध, because that is how Vāmana definitely describes it

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1. [...भगवति सह्यनासिनि प्रसीद प्रसीद ।] X. 37. 6

2. Mr. KANE (Introduction to *Sāhityadarpaṇa* XXXVII) is not quite certain about this. He says that the town may be वर्धा near Cochin.

3. Mr. KANE does not accept this reference to the Pallava king either.

in his *Kāvyālaṁkārasūtravṛtti*? This should not be a difficult query to answer. Court-poets are known to have passed off their works as the productions of their patron-kings. Dhāvaka-Bhāsa is traditionally known to be the real author of the three dramas, *Priyadarśikā*, *Ratnāvalī* and the *Nāgānanda* which are said to have been written by King Harṣa. Daṇḍin must have had his patron-king in his mind, when he deliberately ascribed his work to Śūdraka and also camouflaged the issue by giving a fanciful description of that Śūdraka in the Prologue.

Who then was Daṇḍin's patron-king? Was he called Śūdraka; if not, why did Daṇḍin hit upon the name Śūdraka to refer to his patron? In this connection the *Avantisundarīkathā* and the *Avantisundarīkathāsāra* published in 1924,[1] by Mr. R. KAVI, give us very valuable information. It appears that Daṇḍin's father was Viradatta, a grandson of Bhāravi and that the Pallava King Narasiṁhavarman (625-645 A.D.) was his patron. Again, several Gaṅga and Pallava kings bore the title of Vikrānta-Śūdraka. Mr. KAVI also points out[2] 'that the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and *Padmaprābhṛtaka* (a Bhāṇa work ascribed to Śūdraka) seem to relate the real incidents of king Śūdraka's life. Saṅgbilaka, a Buddhist monk in the *Padmaprābhṛtaka* was one of the villains set by Śvāti to murder Śūdraka. Cārudatta seems to be Bandhudatta, his intimate friend, and Śūdraka himself, Āryaka...'. About Śūdraka, there is the verse

शूद्रकेणासकृन्निजा स्वच्छमा खड्गचारया ।
जगद्भूयोऽप्यकारुण्यं वाचा स्वचरितार्थया ॥

which suggests that Śūdraka had described his own deeds in his works. Daṇḍin seems to have taken the story of Śūdraka for his plot in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and passed it off as Śūdraka's work, thereby acknowledging his debt to King Śūdraka and at the same time paying a compliment to his patron who also bore the title of Vikrānta-Śūdraka. The name Śūdraka appears to have been one to conjure with, in the times of Bāṇa and Daṇḍin. Bāṇa describes Śūdraka as having ruled over Vidiśā and refers to a king Śūdraka in his *Harṣacarita* as well. The *Daśakumāracarita* likewise describes the adventures of Śūdraka in various lives. So Daṇḍin's choice of the name Śūdraka as the author of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is not surprising. The scenes of violence on the stage, the description of the condemned criminal, elaborate stage-directions, the state of society depicted etc. in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* are all to be found in a drama like the *Nāgānanda* belonging to the times of Harṣavardhana. It is also well-known that about 650 A.D. Buddhism was in a flourishing condition in the Pallava kingdom which 'contained more than a hundred Buddhist monasteries occupied by over ten thousand monks of the

1. Dakshinabharati Series No. 3. The two works are fragmentary, but the historical information given there seems to be quite trustworthy. Mr. KAVI is of opinion that the present *Daśakumāracarita* contains only the summary of the main plot of the *Avantisundarikathā* which was the production of Daṇḍin.

2. Pp. 7-8, Introduction.

Sthavira school.'[1] The references in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* to King Rudra and Vāsudeva do not militate against this view. Śakāra says [किं स शक्को वालिपुत्रो...रुद्दो राजा द्दोणपुत्रो... (VIII.24). The context requires King Rudra to be a sufficiently well-known personage.[2] King Rudra may be Rudradāman, the Great Satrap of Ujjain (about 125 A.D.) or preferably the Vākāṭaka Rudrasena II with whom Emperor Candragupta II had entered into a matrimonial alliance (about 400 A.D.). Similarly, Śakāra now and then calls himself a Vāsudeva.[3] Perhaps the reference here is to King Vāsudeva, the last great king of Kaniṣka's line (about 175 A.D.). At any rate these references clearly dispose of theories which assign to the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, a date earlier than the third century A.D. Lastly, the expression आदिराजवधोद्विग्न in the *Kāvyādarśa* (I.5) in all probability is a covert allusion to Janendra Yaśodharman of Mandasor, the conqueror of Mihirakula (about 550 A.D.), by whom Daṇḍin's family had been patronised, as could be gathered from the fragmentary account in the *Avantisundarīkathā*. The *Mṛcchakaṭika*, therefore, appears to be a work belonging to about the seventh century A.D., with a strong presumption in favour of Daṇḍin being its author. If this view is accepted, then the three well-known compositions of Daṇḍin referred to by Rājaśekhara,[4] would be (1) The *Kāvyādarśa*, (2) The *Avantisundarīkathā* (or *Daśakumāracarita*) and (3) The *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

1. *Ancient and Hindu India* by V. A. Smith, p. 209.

2. In a similar context, even now a resident of Maharashtra is heard to say :—"Who are you? Whom do you consider yourself to be, Śivāji or Bājirao?"

3. [अहं वरपुरुषमनुष्यो वासुदेवः कामयितव्यः] I. 30; 17.18,
[नाथ भाव मां प्रवरपुरुषं मनुष्यं वासुदेवकम्] VIII. 17. 23.
[अहं वरपुरुषमनुष्यो वासुदेवो राष्ट्रियस्यालो...] IX. 5. 15.

4. त्रयोऽग्नयस्त्रयो वेदास्त्रयो देवास्त्रयो गुणाः।
त्रयो दण्डिप्रबन्धाश्च त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुताः॥

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ADVAITA

By

P. NAGARAJA RAO

I

The most reputed philosophical system of India is the Monistic school of Vedānta popularised by Śaṅkara. It is called the Advaita system. Śaṅkara gave definitive shape to it. Hence his contribution is most significant and substantial. He has carved out a definite metaphysical system irrefutable in its logic and artistic in its structure. In accordance with tradition he relied for the doctrine of his system on the Triple Texts (The Gītā, Vedānta Sūtras and the Upaniṣads). He points out that the central purport of the Triple Texts is the identity of the individual soul with Brahman.

The greatest work of Śaṅkara is the celebrated Commentary on the Vedānta Sūtras. The Commentary is at once a philosophical classic and a piece of great literature. His commentaries on the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and Chāndogya Upaniṣads discuss in detail many an important doctrine of Advaita.

The doctrines enunciated by Śaṅkara in his Commentary have been subsequently commented upon by post-Śaṅkara thinkers. Some of his doctrines have been defended and others amplified. The Hindu habit of writing commentaries and sub-commentaries on cryptic texts has contributed a great deal to the development of philosophic thought. "No one who reads the lengthy discussion of the nature and function of psychosis will continue to believe that there is no scope for originality or progress in their commentaries and sub-commentaries."[1] Post-Śaṅkara dialecticians with an unswerving loyalty to their master have proved to the hilt the doctrines of Adavita through the method of dialectics. One who studies the dialectic on 'difference' in post-Śaṅkara thought will be convinced that Advaita is not facile intuition based on scriptural declaration and mystical experience, but a cogent intellectual system.

Before Śrī Śaṅkara there were two great Advaita teachers Maṇḍana and Gauḍapāda. Gauḍapāda is, perhaps, the progenitor of Advaita thought. The Advaita system is found in some form in Gauḍapāda's Commentary on the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad. Śaṅkara has commented on Gauḍapāda's work. Maṇḍana has worked out a system of Advaita in his Brahma Siddhi. He is considered by some scholars to be an elder contemporary of Śaṅkara. He has contributed a great deal to Advaita dialectics. Many a commentator on Śaṅkara has vastly drawn on Maṇḍana.

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1. *Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha*, Introduction by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, pp. 5, 6. In the matter and the presentation of this article I am largely indebted to the lectures and writings of Mr. Sastri.

The advent of Śaṅkara is a landmark in the history of Indian philosophic thought. He raised the stature of Indian philosophic thought to great heights. Of all the systems of Indian philosophy his is the most logical. Once we grant the postulates of the system there is nothing to grumble at or resent in the detailed expositions of the doctrines of the system.

II

Śaṅkara throughout his exposition sought to refute two positions (the Sāṅkhya and the Mīmāṁsā). He wanted to point out—and has fairly succeeded in doing so—that the Upaniṣads do not countenance the view held by Sāṅkyans, that the Upaniṣads establish a dualism of spirits on one side and matter on the other.

The Mīmāṁsakās are of opinion that the essential teaching of the Veda is contained in the Brāhmaṇas and not in the Upaniṣads. They upheld the doctrine that salvation through ceremonial acts is the central purport of the Vedas. They further pointed out that the references to the self in the Upaniṣads should be looked upon as speaking of the self, who is the agent in respect of the performance of rites and ceremonies. Action i.e., Karma and not Brahman is the central doctrine of the Mīmāṁsakās. Śaṅkara has criticised in extenso the Mīmāṁsā position. He points out that the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads speak of two distinct entities. The Upaniṣads are the most important portion of the Veda. The purport of the Upaniṣads is not action but Brahman; they teach us the method of realising the Brahman as the self. The Brāhmaṇas and the Mantras are secondary in their significance. They are not organically and directly connected with the theme of the Upaniṣads. The Pūrva Mīmāṁsā has nothing to do with Uttara Mīmāṁsā. Ceremonial purity and ethical excellence may at best help the spiritual aspirant. They are not substitutes for Brahman. Nor can Brahman be realised by their help. They purify the mind. Brahman-realisation can only be achieved by Jñāna (i.e. knowledge) and not by action.

Further, Śaṅkara points out that his Brahman is not the void of the Buddhists. The Brahman of Śaṅkara is the positive existent without which there would be no universe. It is the substrate underlying the whole world of phenomena. Spiritual realisation negates the phenomenal through the affirmation of the real. The Advaitin denies only names and forms but not that which appears under their guise. The reality of the real is experienced. The Advaitin negates only distinction (*bheda*), the Buddhist negates it as well as the distincts.[1] There is nothing permanent and stable underlying the flux of the universe for Buddha. Such a position is refuted by Śaṅkara in extenso in the second chapter of his commentary on the Vedānta Sūtras. The central reality, Brahman, is posited by scripture and realised by the self.

It may be of some interest here to note that some of our modern interpreters of Vedānta have tried to equate Advaita and Buddhism. They point

1. *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, HIRIYANNA, pp. 336-337.

out that Buddha could by no possible means have preached an arid and barren nihilism to the folk of his day. It is psychologically impossible to believe that Buddha should have enjoyed the popularity he did if he had merely preached nihilism. Professor RADHAKRISHNAN argues that Buddha did affirm a central reality and negated only the phenomenal self. Further, he asserts that the silence of Buddha is significant of the truth, that final truths cannot be expressed. The Professor concludes that it is to mistake the stature of Buddha to treat him as a nihilist.

However interesting such an exposition might be we do not find sanction for it in Advaita literature. Every Advaita thinker has clearly pointed out that there is vital difference between Advaita and Buddhism. The modern interpreters of Buddhism do not find any support in the view held by the opponents of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Madhva. Rāmānuja and Madhva have styled Śaṅkara a *prachanna Bauddha*, a Bauddha incognito. But they do not hold the view that Buddha did affirm a central reality. Vedāntins of all shades of thought are one in affirming the nihilism of Buddha.

III.

Brahman is the central reality of Advaita. It is the supreme spirit, consciousness and intelligence. Revealed scripture is the final authority for the existence of Brahman. Brahman is not an object of knowledge. It is knowledge itself. There is nothing beside it. It cannot be described in the terms of any other than itself. It is not a relatum in the relational process of knowledge. It cannot be the content of any cognition without losing its selfhood. It is self-manifest and self-luminous. The instruments of knowledge (*pramāṇas*) can only tell us negatively what Brahman is. There is no knowing Brahman ; there is only being Brahman. It can only be known in a non-relational form. Brahman-intuition is not a cognition in the form of a subject and object relation. It is an experience, gifted to the disciplined souls who have purified their minds by the performance of scripture-ordained duties and concentrated on scripture-thought reality. Brahman is one without a second. Outside Brahman there is nothing. Inference and perception substantiate the truth established by scripture.

The establishment of Brahman on the authority of the scripture appears unphilosophical at first sight.[1] But in reality it is not so. Supreme authority is not claimed for all scriptures as such. Purportful scripture alone is said to be authoritative and not the rest. Scripture is a cogent array of words. It has to be interpreted by an intelligent agent. There are certain approved determinative marks of purport adopted by the Vedāntins for the interpretation of scripture. They are

1. The harmony of the initial and concluding passages ;
2. Repetition ;
3. Novelty ;
4. Fruitfulness ;

1. *Bhāmati*, Introduction by S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI, pp. 13-15.

5. Glorification by eulogistic passages and condemnation by deprecatory passages ;
6. Intelligibility in the light of reasoning.

The application of reason is apparently only one of the marks of purport. In reality reason plays a much more important part than is formally avowed. In fact reason steps in at every stage. When we have to settle the introductory and concluding passage, reason has to help us in the choice. It is reason that helps us to distinguish the intermediary and the secondary passages and, it is again reason that has to point out which repetition is purportful and which is not. The really novel has to be ascertained by reason. "So the authoritarianism of Advaita is only unphilosophical on the face of it involving as it does the abundant exercise of reason. . . . . In the end reason itself has to judge when it conflicts with scripture and when it does not".

IV.

The Brahman of Advaita is not the creator of the universe in the sense that a potter creates a pot. Śaṅkara does not uphold the creationist theory. The non-existent can never be created out of anything. Śaṅkara attacks the intelligibility of the category, causation. If the effect were really non-existent prior to its creation as the Nyāya school holds, no agency whatever could bring it about, any more than a thousand craftsmen could turn blue into yellow or extract oil from sand. The Sāṅkhyan after criticising the Nyāya position points out that the effect is found in a potential form in the cause. The effect is merely a transformation of the cause. The effect is not non-existent prior to the cause. It is not brought into existence *de novo*. We always seek the appropriate cause for the appropriate effect. One who wants curds seeks milk and not water. It is unintelligible to say that the effect is non-existent prior to its creation. The cause which is an existent cannot have any kind of intelligible relation with a non-existent effect. The cause-effect phenomenon is essentially a relation. Relation obtains only between two existents and not between an existent and a non-existent. If relation is denied between cause and effect the category itself becomes unintelligible.

Śaṅkara refutes the theory of the Sāṅkhyans i.e., transformation. The Sāṅkhyan explanation that the effect is merely a transformation of the cause fares no better at the hands of Śaṅkara. Granted that causation is manifestation, is this existent or not? If this is already existent the causal operation is superfluous. If it is not existent then there will have to be a cause of the manifestation and that in its turn will need another cause. Thus we shall have an endless series of causes. Thus it is clear that the conception of cause is fundamentally unintelligible. Becoming has to be explained. In the process of explanation either it leaves the problem untouched or explains it away altogether. The problem is how A (the cause) becomes B (the effect). If they are identical there is no becoming. If cause and effect are really different we cannot establish any relation between them. It is open to us to say that it is an identity-in-difference relation. The cause A and the effect

B are partially identical and partially different. This fares no better. In so far as the identity element is concerned there is no becoming; in so far as they are different there is no relation possible between them. So the Advaitin concludes that cause and effect are identical in their essence. They appear as cause and effect. Cause and effect are illusory manifestations of Brahman. Brahman is neither the cause of the world nor is it transformed into the world. It is in no way connected with the world of plurality. It never becomes anything. It is the perfect being.[1]

V.

The negative description of Brahman attempted by the Advaitin is not without its logic. The whole of Advaita dialectics rests on two general postulates: 1. the absolutely real is never sublated; and 2. the absolutely unreal is never cognised. The example of the absolutely real is Brahman, and examples of the absolutely unreal are the barren woman's son and the horns of a hare. In between these two categories the whole world of plurality is caught. The world of plurality which we perceive, manipulate and live in is neither real nor unreal. In deep sleep we experience at least a temporary sublation of the plural universe. As it is sublated, the universe is not real. It is not unreal, because it is cognised; nor is it real and unreal because such a definition violates the law of contradiction. It is this indeterminable nature of the universe as real or unreal that is connoted by the term *Mâyâ*. The Advaitin points out that all the categories of finite relational knowledge are applicable only to the universe which is indeterminable. Brahman cannot be adequately known in its true self with the help of the finite categories. The application of the finite categories is restricted to the world of plurality. The absolutely real Brahman loses its selfhood when it becomes an object of rational knowledge. So no predication in respect of Brahman is intelligible because there is nothing real besides itself. The Upaniṣadic descriptions of Brahman in terms of knowledge, bliss and infinitude should not be interpreted as predicates. Brahman is not one who has infinite knowledge, infinite bliss, but *is knowledge and bliss itself*. The predicates attributed to Brahman in the Upaniṣads should be interpreted in the sense of identity. With reference to Brahman the import of propositions is identity and not predication. All the attributes of which the scriptures speak with reference to Brahman ought to be carefully scanned. Some of them are qualifications *per accidens*. It is the weakness of finite cognition to compare the infinite and refer to it in terms of the finite. It is meaningless to refer to Brahman as the good or the truthful. It is the final truth and it is absurd to refer to the final truth as truthful. It is the highest utility and the highest good. Predications have no meaning with reference to Brahman because it is perfect. There can be no purpose or progress for the perfect. Progress and perfection are in Brahman and not out of it. Brahman does not admit of substrate-attribute relation. It does not admit of the relation between the

1. *Sâṅkhyakârikâ* edited by S. S. SUBYANARAYANA SASTRI, pp. 28-32 (2nd edition).

part and the whole. It is the end as well as the means. So it is spoken of as the impartite one. It is these logical difficulties that prevented Śaṅkara from attributing creation and other activities to Brahman.

VI.

The entire Universe of plurality on Advaita hypotheses is neither created by Brahman nor is the transformation of Brahman. It is an illusory manifestation of Brahman. The central problem of Advaita is "how does this illusory manifestation take place and why does it take place?" The straight answer to this question is the most inexplicable knotty expression Māyā (i.e., Nescience). It is this nescience that is responsible for the plurality we perceive. It has two functions. It obscures the substrate i.e. Brahman and projects in its place the world of plurality. "Suppression precedes substitution". Thus plurality is due to the projecting and the obscuring effects of nescience. This nescience is indeterminable. It is not definable in terms of anything. It is the material cause of the world of plurality. The jurisdiction of nescience is so complete that it only leaves Brahman out. Finite cognition and the categories of such cognition, the instruments of human knowledge, import of scriptures, etc. are all products of nescience. Nescience is represented as a positive beginningless entity. Nescience itself is illusory and it is sublated.

The Advaitin's concept of nescience has been submitted to a great deal of criticism.[1] The law of excluded middle is the tool with which the Advaitin is attacked. The world is spoken of by the Advaitin as illusory. Is that illusion illusory? If the illusoriness of the universe is itself an illusion then the world becomes real because of the cancellation of the two negations. If the illusoriness of the universe is real there is a contradiction for the Advaita doctrine that there is only one reality. The resourceful Advaitin finds his way out of the dilemma. He does say that the illusoriness of the universe is illusory. He urges the possibility that a qualification can apply not only to something other, viz., the subject, but also to itself. Illusoriness is only a predicate of illusion just as reality is said to be real. It would be unintelligible to say that a predicate cannot qualify itself. To those of the dualist persuasion this might seem a paradox.

Our very knowledge is a paradox for the following reasons.[2] We cannot have knowledge of the unknown since there can be no activity in respect of what is unknown nor can knowledge be of the known, because we never try to know the known. If it be contended that it is of the partly known, then does the cognitive activity apply to the known part or the unknown? In either case we have the same difficulty. Because of this paradox we do not conclude that knowledge is perfect. We understand that at the root of finite cognition and knowledge there is the core of unintelligibility. We conclude that relational knowledge of the finite is not perfect and it is only an appearance

1. *Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha*, Introduction, pp. 48-51.

2. Cf. *Advaita and the Concept of Progress*, S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI, pp. 14-15.

of the perfect knowledge that is Brahman. Because of this central paradox in all finite activity and the irreducible unintelligibility thereof, the Advaitin does not commit himself to any definite description about the world of plurality. He does not recklessly repudiate. He is a sceptic and not a dogmatist. By the very use of the categories of logic he points out the rift in the lute. The great lesson of Advaita logic is that it exposes the clay-footed nature of logic. The Advaitin is not out to demonstrate this or that. He points out that every other position held by the opponent is untenable. If the Advaitin occasionally attempts a definition to establish the nature of the function of nescience it is only an act of conformity to the intellectual climate of the age.[1]

Another usual objection raised against nescience is its practical efficiency. Nescience as described by the Advaitin is indeterminable. How can the indeterminable be practically efficient? The Advaitin holds that practical efficiency belongs only to the indeterminable and finite world. Practical efficiency is not attributed to Brahman. The absolutely real is perfect, partless, and free from change. Hence there can be no activity or efficiency in respect of it. As the world of plurality is short of this reality, it has practical efficiency.

How can the cognition generated by the nescience-tainted *pramāṇas* lead us to Brahman-intuition? To this the Advaitin replies that error is oftentimes the gateway to truth. The *pramāṇa* that makes known an object need not be as real as the object. Dream experiences produce practical physiological effects on the dreamer. The phenomenal *pramāṇa* can point to the absolutely real. In scientific thought we find erroneous hypotheses lead us to valid theories. So the illusory nature of the *Pramāṇa* is no obstacle for us to know the truth. Just as the bamboo in the forest which sets fire to the whole forest burns itself along with the forest, so does the illusory final knowledge destroy other illusions and itself. The image of a person reflected in a mirror is not real but still it serves as the means of showing to us the defects in our face. Error and delusion have their own utility. The world of plurality is not entirely real or unreal. Hence it is described as Anirvacanīya.

The two realms set up by Advaita namely the phenomenal and the noumenal must somehow be shown to be continuous. Without such a synoptic view it would be unintelligible to maintain that the world is an illusory manifestation of Brahman. "From the empirical to the real, from the appearance to the absolute a passage is either possible or is not. If not, the absolutist philosophy of Śaṅkara is an irrelevant nightmare."[2] The appearance of this world of plurality is the appearance of the real. There is a continuity between the phenomenal and the noumenal. The relative reality of the phenomenal world is derived from the absolutely real and is reducible ultimately to the absolute. The ground and consequent relation cannot be urged into service to explain the relation between the absolute and the appearance.

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1. *Advaitavidyāmukura*, S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI, *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, X, p. 286.

2. *An Advaitin's Plea for Continuity*, S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI, *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. X, No. 1.

VII.

An extreme wing of Advaita holds the view that there is only one nescience and that nescience reflects Brahman and as soon as that reflected soul attains release there is the destruction of the nescience. On this view there exists only one Jīva (soul). The presence of other Jīvas bound as well as released is compared to the dreams of the single Jīva. Such a radical solipsistic view is not acceptable to the majority of Advaitins. Besides, scripture declares that there are released as well as bound souls. So a plurality of nescience is posited. It is the difference between the various nescience that accounts for the variety of finite individuals. Śaṅkara seems to approve the positing of a plurality of nescience.

The school that holds that there is only one Jīva is of opinion that Brahman is the locus as well as the content of nescience. Nescience cannot be located in the inert or have the inert for content. This school goes by the name 'Ekajīvavāda'.

But the majority of Advaitins posit a plurality of nescience. The content of nescience is Brahman and its locus is Jīva. It may be objected that Jīva cannot come into existence without the functioning of nescience and nescience cannot be located in its own product, Jīva. There is thus the charge of reciprocal dependence urged against the Advaitin. The Advaitin finds a way out of this fix by positing the beginningless nature of the interaction of nescience and Jīvahood (soulhood). The Advaitin says that there was no time when there was no Jīva or nescience. If it still be urged that such a relation of dependence between nescience and Jīva is unintelligible the resolute Advaitin admits the charge. It is in the very nature of nescience to be ultimately unintelligible. Why expect intelligibility in the case of nescience which is indeterminable?

Though nescience is located in the Jīva it does not belong to Jīva. Its content is Īśvara. The content is also the controller. Ignorance may be located in me, but I am not the controller of my ignorance, though there is the empirical usage to the effect that the ignorance is mine. Īśvara is the controller, i.e., the arch-juggler (*māyin*) of nescience. He creates the whole universe with nescience as the material cause. The soul does not create the universe.

According to some Advaitins Brahman is reflected in Māyā (primal nescience) as Īśvara while the Jīvas are reflections of Brahman in Avidyā (secondary nescience). Such a view makes Īśvara have nothing in common with the Jīvas.

VIII.

There is another view that establishes an organic relation between the Jīvas and Īśvara. The possibility of nescience presupposes two conditions. It has for its content Īśvara and its locus is Jīva. When the individual soul's nescience is removed he becomes one with Īśvara and does not become Brahman. When all the souls transcend their nescience there is the realisation of

Brahman. Iśvara automatically ceases to exist. On this view Iśvara is reflected in the various nescience. Jīvas are the reflections of Iśvara. If it be contended, on the ground that nescience has no quality or visible form, that reflection for it is impossible, the Advaitin explains the fact with the help of an analogy. Just as ether which is infinite and all-pervasive is confined in objects like pot, so is the Jīva a delimited form of Brahman. This is called the Avaccheda view.

IX.

The central import of Advaita is the identity of the individual soul with Brahman. The category of difference is refuted elaborately. The great Advatin Maṇḍana with an unsurpassed logical acumen has set out the dialectic of difference. He has established that identity is the only intelligible concept.

The central *pramāṇa* for the Advaitin to establish identity is scripture. He points out that scripture declares the identity in unequivocal terms. Scripture no doubt has to be interpreted according to the determinative marks of purport. The famous Chāndogya śruti points out and identifies the reality of Brahman with that of the self (that thou art Oh Svetaketu). This teaching is repeated nine times to show that it is important and that it is the primary purport. This identity with Brahman is not known through ordinary experience as the heat of the fire or the price of bread. It is novel and made known by scripture; so the scriptural declaration is not a mere restatement. Hence it is purportful and novel. It is fruitful also because the knowledge of identity helps us to pass beyond the travail of transmigration. The knowledge of this identity is praised and its opposite deprecated and this stands to reason. From this it follows that the central purport of scripture when interpreted according to determinative marks of purport is identity.

In the Upaniṣads there are several other passages pointing out difference as the central relation between Brahman and the individual. These śrutis have difference as their purport. The Advaitin explains these passages as elaborating the phenomenal sense with a view to refute it later. Their purport is not ultimately real. The bheda śrutis (scripture which has difference for its purport) are mere elaborations to be refuted by the ultimately real import of scriptures that declare identity as their purport.

Perception seems to go against Advaita. Perception points out a world of plurality with distinct objects differing from one another. How can scripture go against the conclusions of the basic instrument of knowledge, perception?

The Advaitin meets the argument in two ways. No doubt perception is our first instrument of knowledge. From this, it by no means follows that perception is unsublatable. It is no doubt the first instrument of knowledge but not basic. There are cases where the cognition derived through a subsequent *pramāṇa* arises only by sublating the cognition derived from the prior *pramāṇa*. Scriptural knowledge arises by sublating the cognition de-

rived through perception. It is not dependent on perception. It is an independent *pramāṇa*.

The Advaitin grants only relative reality to the cognitions derived through perception. Anything short of Brahman is relatively real.

Maṇḍana points out that perception does not cognise difference. The argument is as follows: Difference is a relation. It needs two relata for its existence. The principal argument is this. (1) Is difference the nature of the things, (2) or is it an attribute of them? If it were the nature of things there could be no things to be different. If any one were to point out to a single thing that would break up into a number of things, because difference is of its nature. Thus the process goes on endlessly and it would not even rest with the primal atom. Hence there would be no single thing. So difference cannot be the nature of things.

Nor can difference be the attribute of the relata. If difference is the attribute of things is the attribute different from its substrate, or is it of its very nature? If the attribute is different from the substrate we have three units: (i) the substrate, (ii) the difference which is its attribute, and (iii) the difference of the attribute from the substrate. When we start enquiring into the relation of this difference to the substrate on one hand and the attribute on the other we are condemned to an infinite regress. Thus the category of difference turns out ultimately to be unintelligible. At best it can give us appearance and not truth. To use the words of Bradley it is "a makeshift, a device, a mere practical compromise, most necessary but in the end most indefensible."

X.

The Advaitin does not rest satisfied with the refutation of the category of difference. Those who reject difference take to the doctrine of identity-in-difference. The Advaitin is not fascinated by the concrete universal. The objective idealism of Bosanquet fares no better at the hands of the Advaitin. The Advaitin no doubt admits that identity and difference are juxtaposed in experience. The mere fact of their presence in experience does not warrant their ultimate reality. The categories accepted in experience are by no means very critical. To say that identity and difference exist together does not make both of them real. The great Advaitin Maṇḍana directs his attack against the identity-cum-difference school. The nerve of the argument is as follows: "A crown and a bracelet are different and yet non-different, different as products but non-different in respect of their material cause that is gold. But if they are really non-different he who wants a crown must be satisfied with a bracelet. If we maintain that there is difference between crown and bracelet then there must be difference between bracelet and gold also since crown and gold are non-different. Because of the difference between the crown and the bracelet he who wants the first does not want the second; why should it not be that he wants it too because of their non-differ-

ence?"[1] Such in bare outline is the criticism of the view of difference-cum-non-difference; (Bheda-abheda). Identity in difference turns out only to be a device for self-deception through insufficient analysis.

The path to reach the absolute can be represented in the form of a dialectical argument; "*abhyāropāpavādābhyām niṣprapañcam prapañcyate.*" That is, it is a dialectic process whereby the distinctionlessness of knowledge through the agency of nescience passes through determinations which in turn, are withdrawn. There is first the superimposition of plurality on Brahman and then the withdrawal thereof. Superimposition and sublation are the two acts that lead the Advatin to Mokṣa or self-realisation. The non-dualist cannot afford to despise the world and ignore it. "To ignore the world is not identical with being ignorant of it." There is no short-cut to realisation excepting through the superimposition and the withdrawal thereof. The spirit must go forth and come with enriched experience. It must know the perils and pass through the vale of tears. The Advaitin's progress to Mokṣa is through experience of plurality and then sublation.[2]

XI.

The spiritual aspirant after release has necessarily to undergo the moral training imposed by scriptures. Some Advaitins are of opinion that ethical excellence and ceremonial purity are not directly contributory to spiritual realisation. Morality and ritual help the soul to acquire calmness necessary for Vedāntic study. Śaṅkara in his commentary requires the spiritual aspirant to acquire the eligibility for Vedāntic enquiry. There are certain specified necessary preliminaries. They are the discrimination of the fleeting from the permanent, non-attachment to results here and hereafter, the qualities of calmness, equanimity, contentment, etc. and the desire for release. Ethical excellence is necessary for the Advaitin as an inevitable step in his path to perfection. Final realisation is through the knowledge of the identity of Brahman and the soul. After acquiring the necessary moral excellence the spiritual aspirant takes to the uninterrupted meditation and contemplation of the only scripture-taught-real, the one without a second. Such a contemplation leads to the final intuition. The final intuition results according to one school of Advaita directly from the non-dual texts and according to another is perceived by the internal organ *manas*. It is a non-relational type of knowledge. It is a sort of a mental perception. It is an immediate experience and an indeterminate cognition. It is comparable to the cognition of the child in the pre-relational stage. Two elements are common between the child's pre-relational cognition and Brahman-intuition. They are immediacy and the non-attributive nature of the cognition. The child's cognition returns to the relational level as it grows but Brahman-intuition never returns to the relational level.

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1. *Bhāmatī*, Introduction, pp. 19-21.
2. *Advaita and the Concept of Progress*, pp. 18-19.

The final intuition has the capacity to destroy itself as well as nescience. Just as when the powder of the clearing-nut is mixed up with muddy water to precipitate the mud, that powder itself does not require any other precipitate, so does Brahman-intuition destroy itself as well as nescience.

The final realisation, i.e., *Brahma-sākṣātkāra* is not anything novel or a new creation. It is the realisation of the potential nature of the spirit. It is just like the forgoten golden ornament round one's own neck. The realisation of the Advaitin is not merely intended for a sect or a group. It is not the close privilege of the intellectual. If Śaṅkara denied to the Śūdra the eligibility of the study of Vedānta he did it not to exclude him from Brahman-realisation. He allowed and approved of other easier means for the Śūdra to realise Brahman. The path to spiritual realisation is not one mechanical route for all. All the buds do not give rise to the same flower. The different spiritual aspirants follow different techniques. Advaita posits realisation as possible for all. Release, being the manifestation of one's own nature and nothing adventitious, cannot be denied or withheld from anyone. It is the natural birthright of every soul. "Universal salvation is not only a possibility but a logical necessity for Advaita". Some souls might attain release soon and others might take a longer time. As long as there is going to be a single unreleased soul there is bound to be the existence of nescience. The presence of nescience is enough preventive of self-realisation. As soon as each soul realises the self it becomes one with Iśvara and not Brahman. Brahman-realisation is achieved only when all the souls realise their true nature. Realisation of Brahman is a social activity. It is not the purely personal concern of each individual. The Advaita doctrine of universal salvation answers the persistent claims of individuality and social duty put forward by the modern sociologist. The final release of an individual is bound up with the release of others. Hence the necessity to help the other souls to attain release.

XII.

Another interesting concept of Advaita is Jīvan-mukti. The individual soul obtains release though he is embodied. The physical body has no effect on the soul. The main reason for formulating *Jīvan-mukti* is the need for reliable teachers who can teach Advaita experience from self-knowledge. Some are of opinion that the projective energy of nescience is separated from the obscuring energy in the released soul. Some others refer to Jīvan-mukti as release in a figurative sense.

Realisation is not mere absence of misery. It has a positive element also in it, i.e., happiness. It is *sat* (the real), *cit* (consciousness) and *ānanda* (bliss). The self in Advaita is not sublated by any other experience because sublation itself is an experience. Non-contradiction and coherence are two tests by which we judge reality. The two are the negative and positive aspects of the one and the same principle. It is self-manifest. Descartes was right in so far as he pointed out that thinking implies a thinker (cogito ergo sum). Śaṅkara's description of the self is a step in advance of

Descartes. Descartes identifies self with one aspect of experience namely the experiencer. Śaṅkara indentifies the self with experience in all its aspects.

The path to Brahman-realisation is not purely intellectual. Truth being a perfect orb we are bound to encompass it sooner or later. Intellectual methods might help us to reach Brahman sooner, but it does not follow from this that the melting of the heart in devotion or the dedication of self to service is any less important a method to reach Brahman. No spiritual pontiff can afford to declare a monopoly for Brahman-realisation. Prescribed modes and paths are all right in their own place. They are merely guides and should not dominate us. The great Advaita thinker Madhusūdana has propounded that through Bhakti Advaita realisation can be had. It is intellectual bias that has led to us speak in disparaging terms about emotion. The central thesis of Prof. MACMURRAY that emotion has a rationality of its own is not without its use to Advaita. There is merely an ancient and irrational prejudice against emotion and will. "The melting of the heart in love is not less noble than the expansion of it in wisdom and the transcendence of the gulf between the agent and his action is not less noteworthy than the transcendence between seer and seen in knowledge. The man who trades in concepts is not intrinsically superior to him who trades in sounds and colours. The beatific vision may come through artistic as through intellectual channels and the truly moral man, who has lost all thought of himself in the narrow sense is not necessarily farther from realisation than the artist or the philosopher. The utmost that an intellectual can claim is that in some cases he is a quicker guide." The significant contribution of post-Śaṅkara thinkers to Advaita is that the philosophy of non-dualism should look for an "integrity of synthesis rather than an intellectual dominance."

The released soul of Advaita would be an artist in the supreme sense of the term. His activity in life would be like the ideal creation of art. It would be spontaneous and unmotivated. It would be free from the calculus of profit and loss. There would be no purposive calculation or mechanical impulsion for his act. His activities are the fruit of the play instinct. It is *līlā*. He is not bound by the laws of safety. He needs no laws and is a law unto himself. There is nothing outside him, because he is the supreme spirit.

A NARRATIVE & CRITICAL HISTORY OF ADEN *

By

ABDULLA YAQUB KHAN

CHAPTER VI.

ANCIENT ADEN.

4. ADEN INHABITED BY ICHTHYOPHAGI.

Who first inhabited Aden is a very difficult problem for historians to solve; but we hazard a theory based upon some authentic works of the Greeks such as those of Arrian, Diodorus, and others.

At that period Aden might have been inhabitated by Ichthyophagi,[1] or fish-eaters. According to Arrian the shores of the Red Sea from the coast of Hejaz and beyond Aden, were occupied by these savages in the time of Cyprus the Great (B.C. 553); and according to Gibbon it could hardly be believed that cannibals were left in the reign of Justinian, (A.D. 527).[2] Diodorus describes these savages as hairy all over except the head and cloathed with the skins of fishes.[3]

These aboriginals were seen in A.D. 1838, one year before the capture of Aden by the British by Lieut. Wellsted who travelled around the coast of Arabia. He remarks :—"On the Arabian and Nubian coasts we found a race of fishermen which bear the general designation of Huteimi, and from the similarity of their habits, are, I have little doubt, a remnant of the Ichthyophagi described so minutely by Diodorus Seculus."[1] These fish-eaters must have been driven away, in the course of time, from the shores of Aden to the further extremity of the Arabian Gulf and the Red Sea, up to the littorals of Africa, in order to make room for the more civilised races inhabiting Aden.

CHAPTER VII.

ANCIENT ADEN.

5. THE ANCIENT HINDUS AND ADEN.

According to accounts given in the ancient books of the Hindus known as *Puráns*, a certain branch of the Hindus called the *Pingacsha*, or the *Yellow Hindus* migrated in group into Arabia, Africa, and the countries adjacent to

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* Continued from January 1939 issue.

1. Just prior to the Christian era, the natives of the western shores of the Red Sea and beyond the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, as far as Socotra were known to Roman writers as the *Ichthyophagi* or fish-eaters.

2. GIBBON, *Decline & Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. V, p. 210, f.n (Dents).

3. CRICHTON, *Arabia*, Vol. II, p. 82.

the Nile, and some of them remained for a considerable time on the coast of Yemen. Another famous tribe known as *Rhadamanthus* reigned in Arabia. But the most wonderful of all these Hindu sea-farers were the *Sanchadwipa*, or the dwellers in the caves made of shells, who occupied the whole of the western shores of the Red Sea. It is probable that many of these daring Hindu tribes also migrated to the eastern shores including Aden. The Hindu Temple at Aden dedicated to the goddess *Ambā-Bhawānī*, is considered to be an ancient monument. And is it surprising that these *Pingacsha*, *Rhadamanthi*, or the *Sanchadwipa*, may have had something to do with this sacred place of the Hindus in Aden which is of unsuspected antiquity?

Both the Hindus and the Arabs were renowned commercial nations from remote period of history and were the first to convey to the western world, the gold, ivory and perfumes of India, as well as the fragrant wood known as *alluwwa* in Arabia and *aguru* in Sanskrit. It is probable too that a part of the ancient Arabian idolatory may have been derived from the Hindus.[1]

CHAPTER VIII.

The Rattling of Weapons at the Gate of Aden.

The rattling of steel; the showers of poisoned arrows; the slinging of missiles and the cleaving of the battle-axes; the crushing maces; the thrusting swords; the cutting sabres and the cracking of firearms that Aden had witnessed in the course of its history will not fail to excite the curiosity of the reader. Sure enough, none can dispute the fact that wars and victories have, for the greater part, built up the fabric of world history. Our present day history would have been listless and dull, and different nations would have stagnated root and all, had not wars been waged and countries conquered by more progressive and virile races. It was the conquering ambition—that dominating factor in the building of a nation—which gave an impetus to the invention of weapons either for the protection or invasion of countries. Verily man has been created with a warring instinct—an instinct that pushed civilisation down to barbarism. And who has not realised this fact when in September 1938, the mere mention of WAR instilled terror into the hearts of many brave nations. War has been averted, yet war is inevitable. Civilisation must one day succumb at the altar of barbarism.

A vivid picture of the ancient theatres of war and the manner in which battles were fought at diverse periods of history will be better portrayed if the weapons used by the conquering nations from time to time against Aden, are described here. It is, however, not proposed to attempt within the limited space of this paper, a comprehensive thesis on Arab or foreign weapons used in the conquest of Aden. The following sketch, it is hoped, may help the reader to depict the battle-scenes of this historical port upto the year of its capture by the British, (A.D. 1839).

1. *Asiatick Researches*, Vols. I-IV.

I. MILITARY EDUCATION OF THE ARABS.

The modern world has at its disposal a variety of toys for educating the young in the profession of arms; but the Arab child long ago received his military education when quite young, not through the medium of innocent devices, but by actual demonstration. He was taught how to throw the *jerid*, (a kind of dagger), how to use the *lance*, how to draw the *sword*, and the *battle-axe*, and to practise a sort of *mounted* archery. The military institutions of Arabia were essentially chivalric. Youths of rank, as soon as they became qualified, were admitted to the circle of warriors and the enjoyment of all the privileges of that class. Like the knights of Europe they considered war as the only occupation in which they could engage without the loss of prestige.[1]

II. METHOD OF WAR.

The tribe was led into the field by the chief, and a war was often decided by single combat between two champions selected by both parties to avoid useless bloodshed. A due subordination to the chief of the tribe was maintained; but there existed a spirit of comradeship among the members which secured mutual support in battle. The banner of the tribe was the rallying point; but when a prodigious effort was to be made, a young and beautiful maiden on horseback took its place, so that by her presence she might incite the warriors to the performance of such acts of valour as the occasion should demand.

The warriors were mounted on horses or light camels, so the movements were made with rapidity, and the most vigilant circumspection was necessary on the part of the menaced tribe to avert the danger of surprise. In addition to the ordinary precautions, four scouts were sent out occasionally in different directions, who applied their ears to the ground to detect the approach of the enemy from afar. In these forays the capture of a mare was considered a great achievement, and, when horses and camels were surrendered in a battle, the lives of the owners were spared agreeably to Arab custom; but prisoners of war were generally striped of their clothes, put in irons, and otherwise harshly used, till an exorbitant price was paid for their ransom or even beheaded.[2] This was also the fate of a whole tribe, when it fell into the power of another and a stronger tribe.

The Arab is a good horseman, swift of foot, expert in handling his arms, and is reckoned a good marksman. Ludovico Varthema, the Venetian traveller of the 16th century bears a striking testimony to the proficiency of the Arabs in the use of the *bow*. He saw an Arab take one of his slaves and place a pomegranate on his head, and make him stand at a distance of twelve or fifteen paces from him, and at the second trial strike off the pomegranate with an *arrow* from a *bow*.[3] During the time of the Ayyubite sovereignty

1. CHESNEY, *Expedition to the Tigris & Euphrates*, Vol. 1, p. 693.
2. See page 103 below.
3. JONES & BADGER, *Varthema*, p. 19.

one Amar Alaudcin Kesh-Dughdi organised the forces of the Sultan of Yemen on the model of the Egyptian armies. He established wings on the right and left flanks. He made slave-guards mount by sound of the trumpet, forming among them a corps of *battle-axe men*.[1]

III. ARMS & ARMOUR.

The changes that have taken place in the weapons of offence and defence of the Arabs are not so marked as those which characterise the modern destructive armaments of the civilised world. The crude implements of the Dark Age are innocuous when matched with the mammoth guns of the present day. Where a single person was the victim of an *arrow* or a *sword*, hundreds are now wounded and killed by a shell on the modern battle-field. The Arabs have of course not yet reached this stage of destructiveness; but they are fairly on its track. The Arabian desert has already begun to experience the vibration of automobiles and the nomadic wilderness of Arabia resounds with the thunder of the "IRON HORSE."

ARRIAN and other ancient writers enumerated *scimitars, javelins, hatchets, knives, bows,* and *arrows*, as weapons employed by the ancient Arabs, called the Sabaens, as articles of trade. The Sabaens were also celebrated for the manufacture of armour inlaid with gold.[2] *Arrows*, a *jerid*, (a *lance*) and a *sling*, were the Arab's arms for distant warfare; while a *scimitar, a long lance with a light bamboo shaft, a hanjar*, (*a dagger*), and a *battle-axe*, were used at close quarters.[3]

Lance,[4] *sword*,[5] *spear*,[6] *mace*,[7] *arrow*,[8] *cross-bow bolts*,[9] *shield*,[10] *sling*,[11] and *coats of mail*,[12] were freely used in battles fought in Aden and its neighbourhood. At a certain period we find the mention of *breast-plates*,[13] *chain-armour tunic*,[14] *helmets*,[15] and *iron caps* and *coats of mail* which either covered the whole body to the knees like a long gown or reached only to the waist.[16]

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1. REDHOUSE, Vol. I, p. 314.
2. CHESNEY, Vol. I, p. 693.
3. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 455.
4. KAY, *History of Yemen*, p. 70 & REDHOUSE, *History of the Rasuli Dynasty of Yemen*, Vol. I, p. 83.
5. Ibid.
6. Kay, p. 84, REDHOUSE, II, p. 126.
7. Ibid, p. 83 & CRICHTON, Vol. II, p. 357.
8. KAY, p. 59; REDHOUSE, Vol. I, pp. 83 & 195, & Vol. II, p. 126. These arrows were of three different types known as *mushab, neble*, & *silhem*.
9. REDHOUSE, Vol. II, p. 240.
10. REDHOUSE, Vol. I, p. 195.
11. CHESNEY, Vol. I, p. 69, & JONES & BADGER, p. 64.
12. Ibid.
13. KAY, p. 84.
14. Ibid, p. 60.
15. CHRICHTON, Vol. II, p. 357.
16. JONES & BADGER, 64.

This armour must have been introduced into Arabia by the Romans and the Persians, and as recently as 1927, a *chained armoured tunic* was brought from Yemen for sale to the Aden Historical Society's Museum. *Chain armour* of steel with *iron helmets* and *padded armour made of soft leather*, were occasionally seen in some parts of Nejd, as well as the adjoining territory of Yemen. The Arabs also carried a *dart* and short *broad sword*. A sling was also carried for the purpose of throwing stones stored in turbans round their heads.[1] *Ballistas* and *catapults*—the ancient military engines—were freely used in the defence of Aden. These engines were capable of hurling masses of huge stones. El-Khazraji in his *History of the Rasuli Dynasty of Yemen*, gives us an interesting account of a *ballista* that had to be carried from Aden to Taez in Yemen. I quote the passage :—" *He*," referring to Umar Balabal, the Governor of Taiz, a city in Yemen, " *had already sent to Aden a person to bring up the ballista and they brought some of its timbers by sea to Muza*,[2] *and some of them by land on men's necks. When they brought the whole, they put it together and threw with it a number of rocks.*"[3] Imagine the huge number of timbers that was required for the making of a *ballista*. It is beyond doubt that throughout the 14th and 15th centuries these crude engines were freely used side by side with *swords, arrows, lances, darts* and other primitive weapons : firearms being unknown at that period in Arabia.

A striking feature of the cavalry of the Ayyubites was the conspicuous absence of camels at the time of their forays or battles. The cavalry was entirely composed of horses and camels[4] were mainly used for transport. Horses were in such abundance during the time of the Ayyubites that, according to MARCO POLO, they were exported in huge numbers from Aden to India and other places.[5]

A callous practice in which Arabs revelled and exulted was the carrying about of severed heads of their enemies with napkins turbaned on long spears

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1. CHESNEY, Vol. I, p. 669.

2. An ancient seaport at some distance from Mocha (in Yemen). The wonder is that it possesses no harbour, yet had a good roadstead and anchorage, and carried a roaring trade at the time of Periplus and was considered a mart of great trade. Owing to the receding of the sea, this port and that of Zaila, were abandoned, and Aden took their places. (See SCHOFF, The *Periplus of the Erythraean* see pp. 30-31, & PLAYFAIR, *A History of Arabia Felix or Yemen*, p. 20).

3. REINAUD, Vol. II, p. 15.

4. The Arabs had three different classes of camels and each class was employed for a distinct purpose. The camel used for heavy burden, was known as *hmuss*; the second was called *dalool* or saddle camel, and was employed on journeys singly or with light caravans, and the third was known as *hajin*, which might be called the race-camel on account of its superiority of speed over the ordinary camel, (CHESNEY, Vol. I, p. 583).

5. This subject will be discussed in the chapter relating to *The Ayyubites in Aden*.

as a spectacle, followed by a band composed of bagpipe, cymbals and a trumpet playing a victorious march.[1]

Arms may be considered as an indispensable part of the dress of the Arab, for he is seldom, if ever, without them. Even the ordinary bedouin of Lahej and the surrounding parts of Yemen, carry their *jumbias* (a curved dirk), day and night; but the neighbouring Arabs have been forbidden to enter Aden with these weapons. They consequently leave them in the charge of Aden Police at the Barrier Gate.[2] Whatever the armour be, it is constantly worn by these nomads, for it is the custom of the Arab to be at all times fully prepared for hostilities: a feeling of security is almost unknown to him. In addition to the *lance*, he usually had a couple of *javelins* to hurl at his enemy when he was out of reach of his lance. The *bow* and *arrow* were freely used before the advent of steel weapons; but now they have become extinct. A *highly curved sword* was the common weapon. An *iron mace bristling with pointed spikes at the larger end* was also an ordinary weapon of the bedouin; but when this could not be procured, he contended himself with a *short heavy stick having a large round knob at the extremity*, which was generally ornamented with crude carvings. At close quarters this primitive weapon could deal a severe blow. In addition, the Arab was generally provided with a common *sling* for throwing stones, when game or the enemy, was at a distance.[3] Crudity of the Arab weapon must have reached its zenith when *iron-nails mounted on palm-sticks*[4] were used in place of the *lance*. The ordinary weapon of an Arab was a *bamboo lance about thirteen feet in length, ornamented with round tufts of black ostrich feathers*. The point was tipped with iron usually square, and about eight inches long.[5] Occasionally they were inlaid with gold and silver, but more often without any ornamentation. In striking they balanced it for sometime over their heads, and thrust forwards or backwards if hard pressed by an enemy.[6]

During the time of Periplus, the market-town of Muza was famous for the manufacture of *hatchets*, & *daggers*, which were exported to markets round the Red Sea coasts.[7] All over Yemen *arrows* were commonly used, and occasionally showers of these primitive-bullets were sent over the gates of Aden. A graphic account is given in the following excerpt. "A number of the Imam's troops were killed as also a party of the men of Aden. He broke up from before Aden on the 6th December 1387, as a man of his suite who was a valiant and enterprising horseman was *wounded by an arrow at the very gate of Aden*, and died towards the close of the day."[8]

1. Redhouse, Vol. II, pp. 127 & 187.
2. A police station midway between Aden and Sheikh Othman. The latter is about 6½ miles from Crater.
3. Chesney, Vol. I, p. 669 & Jones & Badger p. 85.
4. Kay, *Yemen*, p. 82.
5. Chesney, Vol. I, p. 669.
6. Chrichton, Vol. II, p. 357.
7. Schoff, *Periplus*, pp. 28-29.
8. Redhouse, Vol. II, p. 171.

Masrook, the viceroy of Yemen and a prominent figure in the Abyssinian history, was also killed by an *arrow* of Wahraz, Commander of the Persian Army in Yemen,[1] in a battle fought near Aden.[2]

During the 16th century, we find the Arab using, at the time of a battle, a kind of *round shield* made of two pieces of cowhide fastened together, supported by rods to keep them straight. These were painted in the best possible way, and were as large as the bottom of a tub.[3] But in the course of time, these *shields* gradually diminished in size and by the 19th century became so small that they could be slung on the back.[4] The foot soldiers sometimes carried a *small round target* made of wild-ox hide and covered with iron bars.[5]

The Portuguese in their attack on Aden in A.D. 1513, used *bowmen* and *musketeers*,[6] and men armed with *short swords, bucklers, scaling ladders & darts*;[7] the Arabs retaliating with *darts, arrows, short swords, lances* and *shields*. The Portuguese felt the want of their *lances*, which they left behind, and were forced to retreat on account of the onslaught of the *Arab lancers*: their *short swords* and *bucklers* proving of no avail against the *long lances* of the Arabs. Gracia DeSouza, Commander of the Portuguese force while engaged in the attack on Aden, met the same fate as Masrook, Commander of the Abyssinian army, (A.D. 574).

Although the Portuguese fleet was well equipped with heavy guns, yet they could not make use of them, owing to the proximity of the rampart to the sea shore and the impossibility of the war vessels venturing close to the shore for want of sufficient draught, the cannons and mortars, proving of no earthly use to them. Albuquerque, in his Commentaries, says: "....all the scaling ladders were broken, and the wall was very lofty, and there was no means of scaling it nor place where the artillery could fire against it so as to effect a breach, because the tide water came up close to the spot."[8] The Arabs, apart from their primitive weapons, possessed, at this period of history, cannons (mortar), and catapults, which were planted on the Sira Island and Jebel-en-Nuba,[9] respectively and used with deadly effect on the Portu-

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1. *Caussin de Perceval, Bombay Magazine*, Vol. III, p. 183, & Wright. *Early Christianity in Arabia*, p. 149.
2. Chrichton, Vol. I, p. 130.
3. Jones & Badger, *Varthema*, p. 64, Chesney, Vol. I, p. 669.
4. Ibid.
5. Chrichton, Vol. II, p. 357.
6. Berch, *Commentaries of the Great Alfonso Albuquerque*, Vol. II, p. 17.
7. Ibid, p. 18.

The *bucklers* were made of cowhides like those used by the people of Malabar (Ibid. Vol. II, p. 21).

8. Berch, *Commentaries*, Vol. IV, p. 21.
9. This hill is the promotory jutting into the modern Abu-Dest north in Jebel Mander on which the bungalow of the Assistant Commandant of Police is situated at Crater.

guese.[1] Another peculiar weapon which the Portuguese employed in the attack on Aden, was the *halberds*, a weapon of the 15th & 16th centuries, usually in the form of a *battle-axe* and *pike* at the end of a long staff, with many points and edges for cutting and thrusting. The blade was often perforated and richly adorned.[2]

It appears that the Arabs were also in the habit of using dry straw and earth for asphyxiating invaders—at least they made use of this with deadly effect against the Portuguese in the embrasure of the Great Wall of Aden killing many of their *bowmen* and *musketeers*.[3] The smoke of the ignited straw was of a gaseous nature, probably the forerunner of the modern poison gas.

The Turks used *swords, muskets*, and *heavy artillery*, coupled with plentiful of art and cunning for the capture of Aden in A.D. 1538.

Slings as well as *bows* had ceased to be used by the Arabs of Yemen as far back as Niebuhr's time,[4] and replaced with matchlocks. Those who did not possess such a weapon carried *swords* or *spears;* but all were provided with the *jambia* worn in the girdle round the waist.[5] *Spears* and *Swords* continued to be used right upto the 19th century.[6]

Firearms were generally not known in Yemen before A.D. 1515 when they were introduced by the Egyptian invaders and used with deadly effect on the inhabitants of Aden, the coast of Kamaran, and other Red Sea Ports.[7] A year later the Egyptian forces were joined by the Turkish fleet and army under Suleman Pasha, who had been sent by Sultan Salim to co-operate with them against the Portuguese. The description of the Turkish *matchlocks* in an Arabic manuscript is very interesting: "The *musket* bows are most wonderful weapons. They are something like *guns*, only longer and thinner. They are hollow, and in this hollow is inserted a piece of lead as large as a loteberry, and it is filled with powder, and then discharged by means of a match at the bottom of the musket, and if it strikes anyone he must perish for it goes in at one side of him and comes out at the other."[8]

Whenever it was possible to obtain one, the Arab used a *long matchlock gun*, and two *powder-horns*, one filled with fine powder for priming, and the other, which was much larger, containing ordinary powder for loading. He also had several leather pouches pendant from his shoulders, containing different implements for keeping the *matchlocks* in repair, and carrying wadding, spare match, tinder, flint and steel.[9] These *fire matchlocks*, as NIEBUHR calls

1. BIRCH, *Commentaries*, Vol. IV, p. 10 & *Ruh-er-Ruh & Tarikh Taghr Adan* (Arabic Ms.)
2. Ibid Vol. IV, p. 16.
3. Ibid, Vol. IV, p. 18
4. JONES & BADGER, *Varthema*, p. 65.
5. Ibid.
6. LOW, *The Land of the Sun*, p. 26.
7. *Ruh-er-Ruh*. (Ar. Ms.)
8. JONES & BADGER, p. 65 & *Ruh-er-Ruh* & ABDULLA RAHMAN DAIB *Qurat-el-Eyoon*, (Ar. Ms.)
9. CHESNEY, Vol. I, p. 669.

them, were manufactured in Yemen, as also the *dirk* or *jambia*.[1] But the Arab was equipped in the most approved style when instead of the *powder-horns* and other articles he was provided with a particular kind of belt,[2] which was either worn round the waist, or over the shoulder, and contained a certain number of separate charges : each enclosed in a piece of reed corked at the upper end. The balls were kept apart in a leather pouch, so that the whole was ready for use at a moment's notice.[3]

By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, *arrows*, *bows*, *ballistas*, *catapults* and other paraphernalia of the ancient armament, with the exception of the *sword*, *dagger* and *dirk*, gradually disappeared, and their places were taken by *firearms* and heavy guns. When Aden was attacked by the British in A.D. 1839, the Arabs defended the fortress with heavy guns and matchlocks. The *creases* of the Arabs were brought into full play, when Major Baillie ordered Major Osborne and Captain Willoughby to disarm them.[4]

This brings us to A.D. 1839, when Aden was conquered by the British and annexed to the British dependencies in the reign of H. M. Queen VICTORIA.

(To be continued)

1. NIEBUHR, Vol. II, p. 93.
2. Since the last 40 or 50 years belts of this description are being manufactured in Aden for the markets of Yemen and the Aden Protectorates.
3. CHESNEY, Vol. I, pp. 669-70.
4. LOW, *History of the Indian Navy*, Vol. II, p. 122.

DATE OF THE GRAMMARIAN BHĪMASENA—BEFORE A. D. 600.

By

P. K. GODE

Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR in his section on *Dhātupāṭha*[1] refers to the grammarian Bhīmasena in the following extract :—

"We next turn our attention to the *Mādhaviyadhātuvṛtti* which deals with the same subject and which was written by Mādhava or Sāyaṇa, the great Vedic Bhāṣyakāra, (1350 A.D.). Sāyaṇa also mentions numerous workers in the same field whose labours he partly utilised. Among these may be mentioned, as belonging to the Pāṇinīya School, *Bhīmasena* and Maitreyarakṣita.

The reference to Bhīmasena by Sāyaṇa about A.D. 1350 enables us to fix A.D. 1300 or so as one terminus to the date of Bhīmasena.

AUFRECHT[2] records numerous MSS of Bhīmasena's *Dhātupāṭha* and mentions him as the author of Bhaimī grammar[3] quoted by Rāyamukuṭa

1. Vide p. 53 of *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, Poona, 1915. On p. 42 Dr. BELVALKAR refers to another *Bhīmasena*, the author of a Commentary on Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa*, composed by him in *Saṁvat* 1779 (=A.D. 1722). He is of course different from the grammarian *Bhīmasena*, the author of *Dhātupāṭha*. AUFRECHT refers to Bhīmasena Dīkṣita (CC II, 94) who lived under Ajitasiṁha of Yodhapura and wrote *Kuvalayānanda Khaṇḍana*. One Bhīmasena, minister of a King of Nepal wrote a work called *Sarvalakṣaṇapustaka*. All these name-sakes of the grammarian Bhīmasena appear to be different from him.—The Ind. Office has a MS. of रत्नावली-टिप्पन by भीमसेन (Vide *I.O. Cata.* Vol. II, Part II, No. 7353, p. 1205) written merely to explain Prākṛta passages (" संस्कृतेऽतिप्रवीणानां प्राकृतीयमजानताम् । उपकाराय रचितां भीमसेनेन टिप्पणं । ") I.O.MS No. 7730 (p. 1396) called the भीमसेन नाम-धारणी in 35 verses is dated A.D. 1764 and deals with Buddhist mystic formula or धारणी.

2. *Cata. Catalogorum*, I, p. 271—" IO 2832. Br. M. (Addit. 26, 424). L. 2536. Poona 256. Peters 2. 189. *Cata. Catalogorum* II, 58—" CU add. 1402." *Cata. Catalogorum*, III, p. 58— " Hpr. 2. 108. Tod. 84 ".

3. Ibid. I, 413—" भीमसेन—Dhātupāṭha. Bhaimī grammar. He is quoted by Rāyamukuṭa and Padmanābha Oxf. 110 b." Padmanābha mentions Bhīmasena in his सिद्धसारस्वतदीपिका (vide Oxford 110 b) represented by a MS dated *Śaka 1631*=A.D. *1709*.—There are three MSS of Bhīmasena's Dhātupāṭha in the Govt. MSS Library at the B.O.R. Institute viz. No. 220 of 1892-95 No. 94 of A 1883-84, and No. 327 of A 1881-82. (These have been described by Dr. BELVALKAR on pp. 163 to 166 of his *Descriptive Catalogue of Grammar MSS*, Vol. II, Part I (B.O.R. Institute Poona, 1938). Describing MS No. 220 of 1892-95 (which is dated *Saṁvat 1696*=*A.D.* 1639.) Dr. BELVALKAR observes :—

"The list of roots is said to be the work of Pāṇini while भीमसेन is said to have supplied their meaning. This भीमसेन is an elderly writer and is credited with the authorship of a distinct commentary called प्रदीप on this same धातुपाठ."

and Padmanābha. As Rāyamukuṭa wrote his commentary in A.D. 1431 Sāyaṇa's reference to Bhīmasena of about A.D. 1350 is of course the earliest one so far noticed.

M. M. Haraprasad SHASTRI has described[1] three MSS of Bhīmasena's Dhātupāṭha in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. In his scholarly Preface (p. xxxi) M. M. SHASTRI observes :—

"Every grammarian had to make his own list of verbal roots from the pre-existing indices. Pāṇini's *Dhātupāṭha*[2] consists of 1944 roots, plus 20 *Śrauta dhātus* which have to be picked up from the Sūtras of Pāṇini. The works on roots of the School of Pāṇini have many commentaries..... *Numbers 4351 to 53 are by Bhīmasena and 4354 is by Maitreya-rakṣita* one of the *Buddhist Commentators of Pāṇini. It is later than Bhīmasena. Maitreya flourished according to Srisā Babu about 1100* A.D. The greatest work on Sanskrit roots of this school is by the well-known Mādhavācārya. It has been published in the Mysore Sanskrit Series. It is of an encyclopædic character. Babu Śrīśa CANDRA has written a commentary on the *Dhātupradīpa* by Maitreya in his edition published by the Varendra Research Society."

If Bhīmasena is earlier[3] than Maitreya-rakṣita (who flourished about A.D. 1100) the date of our Bhīmasena is pushed back by 250 years from A.D. 1350, the date of Sāyaṇa, who refers to him as stated by Dr. BELVALKAR. We have now to see if we can push back the date of Bhīmasena still further backwards from A.D. 1100.

The evidence on the strength of which I propose to push back Bhīmasena's date by at least 500 years from A.D. 1100, the date of Maitreya-rakṣita is as follows :—

The *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra*,[4] a treatise on the fundamental principles of Jainism was composed by Umāsvāti with his self-composed commentary (*Svopajñabhāṣya*) "between the 1st and the 4th centuries of the Vikrama era" according to Prof. H.R. KAPADIA[5] or between 1 and 85 A.D. according to

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1. Catalogue of *Vyākaraṇa Manuscripts*, Vol. VI, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 71-72—Nos. 4351, 4352, 4353. The last of these three MSS is dated *Samvat* 1743=*A.D. 1687*. It was copied by one *Viśvanātha, of the Surname Pattavardhana*. AUFRECHT CC I, 416 refers to भैमी grammar as follows :—
"भैमी grammar, by Bhīmasena. Oppert 3134, 4236, II, 2774".

2. WINTERNITZ in his *Geschichte der ind. Litteratur*, III (1920) deals with the *Dhātupāṭhas* of Pāṇini, Kātantra, Candra, Hemacandra, Vopadeva as also Pāli Dhātupāṭha but I find no reference to Bhīmasena in the Index to this volume. He however, refers to the *Dhātupradīpa* of Maitreyarakṣita (p. 396). In "*Materialien zum Dhātupāṭha*" Bruno LIEBICH, Heidelberg, 1921, (Carl Winters) I find no mention of Bhīmasena's *Dhātupāṭha*.

3. M. M. H. P. SHASTRI (in his description of MS 4354 dated Śaka 1490 =*A.D. 1568*) states that *Dhātupradīpa* of Maitreya "*follows Bhīmasena*" (p. 73).

4. Ed. by Prof. H. R. KAPADIA with Siddhasenagaṇi's commentary (Devachand Lalbhai J. P. Fund Series No. 76), 1930—Part II (Chap. VI to X.).

5. Ibid, p. 42.

Satis Chandra VIDYABHUSHAN.[1] Siddhasenagani composed a commentary on Umāsvāti's *Sūtra* and *bhāṣya*. In this voluminous commentary he refers to many previous *sūris*.[2] In his discussion of Siddhasena's date Prof. KAPADIA states that "Siddhasena's date does not go ahead of the 7th century" (p. 64 of Introduction). Satischandra VIDYABHUSHAN assigns Siddhasena to about 600 A.D. (Vide p. 182 of *History of Indian Logic*). In view of this early date for Siddhasena the following reference to वैयाकरण भीमसेन enables us to fix A.D. 600 or so as one terminus to Bhīmasena's date :—
Pages 254—Umāsvāti's bhāṣya reads :—

"चिती सञ्ज्ञानचिह्नयोः धातुः। तस्य चित्तमिति भवति निष्ठान्तमौणादिकं च"
Siddhasena comments :

"चिती सञ्ज्ञानचिह्नयोर्धातुरित्यादि। **भीमसेनात्परतोऽन्यैर्वैयाकरणैरर्थवृत्ये** पठितो धातुः सञ्ज्ञाने चिह्नने च। इह चिह्नदर्शनस्य सह सञ्ज्ञानेन ग्रहणम्। अथवानेकार्था धातवः इति सञ्ज्ञाने पठितो चिह्नाद्यपि वर्तते। **भाष्यकृता** चोपकुर्वताननेकार्थमभिसन्धाय चिह्नधिरपि पठिता तस्य चित्तमिति रूपं भवति निष्ठान्तमौणादिकं च चेतयतीति चित्तं चिह्नवतीत्यर्थः।"
I believe the reference in the above extract to भीमसेन वैयाकरण and his धातुपाठ contained in the expression "**भीमसेनात्परतोऽन्यैर्वैयाकरणैरर्थवृत्ये पठितो** धातुः" is quite explicit and it needs no elaborate proof for establishing the identity of this भीमसेन with भीमसेन the author of the धातुपाठ followed by Maitreya-rakṣita in A.D. 1100 and referred to by Sāyaṇa about A.D. 1350 as already pointed out in this paper. I have not searched for other references to Bhīmasena in Siddhasena's voluminous commentary as such search is rendered quite difficult in the absence of any index to proper names accompanying Prof. KAPADIA's edition.

We know practically nothing about this grammarian but as he has been now proved to be earlier than A.D. 600 or so on account of Siddhasena's reference to him scholars interested in the history of Sanskrit grammar will do well to gather more information about him than what they have gathered and recorded so far.

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1. *History of Mediæval School of Indian Logic*, p. 8.
2. Vide pp. 100-101 and 123 of Prof. KAPADIA's edition of *T. Sūtra*. Prof. KAPADIA attempts an identification of some of the *Sūris* etc. (pp. 54-65 of *Introduction*) mentioned by Siddhasena. I shall here note for reference their names only as found on p. 123 :—

शाकटय, वाष्कल, कुथुमि, सात्यमुग्रि, राणायन, कठ, मध्यन्दिन, मौद, पिप्पलाद, बादरायण, स्विष्टकृद्, अनिकात्यायन, जैमिनि, वसु, मरीचि, कुमार, कपिल, उलूक, गार्ग्य, व्याघ्रभूति, वाडवि, माठर, मौद्गल्यायन, कोकुल, काण्डेविद्धि, कौशिक, हरिश्मश्रु, मान्थनिक, रोमक, हारित, मुण्ड, आश्वलायन, बलिह, पराशर, जातूकर्ण, वाल्मीकि, रोमहर्षणि, सत्यदत्त, इलापुत्र, औपमन्य, चन्द्रदत्त, धनंजयीति (p. 397 of Part I) etc.

ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF A MANGALA-VERSE IN INSCRIPTIONS

By

A. N. UPADHYE.

Śrīmat parama-gambhīra-syādvādāmogha-lāñchanam |
Jīyāt trailokya-nāthasya śāsanaṁ Jina-śāsanam | |

The verse quoted above is quite familiar to the students of Indian epigraphy. Even a cursory glance through the volumes of *Epigraphia Carnatica* will show that many epigraphic records, especially the Jaina inscriptions, begin with this verse. At times the last pāda is differently read as *sardhatāṁ Jaina-śāsanam*.[1] The significance of the verse is closely associated with Jaina dogmatics, therefore that it should be found at the beginning of Jaina records is quite natural. Some other maṅgala-verses too are composed on this model as seen from the common words in the following verses :

(1) *etat trailokya-nirmāṇa-trāṇa-saṁhṛti-kāraṇam |*
śrīmat-śrī-Jaitanāthasya śāsanaṁ śāśvataṁ param | |[2]

(2) *svasti śrīmad-ādyanta-dharmeśvara-samīśvaram |*
namāmi sarva-kalyāṇa-śāsanaṁ Śiva-śāsanam | |[3]

The verse appears to have had extreme popularity as an epigraphic maṅgala with the composers and engravers of inscriptions of middle ages. Despite its patent sectarian character, it is used as a maṅgala verse with a significant change only in the last quarter, the rest of the verse remaining as it is :

śāsanaṁ Śivaśāsanam |

In both the records,[4] where this change is seen, it comes after another famous maṅgala verse found in inscriptions :

namas tuṅga-śiraś-cumbi-candra-cāmara-cārave |
trailokya-nagarārambha-mūla-stambhāya Śambhave | |

So far as I know, as yet no light has been thrown on the authorship of the popular verse *śrīmatparama*, etc. Perhaps its very popularity has come in the way of any attempts to trace its source. Undoubtedly it is a Maṅgala verse glorifying the doctrine of Jina which is marked by Syādvāda. We know, for instance, that the verse *namas-tuṅga-śiras*, etc. is the Maṅgala of *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa (c. A.D. 620). It was natural for the composers of

1. *E. C.* IV, Chamarajnagar No. 159.
2. *E. C.* V, Hassan No. 61.
3. *E. C.* V, Hassan No. 115.
4. *E. C.* V, Hassan Nos. 109-200.

inscriptions to adopt such a standard Maṅgala at the beginning of the records. Similarly it could be expected that *śrīmat-parama* etc. also formed a Maṅgala of some Jaina work. And this expectation is fulfilled by the recent discovery of *Pramāṇa-saṁgraha*[1] of Akalaṅka of which *śrīmat-parama* etc. is the Maṅgala. Only one Ms. of this work is known to exist in the famous Bhaṇḍāra at Patana; and it is only a few months back that Pt. SUKHALALAJI of the Benares Hindu University has published a few extracts from it. Akalaṅka's unsurpassed zeal for Syādvāda-logic is well-known; the verse is a fitting Maṅgala of a logical treatise; and that Akalaṅka flourished in the South explains to a certain extent the popularity of this verse in the epigraphic records of South India. It cannot be imagined that a logician-and-author of the ability of Akalaṅka adopted a popular verse as a Maṅgala of his *Pramāṇa-saṁgraha*, an original treatise. So long as no positive evidence to the contrary is coming forth, we should hold that Akalaṅka is the author of this famous Maṅgala verse.

Akalaṅka's authorship raises many chronological questions. I have shown elsewhere[2] how it is necessary to put Akalaṅka in the last quarter of the seventh century of the Christan era at the latest in the light of available material. I take the liberty of requesting other scholars, who have an easy access to all the published records, to see which is the earliest dated inscription in which this Maṅgala has been used. This line of study would help us to settle the date of Akalaṅka more definitely, and at the same time to put an earlier limit to the age of some undated inscriptions using this Maṅgala.

1. *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara* (Arrah.) III. i, pp. 1-6.
2. *Annals* of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute XIII. ii, p. 164, etc.; also *Nyāyakumudacandra*, Intro. p. 105, Bombay 1938.



HANUMÃN IMAGE FROM TALAJÃ.

[With the kind permission of the Hon. Secretary of the Watson Museum, Rajkot.]

A RARE IMAGE OF HANUMĀN

IS IT OF PAÑCA-MUKHA-ÂÑJANA?

By

A. S. GADRE.

While on a tour of exploration, I visited Talājā of the Bhavnagar State, in Kathiawad in 1934.[1] Talājā is about thirty-one miles south of Bhavnagar with which it is now connected by a tramway line. It is famous for its Buddhist caves and Jaina temples. The object of this article is to invite the attention of scholars to a unique image of Hanumān which I came across near the cremation ground outside the town of Talājā. The image is of a rare type and has so far not been illustrated in any of the known works on Hindu Iconography. The accompanying plate will give a full idea of it. The photograph of the image was secured for me from the Honorary Secretary of the Watson Museum of Antiquities, Rajkot, by Dr. Hiranand SASTRI, Director of Archæology, Baroda State, under whom I have a rare privilege of studying and working. My grateful thanks are due to both of them.

The Hanumān represented in the accompanying plate has four faces that are visible. The fifth, as it comes on the backside of it, is not carved out, as in the case of the images of Brahmā, where very often the fourth face is not shown. The face on the proper right side appears to be that of the lion and that on the proper left side of Garuḍa. The middle one is of a monkey and that surmounting the conical crown is of a horse. If the identification proposed below is correct, the fifth face on the back-side ought to be of a *sūkara*. The figure is four-handed. The upper right hand, the fore-arm of which is broken and lying on the ground nearby, holds what looks like a mountain. Half of what he holds in the upper left hand is broken. It appears to have been a club or *gadā*. The lower right hand wields a bow, and the lower left hand an arrow. His left leg is planted straight on the ground and the right leg is bent in the middle and is placed on a demon who has joined his hands in submission. The god wears necklaces, a *chaḍḍī*, anklets and bracelets. His tail is curled over his head. The sculpture is about 2′ in height and is carved in sandstone. The Bhavnagar Darbar will do well to get it removed to the Barton Museum at Bhavnagar.

I did not succeed in identifying the sculpture for a long time, till very recently I came across a *dhyāna* of *Pañca-mukha-Âñjana*. The *dhyāna* which is given in the *Śrī-Tattva-nidhi* is quoted below. We will find that it agrees with the description of our image with slight variations and I am tentatively

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1. *Annual Report, Watson Museum of Antiquities;* Rajkot, 1934-35. p. 17.

proposing its identification as *Pañca-mukha-Āñjana* whose *dhyāna*[1] is as follows :—

अथ पंचमुखांजनध्यानम् (सुदर्शनसंहितायाम्).

पञ्चवक्त्रं महाभीमं त्रिपञ्चनयनैर्युतम् ।
कोटीसूर्यप्रतीकाशं कपिवक्त्रं सुतेजसम् ॥ १
दंष्ट्राकरालवदनं भ्रुकुटीकुटिलेक्षणम् ।
अस्यैकं दक्षिणं वक्त्रं नारसिंहं महाद्भुतम् ॥ २
अत्युग्रतेजोवपुषं भीषणं भयनाशनम् ।
पश्चिमे गारुडं वक्त्रमुग्रं महाद्युति ॥ ३
पातालसिद्धिदं घोरं विषभूतादिकृन्तनम् ।
उत्तरं सौकरं वक्त्रं कृष्णं दीप्तं दिशोज्ज्वलम् ॥ ४
सर्वभूतप्रशमनं तापज्वरनिवारणं ।
ऊर्ध्वं हयाननं घोरं दानवान्तकरं परम् ॥ ५
खड्गत्रिशूलखट्वाङ्गपाशमङ्कुशपर्वती ।
हनुमद्मुद्रिकामुग्रे दधानं सुरवन्दितम् ॥ ६

स्वर्णवर्णं :—

" (I meditate on Pañcamukhāñjana) who has five faces, who is highly terrible with fifteen eyes, who resembles crores of suns, whose (front) face is that of a monkey and who is very lustrous. His faces are fierce with fangs and his eyes have arched eye-brows. His right face is that of *Narasiṁha* and very wonderful. His body has an excessively unbearable brilliance, is terrible and removes fear. His left face is that of *garuḍa* and very lustrous. He gives success in Pātāls, is terrible and destroys poison and goblins. The face behind is that of a *sūkara*, dark, burning and shining with flames. He conquers all the beings and cures all heat and fevers. The head on the top is that of a horse. It is terrible and destroys the demons. He holds a sword, a trident, a *khaṭvāṅga*, a *pāśa*, an *aṅkuśa*, a hill, a tree, and a skull. Two of his hands are to be in the *Gomudrā*[2] pose. He is saluted by the gods and his complexion is golden."

We find that the chief difference between the sculpture and the *dhyāna* is as regards the eyes and the hands. According to the *dhyāna* the god has ten hands whereas our sculpture shows only four. It is well known that masons do not faithfully copy the details given in the *Śilpa* texts while carving a deity in stone. Some local traits are inserted and the sculptors show a sort of freedom according to their ability. Our image shows a bow and an arrow in the hands of Hanumān, possibly because these are the favourite weapons of Rāma whose faithful devotee Hanumān is known to be.

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1. *Śrī-Tattva-nidhi* p. 59. (Venkatesha Press Edition, Bombay. Sarh. 1958.)
2. For *Gomudrā or Dhenumudrā*, see Gaekwad's Archæological Series, Memoir No. I, pp. 4 and 7.

SOME NOTES ON THE RAIN-CHARMS, RIG-VEDA 7.101-103*

By
W. NORMAN BROWN

The three hymns Rig-Veda 7.101-103, dedicated to Parjanya and the Frogs (the last with a Parjanyastuti), are clearly intended for rain-charms. That to the Frogs (7.103) has been excellently treated, and its discussions by BLOOMFIELD[1] and BENFEY[2] have set its character as a serious, not humorous charm, in which the Frogs' croaking is compared with the chanting of Brahmans to produce rain. The two others have had little attention, except in the general translations and in a few scattered notes. My purpose here is to make a few remarks leading, I hope, toward clarification. In offering them I have not attached references to all the preceding translations and commentaries, which are well-known, nor quoted extensively from them. My notes are confined to the points on which I believe I can make some slight contribution; and, although I have translated the three hymns in full, I have done so only that the completeness may support my opinion on the specific details I want to treat.

The most important interpretative guide to these three hymns seems to lie in a recognition that Parjanya's character is assimilated to that of Indra. The hymns throughout draw largely in their phraseology from the Indra milieu, in a manner that is quite natural since both deities are concerned with the production of rain and Indra is by far the greater. When Parjanya is besought to bring rain, the mere reference to Indra's greater and much better known feat of slaying Vṛtra and releasing the heavenly waters helps to guarantee Parjanya's success.[3] The assimilation of the two deities is mentioned by MACDONELL,[4] but the process extends farther than his remarks would indicate. The most conspicuous detail here appears in 7.103.2, if it is right to identify the antecedentless pronoun *esam* with Vṛtra.

RV. 7.101

1. Speak out the three voices, preceded by light, which milk this honey-flowing udder. He, the bull, making as his calf the germ of the plants, as soon as born roared.

(*a*) The subject of the verb *prá vada* is not clear, but may plausibly be taken to be Soma; the three voices are those which rise when the soma is pressed, whereupon the cows give milk or come to the cowherd; cf. 9.33.4,

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*Intended for the *F.W. Thomas Volume*, but received late for inclusion there.

1. *JAOS.* 17. 173-179.
2. *JAOS.* 37. 186-191.
3. Cf. remarks by J. GONDA, *The Meaning of Vedic bhūṣati*, Wageningen, H. Veenman en Zonen, 1939, p. 9.
4. *Vedic Mythology* (in *Grundriss*), p. 84.

tisró vā́co úd īrate gā́vo mimanti dhenávaḥ/hárir eti kánikradat, "three voices rise, the milch-cows low; the Tawny goes bellowing"; 9.50.2, *prasavé ta úd īrate tisró vā́co makhyasúvaḥ/yád avya éṣi sā́navi*, "at your pressing three voices rise triumphant, when you go to (fall upon) the upper part of the strainer"; 9.97.34, *tisró vā́ca īrayati prá vāmír ṛtásya dhītíṃ bráhmaṇo manīṣā́m/gā́vo yanti gópatim pṛchámānā sómaṃ yanti matáyo vāvaśānā́ḥ*, "three voices the Stallion raises, the pious meditation of the ṛta, the contemplation of the brahman; the cows go to the cowherd questioning; the pious thoughts go lowing to Soma."

(*b*) The honey-flowing udder is (1) the soma-press, (2) the cloud-filled heaven or just the rain cloud, which is the udder of the heavenly cow Vaśā (AV. 10.10.7).

(*c*) The statement in this pāda is equivalent to that of 7.101.2*a* and of vs. 6 in this present hymn; the word *vatsam* is proleptically a synonym of *retas*. In 5.83.6 Parjanya is *asura pítar*.

(*d*) Assimilation to Indra; cf. 3.48.1, [*índraḥ*] *sadyó ha jātó vṛṣabháḥ kanī́naḥ prábharttum āvad dṛḍhásaḥ sutásya*, and see MACDONELL, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 56, for references to other passages which speak of Indra as a bull and as irresistible as soon as born.

2. May he who increases the plants, the waters, who as god is ruler of the entire world, provide a triple refuge as our shelter, three-fold light for our protection.

cd. Indra provides triple refuge; cf. 6.46.9, *índra tridhā́tu śaraṇáṃ trivárūthaṃ svastimát/chárdir yacha*.....; 1.82.12, *yé vaḥ śárma śaśamānā́ya sánti trídhātūni dāśúṣe yachatā́dhi/asmábhyaṃ tā́ni maruto ví yanta rayíṃ no dhatta vṛṣaṇaḥ suvī́ram*.

3. In that he is now sterile and now gives birth, he makes himself what he wishes. The father's juice (rain) the mother accepts; by it the father increases, and the son.

b. Cf. 3.48.4, [indro] *yathāváśaṃ tanvàṃ cakra eṣáḥ*. In our stanza it is possible that *yathāvaśam* is intended punningly to mean "like Vaśā", who is regarded as Parjanya's wife in AV. 10.10.6 (see MACDONELL, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 84).

d. In this riddle the son appears to be Soma; cf. 9.82.3, *párjanyaḥ pitā́ mahiṣásya parṇínaḥ*. The rain enters the soma plant and increases it; later it returns to the cloud; cf. 1.164.51, *saṃvátsam etád udakám úc caity áva cā́bhrabhiḥ/bhūmíṃ parjányā jinvanti dívaṃ jinvanty agnáyaḥ*. In this way the father's seed, the rain, after increasing the son, later increases him as well.

4. He in whom all beings are fixed, (and) the three heavens, in whom the waters flow triply, around [him] the three vessels, pouring out, drip abundance of honey.

cd. The three vessels and the honey are the clouds and the rain under terms that allude to the soma vessels and the soma. Pāda *d* appears in 4.50.3*d*, of Bṛhaspati.

5. May this song lie in the heart of Parjanya; may it delight him! May ours be rain, bringing prosperity, and fruitful plants guarded by the gods!

6. He is the bull inseminating everything; in him is the soul of all that moves and stands. May this ceremony preserve me for a hundred autumns! Preserve us evermore, O gods, with blessing.

a. Cf. 3.56.3*d*, *sá retodhấ vṛṣabhaḥ śáśvatīnām*, where the application of the pāda is uncertain.

RV. 7.102

1. Sing out to Parjanya, son of heaven, the gracious! May he get us pasturage!

2. [He] who puts the seed in the plants, the cows, the mares, the women, Parjanya.

3. Offer in his mouth the oblation, most rich in honey. May he give us food without check.

RV. 7.103

1. Having lain for a year, the frogs, Brāhmaṇas observing their prescribed function, have spoken forth the hymn which is inspired by Parjanya.

bcd. vratacāriṇaḥ. There is no idea of silence here. The idea of silence may be understood in the word *śaśayānāḥ* of pāda *a*, but now, after that period of silence and estivation, the frogs have become like Brāhmaṇas, whose function (*vrata*) is the performance of the sacrifice; cf. 9.112.1, in which various sorts of men are said to have various kinds of *vrata*, the Brāhmaṇa, [to fulfil his *vrata*], desires a patron of the soma-ceremony. The frogs observe their *vrata* by chanting to produce rain, and this chanting is equivalent to the Brāhmaṇas' chanting of the hymns, their *vrata*, clearly indicated by the technical expression *vācam . . . avādiṣuḥ*, for which phrase cf. in this same hymn, stanza 5, *brāhmaṇāsaḥ somino vācam akrata brāhma kṛṇvantaḥ*.

2. When the heavenly waters came upon him (*vṛtra*) lying like a dried sack in the pool, then like the lowing of cows with calves the bellow of the frogs was joined.

a. The crux of the stanza lies in the word *enam* of this pāda. Emendation to a plural seems both daring and unnecessary. The interpretation of the word as a collective singular referring to the frogs (plural) of pāda *d*, as proposed by MACDONELL (e.g., in his *Vedic Reader for Students*), apparently previously adopted by BLOOMFIELD (loc. cit.), and most lately appearing in RENOU, *Hymnes et Prières du Veda* (Paris, 1938), seems too unusual to be accepted as anything but a solution of desperation. The answer, I believe, can be found by posing a question as a kind of riddle, using the very phraseology of our stanza: that is, who is it lying prone that the heavenly waters flow over? The answer appears in that most celebrated of Indra hymns, 1.32.8, *nádaṃ na bhinnám amuyā́ śáyānam máno ruhāṇā́ áti yanty*

āpaḥ; and he who lies there prone like a broken reed while the waters flow over him is *enam prathamajām dhīnām* of stanza 3 of the same hymn. See, further, 3.32.6, *tvám apó yád dha vṛtrám jaghanvā́ṁ átyā̃n iva prā́sṛjaḥ sártavājaśi/śáyānam índra cáratā vadhéna vavrivā́ṁsam pári devī́r dévam.* The allusion here to Indra's well-known feat enhances the likelihood that the present ceremony will be efficacious.

b. The word *dṛ́tim* recalls the fact that Parjanya has a *dṛti* from which he pours out the rain (5.83.7), and suggests that some rite may have been observed here of laying a dry sack on the bare floor of a village pond and pouring water over it to start the frogs out of their estivation in the ground below (for these habits of the frog see BENDER, loc. cit.), whereupon they would come out and start their croaking. Since frogs croak when the barometer is low (see BENDER), they would start before the rain came, and the performers of the ceremony might mistakenly think that they had enticed the frogs out. This suggestion is obviously only deductive and cannot be substantiated.

3. When it has rained upon them, longing and plagued with thirst, at the breaking of the rains, one, making the sound *akkhala*, approaches the other who is reciting, as a son his father.

c. BLOOMFIELD (loc. cit.) rightly quotes the Harivaṁśa, Viṣṇuparvan 95.23=8803, "The frog having lain asleep eight months croaks with his wives, as a Brahman devoted to the precious and true law recites hymns surrounded by his pupils." In Brahman families the father is the son's teacher.

4. The one of the two accepts the greeting of the other when they have grown glad at the outflow of the waters, when the spotted frog, rained upon, leaping about mingles his voice (=hymn) with the green.

a. ánu gṛbhṇā́ti: hardly to be taken as meaning "seize" (BLOOMFIELD, BENDER) but in the usual sense of receiving a person or accepting a greeting (so PW. s. v. *anu grah*; latest, RENOU, loc. cit.; cf. 2.28.6). The normal custom in India is for the junior or inferior to salute the elder or superior, who then responds. The hymn is conveying the meaning that the elder frog teaches the younger, as a father does his son (see vs. 3), who then recites the lesson his superior has taught him (so in vs. 5).

b. apā́m prasarge: the outflow of the heavenly waters when Indra slew Vṛtra; cf. 3.32.6, quoted above under 2*a*, and 3.31.16, *apáḥ.... prá... asṛjad viśvácandrāḥ*; also 1.103.2.

5. When the one of them recites the utterance (=hymn) of the other, as a pupil of the teacher, all that of them is like a perfectly harmonized section (of the ritual), when well pronouncing they recite over the waters.

6. One bellows like a bull, one blasts like a goat; one of them is speckled, one is green. Owning a common name, different in appearance, when they recite they embellish the recitation differently.

7. [Like] Brāhmaṇas at the all-night soma-sacrifice reciting as though around a full bowl, you are around [it=the pool] on that day of the year, O frogs, when the rainy season has broken.

b. sávas : (1) soma bowl, (2) pool ; so BLOOMFIELD.

c. tád áhar, adv. ; cf. 3.28.2, *yáj jáyathas tád áhar* ; contra RENOU, loc. cit.

8. [Like] Brāhmaṇas with the soma they have recited, performing their annual pious exercise. [Like] Adhvaryus with the heated pots, sweating, they are in evidence ; none are hidden.

a. vácaṃ akṛata=avādiṣuḥ of stanza 1*d*.

b. bráhma kṛṇvántaḥ=brāhmaṇā vratacāriṇaḥ of stanza 1*b*.

c. sisvidānáḥ : the frogs glistening with the water of the rains are compared to sweating adhvaryus. This seems better than BLOOMFIELD's interpretation "affected by the hot season" and therefore sweating.

9. They have preserved the divinely established order of the year. These men (competent officiants) do not miss the season. When the annual breaking of the rains has come, the heated pots get their outpouring.

b. cf. 7.31.11, *tasya* (*indrasya*) *vratāni ná minanti dhīrāḥ*.

10. Cow-bellow has given, Goat-bleat has given ; Spotty has given, Greeny has given us wealth. The frogs, giving us hundreds of cattle stretch out our life to a thousand pressings.

MISCELLANY

A NOTE ON RGVEDA III, 31.

The following verses in the Rgveda are supposed to be very obscure. They are verses one and two of the hymn 31 in the third book. I had occasion to deal with these in the course of some sociological studies and found that no interpreter, ancient or modern, has been able to give a satisfactory account of them. I also found bits of them quoted in a sociological treatise where Sāyaṇa's interpretation was accepted and some very important conclusions drawn about the laws and customs among Rgvedic people. These verses are as follows :—

शासद् वह्निः दुहितुः नप्त्यं गात् विद्वान् ऋतस्य दीधितिं सपर्यन् ।
पिता यत्र दुहितुः सेकं ऋञ्जन् सं शग्मेन मनसा दधन्वे ॥
न जामये तान्वः रिक्थं आरैक् चकार गर्भं सनितुः निधानम् ।
यदि मातरो जनयन्त वह्निं वन्दः कर्ता सुकृतोः अन्य ऋन्धन् ॥
अग्निः जज्ञे—

Sāyaṇa finds in these verses two customs well-known in the post-vedic period. He interprets the first verse to mean that a sonless father lays claims on the daughter's offspring and adopts the daughter's son as his own (*putrikā-putra*). The second verse should lay down the law that the male child alone inherits from the father and that nothing is left for the sister *jāmi*.

This interpretation has been accepted by modern writers on sociology[1] and naturally momentous conclusions are drawn as regards vedic customs and laws.

WEBER and GELDNER also fail to interpret the verses and GRASSMANN relegates them to the appendix as spurious.

I am giving below an interpretation which appears to me to be satisfactory for the following reasons. (1) Every word is used in its usual Vedic meaning ; (2) a translation of every word is given without adding new concepts, and lastly (3) the interpretation suits the context perfectly.

The hymn is sung in praise of Indra but the first three verses—the opening verses—are in praise of Agni and describe in poetic language the birth of Agni. The poetic Alaṁkāra is that of *śleṣa* and the word on which it is based is the usual appellation of Agni as *tanūnapāt* (his grandchild). How this name is given to Agni is made clear in these verses while describing the birth of Agni. The third verse opens with the words *Agnir jajñe* = "Fire was born" and ends the description.

The Ist Verse.—

Vahni is the word on which the śleṣa is based. In Rgveda the word has the double meaning of "fire" as also of "The priest" from the root वह् to carry. Both "fire" and "priest" are carriers of oblation to gods. *Śāsat* = ruling, *vidvān*=wise, *ṛtasya dīdhitiṃ saparyan*=regarding the laws of truth, are adjectives of Vahni, the priest.

The *duhitā* are the fire sticks which generate the *Agni* or *Vahni*.

"The *Vahni* ruling, wise and having regard to the laws of truth, obtained a grandson through his daughter (from his daughter)". The *duhituḥ seka* is the wood dust originating from the quirling of fire sticks and in the second line the "father is said to hurry up in joy to receive the *seka* (the fecundity) of his daughter."

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1. Dr. A. S. ALTEKAR. *The position of women in Hindu civilization*. p. 286.

The *Vahni* is shown as doing something very immoral—in begetting a child through his daughter—the act becomes especially sinful by the adjectives *viduṣṭvān* and *ṛtasya didhitiṃ saparyan*. Herein lies the *śleṣa* and contrast of seeming immorality covering a sacred act, that of kindling fire through the help of the fire sticks—the *araṇis*. So *Vahni* the priest creates *Vahni* the fire through the help of his daughters *araṇis* and so fire Vahni or Agni becomes his own grandchild—*tanūnapāt*.

The second verse requires the knowledge of the use of fire sticks. A flat piece of soft wood is used as the lower piece and on it another longer piece of harder wood is held erect between two palms and moved rapidly (churned). The lower wood is bored and wood-dust gathers, which ignites through heat arising by friction and the lower piece bursts in flames. In the Ṛgveda *jāmi* is nowhere used exclusively for a sister. It is also used for a brother (*jāmiḥ sindhūnāṃ bhrātéva svasrāṃ*) and seems to be a reciprocal term like "Geschwister" having also a wider meaning denoting general relationship.

First line of the 2nd verse.—

"*The son* (*tānvaḥ*) *did not leave any property* (*like ancestral home*) *to his brothers because he made his home* (*nidhānaṃ cakāra*) *near the place of his birth* (*garbhaṃ samiṭsu*)".

The fire when born consumed the lower stick so that no place could be found for new fires.

Second line of the 2nd verse—

"*when the two mothers gave birth to Vahni, one* (*the upper stick*) *was active, while the other fell* (*was consumed by the fire and so increased it.*)"

Third verse—*Fire was born.*

mātṛbhā means also parents, but in this context it is better to retain the meaning "two mothers," as Agni is called *devamātṛ* in other context.

If sociological conclusions are to be drawn at all, one can say that the father-daughter taboo was so well established that it was considered sinful to break it. Secondly, very probably, property was divided equally between brothers. But in the case of this wondrous child both these established customs were broken. Just as its birth was against established ethical conceptions, so also were its actions. —All of which is merely APPARENT and can be explained by the process of fire making.

Poona. IRAVATI KARVE

CORRESPONDENCE

RESURRECTION OF THE JÑANA-BHANDARS AT PĀṬAṆ

AND

APPRECIATION OF THE WORK OF THE JAIN SAINT HEMACANDRA

It was more than half a century ago that Drs. PETERSON, BÜHLER, BHAU DAJI, BHANDARKAR and other Oriental scholars carried on extensive searches, for the collection of all the available Mss. of old Sanskrit and Prakrit works at central places like Poona and Bombay where they could be easily available to research students. In the course of their itineraries Drs. PETERSON and BÜHLER had come to know that there were large collections of such Mss. in the private houses of some of the Jain inhabitants of Pāṭaṇ in North Gujarat. Although their attempts to persuade their possessors to hand over their literary treasures for safe preservation to the then Government of Bombay had failed, they had in their respective reports made appreciative references to them. The Government of His Highness Sir SAYAJIRAO Gaikwad in whose territory Pāṭaṇ is situated, though not prepared to exert any pressure on the said Jains with a view to induce them to part with their precious heritage, be it even for the benefit of the world of scholars as a whole, did once manage to persuade them to allow the late Mr. C. D. DALAL, a Jain scholar at the Sanskrit library at Baroda to examine all the Mss. and take such copious notes from them as to enable him to prepare an exhaustive and upto-date catalogue thereof. This scholar did not unfortunately live long enough to prepare such a catalogue and publish it, but the task that he had left incomplete was completed by his successor Pandit LALCHAND and the projected catalogue has been recently published in the G. O. Series.

It could be gathered from the notes that Mr. DALAL had made that some very valuable Mss. had been partially eaten up by white ants and that if proper steps were not taken to house the remaining ones suitably there was the danger of their similar destruction. The Government of His Highness on being apprised of this appointed a committee with a view to make a recommendation for taking proper steps to prevent that catastrophe. As the Jain community at Pāṭaṇ as a whole was unwilling to hand over the collections to the State, the committee recommended that the rich amongst the Jain inhabitants of the Pāṭaṇ should be persuaded to raise a subscription amongst themselves in order that all the existing Mss. can be safely kept in an ant-proof building. The Baroda Government took steps without delay to act upon the recommendation of the committee. As the result thereof a spacious, beautiful and imposing structure standing on a plinth more than 10 feet above the level of the adjoining ground and containing three scientifically constructed ant-proof rooms with steel-doors like those of safes was erected on a piece of land close on the east to the compound of the famous Pañcāsarā temple which is traditionally believed to enshrine the idol of the first Tirthaṅkar Pārśvanātha which Vanarāj Chāvaḍā, who founded Aṇahilpur Pāṭaṇ is reputed to have brought with himself from Pañcāsarā in Kāṭhiāwāḍ.

The completion of this temple of knowledge which by a strange coincidence of identity of names serves to commemorate not only the name of Sheth Hemachand MOHANLAL who has borne the major portion of the financial burden involved in getting it erected but also that of the Saint Hemacandra, the literary adviser of

the Solaṅki King Siddharāj Jayasiṅh and the saviour and spiritual preceptor of his nephew Kumārapāla, who is believed to have kindled in the heart of Siddharāj a desire to emulate the famous Vikramāditya of Ujjain and Bhojarāj of Dhār in the matter of extending state patronage to learned men without distinction of caste or creed.

And by another strange and happy coincidence the completion of this shrine of knowledge took place about the time fixed by the Gujarāti Sāhitya Pariṣad for the performance of a sacrifice of knowledge as a tribute to the memory of the saint above-mentioned in appreciation of the pioneer work done by him towards the consolidation of the conquests made by the said two Kings of the Solanki branch of the Western Cāḷukyas and the creation of a distinctive cultural consciousness in the minds of the inhabitants of the vast territory now bounded on the north by the Aravalli mountain, on the south by the Damaṇgaṅgā, on the west by the Arabian sea and on the east by Mewāḍ, Dungarpur, Vāṅsvāḍā, Jābua and Dhār states and the British districts of Khāndesh and Nasik. The Honourable Mr. K. M. MUNSHI, the Minister for Home and Legal Affairs of the Government of Bombay, who, partly on account of the valuable contribution that he has made to the development of the literary and cultural life of Gujarat and partly on account of his admirable organizing and administrative capacities, is the President of the said Pariṣad since the commencement of its thirteenth session held at Karachi in the Christmas week of 1937, was naturally to be the Master of Ceremonies at the said sacrifice. Being one of the ministers of the Congress Government and a well-known novelist who had already obtained a hold on the hearts of the youth of both sexes, it could confidently be expected that large crowds of persons of both the sexes and of all ages commencing from the one at which a desire for knowledge grows, would be collected there. That occasion was also naturally likely to attract to Pāṭaṇ a fairly large number of the Gujarati litterateurs, both professionals and amateurs. His Highness the Maharaja Gaikwad too had consented to grace the occasion by his presence. The leading men of the local Jain community therefore thought it expedient to seize that psychological moment to get the opening ceremony of that temple of knowledge performed about the same time as the sacrifice by Mr. MUNSHI himself. It was accordingly arranged that three of the Easter holidays in this year should be utilized for these purposes and that the first of them should be devoted to the opening ceremony and the next two to the sacrifice of knowledge.

Experience has proved that the decision was a wise one. The spacious and well-decorated Maṇḍap erected for the performance of the ceremony in the big open space adjoining on the west of the temple to be opened, was not only filled to its utmost capacity but arrangements had to be made for installing one loud-speaker in the open space in front of the hall and another in that adjoining the street leading to the hall and the Maṇḍap and besides the leading literary lights of Gujarat and the principal hosts the seating accommodation on the dais at its northern end was occupied by several distinguished guests and the members of the state deputation headed by Dr. B. BHATTACHARYA, Director of the Oriental Institute, Baroda. Another raised platform to the west was occupied by a large number of Jain Sādhus who spend their lifetime in the study of their religious literature and in the practice of penances for their souls' uplift.

After the Chairman of the Reception Committee had read his address and requested the Honourable Mr. MUNSHI to open the building, the latter before doing so made a speech in which he expressed his pleasure at being asked to perform the opening ceremony of the temple of knowledge which was to house the rich collection of nearly 15000 Mss. which, though preserved religiously for several centuries by the devout Jains, stood in need of a central scientifically-constructed building in which they could be kept without fear of further damage by damp,

white-ants &c., and expressed a hope that instead of jealously guarding that precious national treasure in their possession or simply keeping it as a museum, they would be liberal enough to throw it open to all scholars irrespective of caste or creed, allow copies of any of the Mss. to be taken and give sufficient facilities to any scholars who found it necessary to stay at Pāṭaṇ for some time and pursue their study for the benefit of the enlightened public. After he formally declared it open, Sheth Hemchand MOHANLAL announced that the Committee of Management of the Jñāna Mandir had already decided to allow a free use to be made of the valuable Mss. there and that if any scholars so desired, facilities would be given to them for taking copies of any of them and staying in Pāṭaṇ for the purpose of study.

The function was over at about 5-15 p.m. The president and the delegates took an opportunity to make a pilgrimage to the Rāṇi Vāv and Sahasraliṅga Talāv, parts of which have been recently excavated by the Archæological Department of H. H. the Gaikwad. The excavated portion of that lake which was the glory of Pāṭaṇ and a place of pilgrimage for all devout Hindus during the times of the Solaṅki and Vāghelā Kings of Anahilwād Pāṭaṇ gives an idea of the vast expanse of the purely pre-Mahomedan Śaivite type of architecture, in which the art of sculpture does not seem to have at all suffered in its growth though subordinated to religion. History records that the water of this lake was ever kept fresh by connecting it with the river Sarasvati to the north by a stone-built canal and this excavation testifies to the truth of that record.

The sacrifice of knowledge as a tribute to the memory of the Saint Hemacandra commenced in the morning of the 8th instant, in the same Maṇḍap, and lasted till 12 noon on the 9th with agreeable breaks on the former date for a sojourn to Moḍherā in the afternoon and for some mental diversion in the form of Garba dances in circles provided by one group of ladies of the town and another of those who had come from Bombay and other places and in that of Duhā-singing and story-telling done by a Gaḍhavi and Mr. RAICHUR of Kāṭhiāwād. Speaker after speaker mounted the rostrum erected in the middle of the Maṇḍap, and offered vocal oblations, each according to his fund of knowledge, to the great soul who had departed from this world more than nine centuries ago but after having lived upto a ripe old age of 85 years, nearly 65 out of which had been devoted to the dissemination of knowledge orally to his contemporaries and by his compositions of ever-lasting value to the future generation. There can be no doubt that his name will be on the lips of learned men upto the last days in this manvantara in which the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages will be studied, whether it be in this land of his birth or in any other land on this wide terrestrial globe. Some took a general survey of his literary work while others expatiated on the peculiar merits of some one or other of his works which cover a very wide and varied field of human interest and comprise one and a half crore of verses. Those which formed the subject of frequent mention at their hands were his *Siddha-Hema*, a work on Sanskrit and Prakrit grammar, *Kumārapālacarita*, a biography of his royal pupil, *Dvyāśraya* a work of Jain logic, *Śabdānuśāsana*, *Liṅgānuśāsana*, and *Deśīnāmamāla*, works on linguistics, *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, life-stories of 63 great men of Bhārntavarṣa and *Yogaśāstra*, a treatise on the practice of Yoga according to Jain tradition. Lengthy and variegated as were these tributes to that Saint of Sarasvatī, his soul, which, seemed to have sent an inspiration to the descendant of Bhṛgu who was the chief priest at that sumptuous sacrifice, did not seem to have been satiated thereby, for there was one life-mission of his on which the streams of scholars speaking on two successive days had not laid proper emphasis and that was bound to be so, for, who else but the author of the "Torch-bearers of Gujarat," the "Master of Gujarat," and "Gujarat and its Literature," could have conceived the idea of the said saint and savant of the latter half of the 11th century and the former of the

12th, having firmly implanted the seeds of the distinctive culture of Gujarat, which grew up into two generically identical yet nevertheless specifically distinguishable plants in the 15th century and became matured into fully expanded blossoming and fruit-bearing trees in the 17th? Yes! The Jain Sādhus traditionally knew Hemacandra as one of the great exponents of their sectarian philosophy, FERGUSSON and BÜHLER coming in the 19th century discovered in him the savant of All-India fame but it was left for MUNSHI to discover in him in the 20th Century the spiritual grandfather of Gujarat. A sacrifice organized mainly to bring into bold relief this little-known aspect of his life-work would not be complete without emphasising it. And so, after the Dewan, the representative of the State, expressed his appreciation of the work of the Sāhitya Parişad under the leadership of Mr. MUNSHI, up rose that slim figure with small care-worn eyes, clad in snow-white khaddar garments, politely taunted the scholars who had stood up to pay a tribute to the memory of the great man by saying that he himself was not a savant but a novelist and a statesman, that when at the Karachi session of the Sāhitya Parişad Sammelan he moved a resolution to celebrate the Jayanti of Hemacandra, he had particularly in view not that great man's contribution to the development of the Sanskrit and Prakrit literatures but the foundation laid by him of the structure which we so dearly call our Gujarat, and which Narmad and Khabardar have acclaimed in sonorous and soul-stirring verses and that the said service was in his eyes greater than his literary contribution and therefore deserved to be emphasised more than the latter. It there at least remained a mystery from what historical source he had picked up that idea. It was enough for him to say that he had conceived it ever since he wrote his "Torch-bearers of Gujarat" and deserved to be broadcast in this manner. The inquisitive can find that idea some-what elaborated and supported by broad references to *Dvyāśraya* and *Kumārapālacarita* in Section IV of Chapter IV of his "Gujarat and its Literature." This offering of a cocoanut at the altar of the goddess Sarasvatī by the chief priest marked the completion of the sacrifice of knowledge. Her devotees who had gathered at her shrine thereafter partook of her Prasāda and then commenced their exodus in groups to their respective homes.

Looking to the success which attended Mr. MUNSHI's efforts on this memorable occasion, who can differ from the view of the veteran Dewan Bahadur Krishnalal JHAVERI, which he had expressed while proposing that the Honourable Mr. MUNSHI should be asked to preside over the function, namely, that the latter deserved that honour because he could not only conceive novel ideas but also possessed the requisite skill and resourcefulness to see that they were implemented in such an impressive and adroit manner that even the doubting Thomases were ultimately drawn in to join in the chorus "Hail MUNSHI."

Ahmedabad, 21st April 1939.

P. C. DIVANJI.

NOTES OF THE MONTH

The Annual Meeting of the American Oriental Society for 1939 was held at Baltimore, Md., on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, April 11, 12, and 13. Among the papers of Indian interest in general which were read during the five Sessions of the Meeting are the following: The Story of Rama in Khotanese by H. W. BAILEY, Some Pāli words by A. K. COOMARASWAMY, A Procedure in studying the Hindu Grammarians by I. DYEN, Two Pāli Liturgical Texts from Siam by C. J. OGDEN, The Epic Triṣṭubh and Its Hypermetric Varieties and The Goat and the Knife: An automatic solution of an Old Crux by F. EDGERTON, Right and Light in India and Iran by B. GEIGER, Sanskrit ā 'near', is cognate with Latin ā 'from' by E. STURTEVANT; The Presumed Rigvedic Present *mámrte* by P. TEDESCO; Lord Cornwallis and the Great Moghal by F. W. BUCKLER, Economic aspects of Hindu Asceticism by M. L. CASSADY, A Description of the Horse Sacrifice in the Padma-Purāṇa by P. E. DUMONT, The marriage system of the Buddha's Family by M. B. EMENEAU, Caste and Class in India by P. KOSOK and the *preta*-concept of Hindu thought by H. I. POLEMAN. In the Symposium section Prof. W. Norman BROWN guided the deliberations on the Beginnings of Civilisation in the Orient so far as India was concerned. Among the communications presented by title were L. C. BARRET'S Kashmirian Atharava-Veda, Book Nineteen; The significance of the Colossal Buddhas of Bamiyan in the Development of the Mahayana Buddhism by B. ROWLAND Jr. and the Archæology of the North-West Frontier Province of India by H. S. SANTESSON.

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The Ninth German Oriental Day was celebrated on August 30, 1938, at Bonn, and the Proceedings ended on September 3. Among the papers of Indological interest may be mentioned: Der ariache Anteil an der indischen Philosophie by E. FRAUWALLNER (cf. *WZKM*), Zum Problem des Ursprungs des indischen Kastenwesens by S. BEHRSING, Sprachgeographische Aufnamen in Iran und ihre etymologische Auswertung by Emil BAER; Tocharisch-iranische Beziehungen by O. HANSEN; Problems und Aufgaben der tibetischen Philologie by H. HOFMANN (cf. *ZDMG* 92. 345-368); Mādhavas Methoden der Quellenbenutzung erläutert an Hand zweier Kapitel des Sarvadaśanasaṃgraha by A. ZIESENISS; Zur Geschichte der buddhistischen Dharma-Theorie by H. VON GLASENAPP (*ZDMG* 92. 383-420).

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The Report of the Pali Text Society for 1938 indicates the steady progress which this veteran society is achieving under the inspiration of its President-Secretary, Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS. Of the texts issued during the year are the second (and last) part of the Mahā-Niddesa Commentary by the Rev. A. P. BUDDHADATTA of Ceylon and the Commentary of that curiously named work of the Sutta-Piṭaka: the Cariyā-Piṭaka, edited by Mr. D. L. BARUA of the Calcutta University. It must be a matter for congratulation that only nine more volumes remain to be printed to complete the work of this great society which owes so much to the couple who founded and managed it: the late Dr. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and Mrs. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS. The sister series, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, has been enriched by the addition of Buddhavaṃsa and Cariyā-Piṭaka translation by Dr. B. C. LAW, and the first English version of the Sutta Vibhaṅga by

Miss I. B. HORNER, forming volumes IX and X respectively. The Pali Piṭaka Concordance which is in the course of preparation under the supervision of the present President will become, when published, an indispensable tool for research in the doctrinal, literary and linguistic history of the Pāli Canon. We wish this veteran society every success on the nearing completion of its great undertakings.



On June 25, 1939, Heinrich LÜDERS, Professor of Indology in Berlin, for many years Secretary of the Prussian Academy, will celebrate his 70th birthday. For this occasion his friends and former pupils are planning an edition of his shorter papers in one volume. This edition is intended not only to honour Prof. LÜDERS and his work, but also to render a service to scholars. As some of the short essays, scattered here and there in reviews etc., are now no longer obtainable, it is desirable that they should be reprinted. The volume will give a comprehensive idea of Prof. LÜDERS' investigations, which are the result of careful and accurate philological method and from which not only indologists and folklorists, but also linguists, philologists and students of language may obtain much information. To enhance the usefulness of the book, detailed indices will be added.

An appeal signed by Professors B. BRELOER of Berlin, J. NOBEL of Marburg, Sten KONOW of Oslo, F. W. THOMAS of Oxford and E. WALDSCHMIDT of Göttingen, invites all indologists, folklorists, philologists and directors of scientific libraries, seminaries, or institutes to subscribe for the book. The volume will comprise about 800 quarto pages, the price of bound copies being 26.50 RM. and of unbound copies 24.—R.M. Purchasers abroad get 25% discount. Postage will be 2.50 RM. extra in both cases.

The printing of this important volume will be begun as soon as a sufficient number of subscriptions is received. A list of subscribers will appear in the Tabula Gratulatoria. Letters may be addressed to: Berlin, Orient-Institut an der Universität Berlin. Payments are to be sent to: Deutsche Bank Berlin (Konto: Orient-Institut an der Universität Berlin Lüders-Festschrift).

REVIEWS

Mediæval Jainism, with special reference to the Vijayanagara Empire, by Bhaskar Anand SALETORE, M.A., Ph.D., D.Phil., Published by Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay 2. Crown pp. xii + 425, Bombay 1938, Price Rs. 5/-.

The Jaina inscriptions, as a whole, were recognised to be a fruitful unit of study as early as 1908 when A. GUÉRINOT produced his monumental work *Répertoire d'épigraphie Jaina* (Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, vol. X) giving summaries of 850 inscriptions (with the requisite references, indices etc.) from different parts of India ranging from the 1st to the 15th century A.D. His Introduction made it clear that these records contained very valuable material for the study of Indian History and Chronology and the contribution of Jainism to the Indian heritage. By this publication it was possible for scholars to appreciate the labours of savants like BÜHLER, BURGESS, FLEET, HULTZSCH, KIELHORN, RICE and others in shedding abundant light on the historical and religious aspects of Jainism in different parts of India so far as the epigraphic evidence was concerned.

Limiting ourselves to South India, in the last thirty years many new epigraphic records have been brought to light by different institutions and individuals from the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras and from the States of Mysore and Hyderabad. Much material, both documentary and critical, has appeared in Journals like *Epigraphia Indica* and others. This raw material, so far as Jainism is concerned, has been now and then utilised in relation to literary evidence by various scholars like M. S. R. AYYANGAR, JUGALKISHORE, R. NARASIMHACHARY, B. SESHAGIRI RAO, VENKAT SUBBIAH and others. But no thorough attempt was made as yet to analyse most of the Jaina inscriptions from the South and to delineate the picture of Jainism in its various aspects from century to century and from kingdom to kingdom. The volume to be reviewed is an exhaustive attempt in this direction. The field was partly covered by earlier works like *Studies in South Indian Jainism* by AYYANGAR and RAO, Madras 1922, and *Jainism in South India* by S. R. SHARMA: unfortunately Prof. SHARMA'S book is not published as yet, but only a summary of it has appeared in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. I, i, pp. 177-83.

Dr. SALETORE is well-known to the students of Indian History as the author of *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, vols. I-II, Madras 1934. *Mediæval Jainism* comes like a superb supplement to his earlier studies, since it aims 'to delineate in brief such of the important facts which are available in the numerous epigraphic records and literature of Karnāṭaka, the Telugu and Tamil lands, and which give us an idea of the remarkable contribution Jainism made to the stability and success of many kingdoms and notably of that most magnificent product of mediæval Hindu statesmanship—the Empire of Vijayanagara (p. 2)'. Dr. SALETORE proposes to discuss some particular phases of Jainism from a non-religious stand-point; 'and so far as the religion itself is concerned', the author remarks, 'far from being a bundle of metaphysical beliefs, it was a faith that added in a large measure to the material prosperity of the land (Preface).'. The photograph of Gomaṭeśvara, the dedicatory verse in Sanskrit and the passage glorifying Karnāṭaka are symbolically significant of what Jainism stands for, or at least stood for, in the history of the Deccan. The author's selection of these three is remarkably apt.

(i) In his Preliminary Remarks Dr. SALETORE accepts the arrival of Bhadrabāhu and his royal disciple, Candragupta, in the 3rd century B.C. as the initial historical fact of the beginning of Jainism in the South, where it 'rose to unrivalled brilliance' 'not only in the fields of letters, arts and religion but in the domain of politics as well (p. 1).

(ii) Turning to Royal Benevolence that Jainism enjoyed, Jaina leaders did not turn a deaf ear to the political exigencies of the times. The Gaṅga dynasty was established under Jaina auspices in the 2nd century A.D., especially through the efforts of Ācārya Siṁhanandi. In the light of various epigraphic records the details about this memorable event are fully discussed by the author. King Durvinīta was a good Jaina, and with him a good many literary activities are associated. Many of the later Gaṅga princes like Mārasiṁha were fervent Jainas in whose memory many temples etc. stand to-day. By the time the Gaṅga power began to diminish, Jainism came under the aegis of two royal families, Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Kadambas; and many princes were quite partial to Jainism as seen from their grants etc. It was under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, especially Amoghavarṣa I, that Jainism produced many eminent men of letters like Jinasena, Mahāvīrācārya. Kings like Indra IV died like devoted Jainas. Jainism received a good deal of patronage from the Western Cālukyas; and it was king Taila̤padeva that honoured the Kannaḍa poet Ranna (A.D. 993) with the title of Kavi-cakravarti. Many Jaina teachers came into prominence in this period. Next to the foundation of Gaṅga dynasty, 'the Hoysala kingdom itself was a second supreme creation of Jaina wisdom (p. 59)'. 'It was not merely to get the aid of the State that Jaina sages had helped statesmen to found kingdoms; the various Jaina centres of the south, and especially in Karnāṭaka, possessed some of the most superb intellectual prodigies India had ever produced (p. 60)'. Jainism, especially under the Hoysala patronage, added a good deal to the architectural and artistic splendour of India. The author discusses many minute details about the beginning of the Hoysala dynasty (pp. 64-74), and they would be quite useful to a student of Karnāṭaka History.

(iii) Many feudatories of the Gaṅgas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas and provincial heads from families of the Śāntaras, Koṅgālvas, Caṅgālvas etc. were patrons of Jainism. 'This had a most salutary effect on the people..., and it was partly responsible for the wide support which Jainism received from all quarters (p. 87)'. Even when the central Government became weak, there was no material effect on the fate of Jainism because of the patronage of the provincial heads. Much of the credit of this patronage goes to the eminent Jaina teachers of that time about whom many details are noted by the author.

(iv) The Chapter on Jaina Men of Action clearly brings out the vitality which Jainism possessed and expressed on the soil of Karnāṭaka and round about. 'The greatest claim of Jainism at the hands of posterity is that it gave to India men who turned it into a philosophy of action, and clearly showed the importance of the fact that *ahiṁsā*, which was the keynote of their great faith, instead of being an obstacle in the path of their country's liberation, was really an adjunct without which no freedom could be effected either in the field of religion or in that of politics (p. 101)'. The details of military feats, accompanied by their pious acts, of Cāmuṇḍarāya and Gaṅgarāja are simply thrilling; and all the more so, because both of them are associated with the monumental image and the surrounding structure on the Vindhyagiri at Śravaṇa Belgoḷ. Other generals like Śāntināṭha, Boppa, Ēca, Biṭṭimayya, Huḷḷa and Būci Rāja were not blunt fighters but men of culture; and the contemporary society must have looked at them with pride.

(v) Many eminent ladies came forth as the defenders of the faith; they built temples, erected images, conducted pious festivals, and encouraged art and literature. It is a remarkable incident in the history of Indian literature that Attimabbe, the daughter of General Maḷḷappa and the wife of Nāgadeva, 'had 1000 copies of Ponna's *Śāntipurāṇa* made at her own expense (p. 156)' and possibly distributed them free in the 10th century A.D. The details about Māḷaladevī, Pampādevī, Jakkaṇabbe, Śāntaladevī and others are quite interesting.

(vi) Jainism thrived not only as an aristocratic faith confined to the central

and feudal royal families, but the general populace too was brought 'within the fold of the Jina-dharma'. 'The Jaina leaders showed the practical side of their philosophical teachings by securing the allegiance of the most important section of the middle classes—the Vīra Banajigas and the commercial classes, whose financial aid was of inestimable value for the cause of the *anekāntamata*; and further 'the most practical means which they adopted to win for themselves the allegiance and devotion of the masses was that relating to the four gifts of learning, food, medicine and shelter—the primary needs of humanity. The insistance of these gifts on the part of the richer sections of the people must have had the inevitable effect of drawing to the Jaina fold the larger sections of the populace among whom Jainism had made rapid strides from the ninth onwards till the fourteenth century A.D. (p. 173)'. Many records that are summarised in detail by the author show how Jainism and Jaina rites were held in respect by the different sections of the society.

There were various cultural centres in and outside Karnāṭaka from where Jainism radiated. Some of them are still there, while 'in the centres which fell into the hands of the non-Jainas, only mutilated Jaina images and broken slabs bear silent testimony to the once prosperous condition of Jainism in the country (p. 184)'. The important centres were Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷ, Kopaṇa, Huṃch, Vanavāse, Bandaṇike, Dorasamudra etc. Those who have visited some of these places will feel the truth of the sentiments expressed by the author.

(vii) References to Jainism are detected in Tamil works of the Saṅgham age. Dr. SALETORE attributes the spread of Jainism in the Tamil land to the activities of celebrated Jaina teachers like Samantabhadra, Akalaṅka, Kanakasena and Guṇanandi 'whose great achievements in the field of religion and philosophy brought the Tamil land into close touch with Karnāṭaka (p. 224)'; and further, he adds some critical details about authors like Kundakunda, Samantabhadra, Pūjyapāda, Akalaṅkadeva etc., and discusses the probable date when Drāviḍa Saṅgha was established (p. 235). A few remarks are added on the cultural relics of Jainism in the extreme South. In the Andhra territory Jainism can be traced back to the pre-Mauryan days. King Khāravela was a devout Jaina, and throughout the Andhra country Jainism has left many relics. In this context the author takes into account the minor cultural centres of Jainism in Karnāṭaka and round about. 'One of the best claims of Jainism at the hands of posterity is that it contributed to the literatures of all the three provinces mentioned above (*viz.*, Karnāṭaka, the Tamil land, and Andhradeśa). The Jaina teachers as the intellectual custodians of Andhradeśa, the Tamil land and Karnāṭaka most assiduously cultivated the vernaculars of the people, and wrote in them great works of abiding value to the country. Purism was the keynote of their compositions, although almost all the early Jaina writers were profound Sanskrit scholars. With them originated some of the most renowned classics in Tamil, Telugu and Kannaḍa (p. 253)'. Then the author gives a few details about the outstanding authors and their works in Tamil and Kannaḍa (pp. 253-7). Not only in the fields of ethical teachings and literature, but also in those of art, architecture and philanthropic institutions are the Jaina contributions to the South Indian culture of capital importance; and they have been imitated by others in later days. 'The principle of *ahiṃsā* was partly responsible for the greatest contribution of the Jainas to Hindu culture—that relating to toleration. Whatever may be said concerning the rigidity with which they maintained their religious tenets, and the tenacity and skill with which they met and defeated their opponents in religious disputations, yet it cannot be denied that the Jainas fostered the principle of toleration more sincerely and at the same time more successfully than any other community in India (p. 270)'. But as days went on, there was a dearth of eminent Jaina leaders; Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas, especially in the Tamil land, following in the foot-steps of the Jainas, organised themselves

against the Jainas whom they ill-treated; and the climax of this ill-treatment was reached in the days of Tirujñānasambandhar (p. 279). 'And nothing is more regrettable than that in the matter of showing tolerance to the followers of their rival creeds, especially to the Jainas, the Hindus of southern India should have been so ungenerous as to have recourse to a method of retaliation and revenge which was so alien to the proverbially hospital nature of the Hindus (p. 270)'. Political patronage went on diminishing; Vīraśaivism gained strength; many feudatory families were converted; and lastly many commercial mandates became Vīraśaivas. That is how Jainism suffered a set-back in the Deccan almost on the eve of the foundation of the Empire of Vijayanagara.

(viii-xii) After outlining the general condition of Jainism at the beginning of the Vijayanagara Empire, Dr. SALETORE fully discusses the nature and the consequent implications of the civil dispute that arose between the Jainas and Vaiṣṇavas. The decision of Harihara is quite equitable and exemplary, and it 'showed that the destiny of the Jainas was safe in the hands of new monarchs (p. 287)'. There was one more dispute at Haḷeyabīḍu which also was settled to the satisfaction of the parties concerned. One of the queens of Vijayanagara, Bhīmādevī, the wife of Deva Rāya, was a Jaina herself. General Irugappa, the most prominent Jaina general of the age, was quite dutiful to his ruler. The record of his service 'as a trusted general, a clever engineer, and a successful viceroy lasted over a period of fifty-nine years (p. 307)'. His elder brother General Baicappa also was a devout Jaina. At this time Jainism was more prominent in provincial centres than at Vijayanagara, and the most notable figure of the age is the Caṅgāḷva king General Maṅgarasa. The prominent saint of that period was Vādi Vidyānanda; and 'Jainism realized that its fortune was now cast with the common people (p. 322)'. It had its strong-holds now round about Belgoḷ and in the Tuḷuva country. Kanakagiri, Āvaḷināḍu, Uddhare, Huligere, Gerasoppe, Mūḍabidure, Vanavāsi, Kārkaḷa etc. were the contemporary Jaina centres where Jainism got much patronage from the local chiefs and the general populace. Many of these places have magnificent temples which speak highly about the glorious days of Jainism, but those who have visited Hiriaṅgaḍi (Kārkaḷa) etc. cannot but be reminded of the sad days that befell Jainism later on. Jainism no more remained a political power, and 'it retired into the back-ground to devote itself exclusively for the cause of Peace and Learning (p. 366)'. Even in the Vijayanagara Empire the Jainas contributed to the culture of the land by their magnificent temples, grand statues and remarkable Mānastambhas. Despite the hard days many authors like Vidyānanda, Bāhubali, Keśavavarṇi, Bhāskara and Kalyāṇakīrti enriched the contemporary literature with their various contributions on the different branches of learning.

The wealth of details contained in this book bears abundant testimony to Dr. SALETORE'S extensive and thorough study of South Indian inscriptions. The glaring omission which strikes one is perhaps the Aihole inscription, according to which Ravikīrti enjoyed the favour of Pulikeśi II, that has escaped the searching notice of the author. We have given above only the broad outlines of the contents with some of the general remarks of the author. (1) Taking into account the period and the region covered by the book and the contents exhibited, one is inclined to think that a title like this would have been more significant: *Jainism in the South* (mainly from epigraphic records) with special reference to the Vijayanagara Empire. (2) The author's information is so extensive and the details so many at his command that even minute points are thrashed by him often by way of digression: for instance, the weapon with which Sala killed the animal (p. 71); the animal that was killed (p. 72); discussion about Koṇaṇa (p. 187); Jainas and Ājīvikas (p. 218); whether Kundakunda was a Kannaḍiga or a Tamilian (p. 227); etc. (3) Chapter vi is not a compact unit; one expects that there should have been an independent chapter 'Cultural Centres', beginning with the

last paragraph on p. 184; and in fact, this portion has the necessary characteristics with which Dr. SALETORE usually equips his Chapters: for instance, there are a few general remarks in the beginning and then the details follow. (4) One has to assume that the title, 'Critical Times', refers only to the last few paragraphs of chap. vii; otherwise many of the details in that chapter refer to a period of Jaina History which is styled by some writers as the Augustan Period of Jaina literature in the South.

In the interest of Jaina studies we may point out some conspicuous errors of facts: (1) Bhadrabāhu is called 'the first Gaṇadhara' (p. 3); but according to Jaina hierarchy Indrabhūti Gautama was the first Gaṇadhara and Bhadrabāhu, the 5th Śrutakevalin. (2) Nobody can take seriously the statement of the Humch inscription (p. 20) that Pūjyapāda was the author of *Nyāyakumuda-candrodaya* (the same as *Nyāyakumudacandra* of Prabhācandra); equally dubious is the statement that Pūjyapāda wrote a Nyāsa on the Sūtras of Śākaṭāyana. (3) Kumārasena is the normal form of the name and not Sukumārasena (p. 193). (4) It is too late to take seriously that Kundakunda is the author of *Tattvārthasūtra* (p. 225): the tradition is sufficiently discussed and discarded. (5) It is a fact that *Sarvārthasiddhi* of Pūjyapāda is the earliest Digambara commentary available on *Tattvārthasūtra*; if we take into account merely the reference to earlier commentaries, then it is not Śivakoṭi who is 'the earliest Jaina scholar to write a commentary on the *Tattvārthasūtra* (p. 225)' but Samantabhadra to whom tradition attributes *Gandhahasti-mahābhāṣya* and who is accepted by Dr. SALETORE also as the teacher of Śivakoṭi. Of course the commentaries attributed to Samantabhadra and Śivakoṭi have not come to light as yet. (6) The remark that Samantabhadra's commentaries in Kannaḍa to Sanskrit and Prākrit works have been discovered requires proof by pointing out those Kannaḍa commentaries (p. 224). (7) According to Devasena it is not Pūjyapāda but Vajranandi who founded Drāviḍa-saṅgha (p. 234). (8) Ardhabali appears to be mistaken name for Arhadbali (p. 235). (9) Dr. SALETORE remarks, 'Secondly, in the account of the Jaina scholars as given in the *Sthānāṅga*, *Uttarādhyayana* and other Jaina Sūtras, no mention is made of Maṅkali Gośāla at all'. The remark is not very clear, so we may simply note that a good deal of information is available about Gośāla in the *Bhagavatī-sūtra*.

Inscriptional evidence, it is true, has certain advantages, but we cannot depend on inscriptions alone. They may contain errors of facts, and there might be errors in exactly ascertaining the value of their statements; so it is always necessary to co-ördinate epigraphic evidence with literary evidence. Dr. SALETORE has confined himself mainly to inscriptional sources which have often misled his enthusiasm especially about the chronology of events and authors. This has led him to certain conclusions which have assumed a controversial character. We may take a few such points by way of illustration.

(i) If in an inscription of the 12th century A.D. a certain statement is put in the mouth of Akalaṅka addressing some king as Sāhasatuṅga, it would be a travesty of historical reasoning to put Akalaṅka as a contemporary of Dantidurga, when we have no record at all where this king is called Sāhasatuṅga. So far as I understand, the identification of Dantidurga and Sāhasatuṅga was a mere conjecture with the late lamented K. B. PATHAK; with Dr. ALTEKAR and others it assumed the status of an opinion; and now Dr. SALETORE is treating it almost as an accepted fact (see pp. 35-6, 233). From the latest discussion it is clear that scholars are inclined to put Akalaṅka in the last quarter of the 7th century A.D.

(ii) A record dated A.D. 1432 states that the division of original saṅgha took place after the death of Akalaṅka. In view of the facts that the Jaina church was divided into Gaṇas etc., as early as the beginning of the Christian era, that Yāpanīya Saṅgha is mentioned in an inscription of the 5th century A.D. and that Drāviḍa Saṅgha is not included in the four Saṅghas that became prominent after the

death of Akalaṅka, much depends on the interpretation that we put on the wording of the inscription. Dr. SALETORE takes it too literally, and that leads him to the following conclusions which can be very easily questioned: (1) Vajranandi founded Drāviḍa Saṁgha in the last quarter of the ninth or in the first quarter of the tenth century A.D. (p. 238). (2) Pātrakesarisvāmi who is called the head of the Dramiḷa Saṁgha is later than Vajranandi (p. 237), *i.e.*, later than the tenth century A.D.; (3) No Drāviḍa Saṁgha could possibly have been established at Madurā after the signal success which Tirujñānasambandhar had won over the Jainas in the city of Madurā; so to suit his proposed date of Vajranandi Dr. SALETORE would shift the period of Tirujñānasambandhar to the eleventh century A.D.

All this may sound as consistent reasoning, but we fear that many facts are violated and that some correlated evidence is not taken into account. As against the above views, we may note only a few points which deserve consideration: (*1*) If we accept a part of the tradition recorded by Devasena in his *Darśanasāra* (verses 24-28) that Vajranadi, the pupil of Pūjyapāda, founded Drāvid Saṁgha, there is no reason why the second part of the same tradition that it was founded in (526 or 532 or) 536 years after the death of Vikrama should be denied. Either we can accept the whole tradition or deny the whole of it. (*2*) Pātrakesari is a very old author. There are reasons to believe that he flourished sometime between Diṅnāga and Akalaṅka. Latest contributions to the discussion show that Akalaṅka should be put in the last quarter of the 7th century A.D. (see *Nyāyakumudacandra*, Bombay 1938, Intro. p. 105); so we cannot put Pātrakesari later than 10th century A.D. We have to remember that the enumeration of authors in the inscriptions is not necessarily chronological. (*3*) It is true that there are different opinions about the dates of Tirujñānasambandhar, but it is not reasonable to ascertain his date from the date of the foundation of the Drāviḍa Saṁgha which as proposed by the author is questionable. The date of Tirujñānasambandhar will have to be settled on independent grounds. If we accept the tradition of Devasena that Drāviḍa Saṁgha was founded at Madurā in the sixth century of the Vikrama era, there remains no conflict with regard to the date of Pātrakesari and there is no need of shifting the date of Tirujñānasambandhar according to our needs, when scholarly opinion is sufficiently strong to put him in the 7th century A.D. or so; and in addition, it is by accepting the whole tradition that Hiuan Tsang's statement that Digambara Jainas and Jaina temples were numerous in both the Pallava realm and the Pāṇḍyan kingdom when he visited South India in A.D. 640, becomes quite significant. This only means that the conclusions which we arrive at with the help of epigraphic evidence require a scrutinizing verification in the light of other pieces of evidence.

In the last few years the Jaina studies are being founded on a sufficiently sound basis, despite the difficulties with which the path of a student is beset. Opinions that were expressed by scholars with scanty material at their disposal in the last century often require verification, if not modification. For instance, a work *Digambara Darśana* is constantly referred to (see foot-note 2 on p. 238); but it is a mistaken name given to *Darśanasāra* of Devasena. What Dr. SALETORE says with regard to Pūjyapāda and Durvinīta, if I understand him rightly, is mutually inconsistent; if one finds that there is no evidence to show that Pūjyapāda was connected with Durvinīta, there is no point in supposing that Durvinīta put into Kannaḍa the original *Śabdāvatāra* of Pūjyapāda obviously as a mark of respect for his guru (pp. 20, 23). With reference to foot-note 1 on page 187, I may add that the late Mr. N. B. SHASTRI's article on Koppaṇa is published in the *Karnāṭaka Sāhitya Parishat-patrike* XXII, iii, pp. 138-54.

The above discussion shows how a worker in this field is faced with many difficulties that can be finally solved only by the subsequent collaboration of various scholars. We highly appreciate the labours of Dr. SALETORE who, by this valuable

work, has made a distinctive contribution to Jaina studies. His systematic presentation of material from epigraphic sources will be very useful to students of Karnāṭaka History and Jaina Culture. Dr. SALETORE has a remarkable love for details which he always handles sympathetically and enthusiastically. The learned author, Dr. SALETORE, deserves our hearty congratulations, so also the enterprising Publisher, Mr. M. N. KULKARNI of the Karnatak Publishing House, for giving us this valuable publication.

A.N.U.

Ajjhatta-tattāloo, The Spiritual Light, by Nyāyaviśārada Nyāyatīrtha Muni Mahārāja NYAYAVIJAYAJI with Translation in English and Introduction in Prākrit, Demy 8vo pp. 8-32-16-294-24, Jamnagar 1938, Price not given.

Muni NYAYAVIJAYAJI is well-known as a pious Jaina monk of erudite scholarship. His Nyāya studies are very deep, and he has an exceptional command over the Sanskrit language. We owe to him many works in Sanskrit and Gujarāti. The second edition of his *Adhyātma-tattvāloka* (published by S. L. JHAVERI, Baroda) with his Gujarāti Introduction and Translation was published in 1934. The volume under review is a Prākrit *rūpāntara* of the Sanskrit text with a few additional verses. The Gujarāti Introduction is presented here being closely rendered into Prākrit. The Prākrit verses are accompanied by English translation printed on the opposite page. In this edition we have an English Foreword by Mr. M. R. TRIVEDI who not only introduces Muni NYAYAVIJAYAJI in fitting words to the reader but has given a short summary of the contents. At the end we have a glossary of difficult Prākrit words with their Sanskrit shade and Gujarāti meaning.

The text is divided into eight chapters with significant titles, and 'they are arranged like the rungs of ladder to reach the goal of Absolution'. After making a stirring appeal for spiritual awakening, the author presses the need of devotion to elders, preceptors and divinity etc., and then explains the eight limbs of Yoga. An aspirant is expected to restrain his mental, vocal and physical activities and thus suppress various temptations and passions. Essential details about meditation and concentration are explained in a lucid manner. In conclusion there is a fervent appeal to the aspirant from the heart of a monk who, it appears, is inspired with some higher message. In view of its contents this work belongs to the category of *jñānārṇava* of Śubhacandra and *Yogaśāstra* of Hemacandra.

The very fact that the author has worked out the Prākrit text from his earlier Sanskrit model has given room for some artificiality here and there. To-day many students study the dialogues from Sanskrit dramas not from the Prākrit original but from the Sanskrit rendering. The chāyā of Prākrit verses so rendered is necessarily a specimen of spoilt metre. But in this work with minor changes the metre is elegantly preserved. According to the classification of Prākrits proposed by PISCHEL the dialect of this work can be called Jaina Māhārāṣṭri. From his note (*kiṃci sāmaṇṇaṃ*) it is clear that Munijī was first observing the convention of *yaśruti* as seen in the canonical and early post-canonical texts, but perhaps after some pages were printed he became inclined to observe the more rigorous rule of Hemacandra (VIII.i.180). This has left some irregularities here and there. The Prākrit Patthāvagī, however, uniformly observes Hemacandra's rule.

On the whole it is an excellent performance, and the students of Prākrit literature will heartily welcome it. We have nothing but praise for the scholarship and the facility of expression of Muni NYAYAVIJAYAJI. It is in the fitness of things that we should expect now from him some original Prākrit treatises. The printing and get up of the volume are quite attractive.

Kolhapur:
15-1-1939.

A. N. UPADHYE

Luigia NITTI-DOLCI. *Les grammairiens prakrits*. Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1938. [VII] +[229] p. 8vo.

The edition of Puruṣottama[1] and this important work on the Prākrit grammarians had just drawn the attention of Indologists to Mrs. NITTI-DOLCI as a superb promise for Prākrit studies in Europe, when the news of her premature death came to remind us all of Bhartṛhari's sentence:

gajabhujagamayor api bandhanani
śaśidivākarayor grahapīḍanam |
matimatāṁ ca vilokya daridratāṁ
vidhir aho balavān iti me matiḥ ||

Fortunately for our studies, vidhi allowed her to finish and publish the present work, which continues brilliantly the tradition of LASSEN and PISCHEL. Thanks to a good linguistic and philological training and to a wide knowledge of the Indian sources, the author has given us a large re-examination of the main problems connected with the tradition of Prākrit grammar, succeeding often in proposing a happy solution of them, or at least in setting them on a new basis. We will see at the end of this review the results of the author's researches as well on account of Prākrit grammatical schools as of the real nature of the Prākrit dialects; to this end I think it fit to give an analysis, often in the author's own words, of the seven chapters into which the work is divided; which I hope will be approved of by the readers of this Journal longing for a not superficial notice of it. Naturally I must leave aside details, which are at times of no small importance for the knowledge of Prākrit; I limit myself to allude to the use of verbal forms in *-jjo-* or *-jjāhi* for every time and person, which we gain from Mārkaṇḍeya VI 35 (p. 111 of this volume; these forms are briefly treated by me in the presentation volume for Sir E. Denison Ross), or to *-aṃ* for *āmi* in Jaina Prākrit taught by Hemacandra III 141 (p. 174 of present volume), which provides us with a parallel to *-a* for *-ǫ* from I.E. **-o* in Slav: both phenomena are not mentioned by PISCHEL, which may suffice to show how much must still be done, even after PISCHEL'S life-work, for the knowledge of Prākrit.

The first chapter deals with Vararuci, whose authorship of the *Prākṛtaprakāśa* cannot be affirmed but not denied too; although Vararuci-Kātyāyana cannot be later than the 3rd century B.C. and Aśoka's inscriptions show a linguistic stage more archaic than the Prākṛits of the grammarians and of the drama, this is not a good reason for assuming that such Prākṛits were not in existence at Vararuci's time. An examination of the contradictions and singularities in Vararuci's text leads the author to infer that his original sūtras teach only one Prākṛit, the Mahārāṣṭrī of Gāthās, LASSEN'S "Prācritica praecipua": the three last books on Śaurasenī Māgadhī and Paiśācī must have been added by a commentator, who was possibly Bhāmaha for books X and XI; the twelfth book on Śaurasenī is not Bhāmaha's work, because it lacks a commentary in all MSS. All this is confirmed by the facts that the commentators except Bhāmaha speak only of the principal Prākṛit; that the oriental grammarians, who depend on Vararuci, treat the other dialects in a different arrangement than Vararuci-Bhāmaha; that Kramadīśvara makes use of Vararuci only for the principal Prākṛit; that Hemacandra polemizes with other grammarians on the subject of the principal Prākṛit but not of the other dialects, showing that for these there was not a traditional teaching going back to Vararuci. In conclusion, all Prākṛit grammarians except Caṇḍa have known

1. *Le Prākṛtānuśāsana de Puruṣottama* par Luigia NITTI-DOLCI. *Cahiers de la Société Asiatique*, VI Paris, 1938. I do not know whether the edition of the Mahārāṣṭrī section in Rāmaśarman's *Prākṛtakalpataru*, which is spoken of on p. 90 of the present work, has yet appeared.

Vararuci's sūtras on the principal Prākrit and only these; therefore when speaking of Vararuci we must have in mind only the first nine books of the Bhāmaha—Cowell edition, of which books V and VI constituted originally a single book.

But also for books I-IX Bhāmaha's *Prākṛtaprakāśa* is far from representing the genuine tradition: whilst with regard to the principal Prākrit Vasantarāja's *Prākṛtasañjīvanī* and the *Prākṛtasañjarī* (and also Sadānanda's *Prākṛtasubodhinī*, a summary of Vasantarāja's work, and Nārāyaṇa Vidyāvinoda's *Prākṛtapāda*) are consistent enough with the Prākṛtaprakāśa on account of the strength of Vararuci's tradition, they differ from it with regard to its innovations: consequently, they have not known Bhāmaha's work: this is shown by a keen analysis of the commentaries on some sūtras, on p. 24 ff. Then Vararuci's sūtras are a work independent of Bhāmaha's commentary, and they have had other commentators and imitators who did not know Bhāmaha, whose edition can therefore be considered only as an element in establishing Vararuci's text, a task that requires the use of all the sources at our disposal.

As we already pointed out, Vararuci's sūtras on the principal Prākrit are found without great differences in all commentaries: they are consequently old and have reached us tolerably undamaged, so that it is possible to examine them more closely. They also do not appear to constitute a regular grammar. For instance, a maṅgalam is missing: this can be justified either on the ground that these sūtras formed an appendix to a Sanskrit grammar (cp. Hemacandra), or that Vararuci has only written a number of rules on Prākrit without intending to give a complete grammar—then somebody brought together these rules, gave them a title, and the commentators began their work. The second possibility is confirmed by the fact that we have in Vararuci's sūtras not a description of the Prākrit, but only something like a justification of a quantity of forms by giving rules for their derivation from Sanskrit. One gets the impression that the sūtras refer to a text or to a group of well determined texts; and this impression is corroborated by the commentators who refer to poetical works, speak of metrical reasons and so on. Now, the vocabulary described by Vararuci's sūtra consists of 406 forms, 233 of which are found in the index to Weber's second edition of Hāla; and not only 59% of words studied by Vararuci come again in Hāla, but about all double forms authorized by the grammarian (for example *ia* and *(i)ti* for *iti*, I 14) appear in the *Sattasaī*. This gives the author the impression that literary Mahārāṣṭrī has received its form in the gāthās and that the epic poems have taken from these their language without any change; indeed the doublets, the orthographical inconsequences and the like are easily explicable in anthologies of gāthās, the work of different authors who spoke probably different dialects. Consequently an edition of Vararuci should consider not only all commentators and grammarians depending on him, but also the *Sattasaī* and such anthologies of stanzas in Mahārāṣṭrī that are accessible to us.

In short, we have not a grammar in Vararuci's sūtras; they address themselves to people acquainted with Sanskrit for teaching them how to compose gāthās in Prākrit. It is possible that these stanzas were at the beginning a relatively popular creation: but at a certain moment they became the pastime of learned people whose knowing both Sanskrit and the dialects, resulted in writing this artificial language, the lyrical Mahārāṣṭrī, all adorned with Sanskrit reminiscences and extraordinary dialectical words.—The chapter closes (p. 51 ff.) with a collation of the variants of the sūtras according to the three principal commentators.

"Bharata" is the title of chapter II. Although among Prākrit grammarians only Mārkaṇḍeya quotes Bharata (and of his six quotations only two are found in the XVII chapter of *Nāṭyaśāstra*, which the author shows against Pischel according to whom none of the six was taken from our Bharata), Abhinavagupta's

commentary testifies that at least in the 10th or 11th century the passage on Prākrit was a part of *Nāṭyaśāstra*. This passage (XVII 1-54) is analysed, published and translated on pp. 63-75 by the author who, on pp. 76 ff. examines Bharata's classification of the languages and dialects. Prākrit without further specification is named on the same plan as Sanskrit; thereafter come the deśabhāṣās. This lets us think that "Prākrit" like Sanskrit is a common language for all India: other points are obscure. Anyhow, we can say 1. that Bharata knows and allows the employment of a quantity of dialects; 2. that among these dialects Mahārāṣṭrī is not found, and no distinction is made between prose and poetry dialects: but the forms attributed to the "Prākrit" *kat'exochen* are those of the Mahārāṣṭrī.

Like Vararuci—and this is also truer for him—Bharata gives no grammar, but only phonetic rules, which are probably the advice that a director of a theatre must give to his actors who played in literary Prākrit: advice on pronounciation to the end that their Sanskrit had for the public the appearance of Prākrit but remained nevertheless intelligible to them. Some deśī words—the most common ones—gave the last touch. The Prākrits of the dramas are indeed, as S. Lévi already said ("ils ne sont guère que des prononciation spécials du sanskrit",) a disguise of Sanskrit. We have consequently in the dramas Sanskrit and "Prākrit," two constant literary languages, and around them a variable number of dialects according to the will of authors, actors and public, to the place of the representation, and the quality of the assistance: on which purpose the author compares very aptly what happens or happened in Bengali modern plays and in the Italian *Commedie dell' arte*.—On pp. 84 ff. are mentioned the samples of dhruvās given by Bharata in his XXXII chapter; the language of these stanzas to be sung during the dramatic representations and different from the gāthās in lyrical Mahārāṣṭrī, is called Śauraseni by Bharata: although it has some points of difference from the Śauraseni of the dramas, the author is not willing to think with Jacobi that we have to distinguish two different languages.

In the third chapter are treated the oriental grammarians: Puruṣottama, Rāmaśarman and Mārkaṇḍeya, the authors respectively of the *Prākṛtāmañjarī*, the *Prākṛtakalpataru* and the *Prākṛtasarvasva*: among them, Mārkaṇḍeya can be put before the end of the 14th century; together they form a real school with unity of doctrine. This school assembles the different languages in four fundamental groups: bhāṣās, vibhāṣās, Apabhraṃśa and Paiśācika; among the bhāṣās, Mahārāṣṭrī has a pre-eminent place, and the study of it serves as basis for that of the other dialects. The authority which the Orientals quote most of all, and which is unknown to the other grammarians, is Śākalya, whom Mārkaṇḍeya in the introductory verses mentions first of all, and to whom are attributed teachings not found in Vararuci, this leads to the conclusion that "Śākalya"—who must have lived before the 13th century—has composed a grammar of the principal Prākrit and of Śauraseni, and he is one of the sources of the oriental grammarians. Among these Mārkaṇḍeya is remarkable for the many quotations that he adds to his rules and that give evidence of the great extent of his lectures: such quotations can all be identified, when their author is named, with the exception of two or three: this is shown on p. 102 ff. Authorities are often adduced but, may be except in one case, these quotations refer to the principal Prākrit; this happens also in Hemacandra and may be explained that the grammar of the principal Prākrit is fixed and traditional so far as it rules a written and literary language, lyrical Mahārāṣṭrī: the undiscussed authority, the founder of this grammar is Vararuci, around whom group themselves commentators and disciples. When Mārkaṇḍeya or Hemacandra quotes on the purpose of a form the opinion of an anonymous grammarian (*iti kaścit, iti kecit*), this happens inasmuch as such opinion contradicts or completes or interprets in a new way a sūtra of Vararuci.—This doesn't mean, however, that

Mārkaṇḍeya or Hemacandra has no predecessors for the other dialects; only they limit their explicit quotations to Vararuci or Bharata, because such names consecrated by tradition conferred a degree of nobility on their own works. Probably Puruṣottama, Mārkaṇḍeya and Hemacandra have as their basis an older oriental grammar; Rāmaśarman depends, may be, on Hemacandra, whilst the special correspondences between Hemacandra and Mārkaṇḍeya can be explained as results of the utilisation of common sources.

On pp. 110 ff. are examined Mārkaṇḍeya's additions to Vararuci, his leading authority, on account of Mahārāṣṭrī; from p. 118 we have a section on the other bhāṣās, of which especially Śaurasenī is studied by the oriental grammarians. About Śaurasenī the author is led by her consideration of the oriental grammarians to the conclusion that this dialect—not the deśabhāṣā of the personages that make use of it, but a language fit for every-body from any part of India—is in the drama a substitute for Sanskrit for all personages that have no right of speaking the language of the Gods. As for the other languages, our author draws from an examination of Rāmaśarman II 3, 31 and Mārkaṇḍeya XVI 2 the consequence that Prākrit grammarians based their classification of the various dialects only on their literary employment: so that every dialect spoken on the stage can be a bhāṣā or a vibhāṣā according to the degree of respectability of the personages to whom it was assigned. On the contrary, a dialect employed in non-theatrical literature was an Apabhraṃśa.

On p. 125 begin more general considerations about the whole oriental school and their teachings. The date of the Nepāli MS. of Puruṣottama shows that the school flourished at least in the 13th century, and nothing allows us to admit that Puruṣottama has been its founder: on the contrary there are reasons for thinking that he had some predecessors, because neither Mārkaṇḍeya nor Rāmaśarman do quote him; Śākalya, whom all of them adduce as authority, must have been, as we already pointed out, one of such predecessors; unhappily we don't know anything about him.

The school is eclectic. The lyrical Mahārāṣṭrī, as already told, is treated according to Vararuci. As for the languages of the drama, the sources of the oriental grammarians must have been those rules on Prākrit made for the actors, a sample of which is preserved in the XVII chapter of Bharata: the correspondences between *Nāṭyaśāstra* and oriental grammarians with regard to bhāṣās (except Mahārāṣṭrī) and vibhāṣās show that those artificial or at least conventional languages came to be treated in the grammatical treatises on Prākrit precisely through the medium of such rules, which were destined to disappear soon owing to their contingent nature. For the Apabhraṃśa, namely for the dialects other than Mahārāṣṭrī inasmuch as they were employed for the lyric, which must have flourished especially in Nāgarāpabhraṃśa, our author thinks that there have probably been special grammars, which were utilised by the Oriental grammarians. Finally she imagines that Paiśācī was the language of stories and novels, which on the beginning (*Bṛhatkathā*!) adopted a peculiar dialect: this remained the pattern for all subsequent works and somebody did write its rules and append them to the existing grammars on dramatic and lyrical dialects: this tradition has come down to the oriental grammarians. Their grammars are hence collections as complete as possible of rules useful for the performance of works of the different literary kinds. An author could find there the necessary teachings for writing gāthās in Mahārāṣṭrī after the model of Hāla, dialectical parts for a drama like *Mṛcchakaṭika* or *Śākuntala*, stanzas or poems in Apabhraṃśa like *Prākṛtapiṅgala sūtra* or *Bhaviṣyattakatha*, tales on the pattern of *Bṛhatkathā*. These teachings have therefore a value only for the particular texts that the oriental grammarians had in view when writing their works (cp. what has been said above on Vararuci's composing his rules after

Hāla etc.) ; hence we cannot blame them if their Śaurasenī is not always that of such dramas which they had not considered in their works. This throws a light on the small right that editors have in normalising the Prākrit of classic dramas.

With regard to Kramadīśvara, the author of *Saṅkṣiptasāra*, who is treated in the IV chapter, ZACHARIAE'S statement is reported without enthusiasm that he must have been in Western Bengal and lived between Hemacandra (1088-1172) and Vopadeva (13th cent.) ; his grammar contains in the first seven books a summary of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*; the eighth book is an appendix on Prākrit. A commentary on the whole work is Jūmaranandin's *Rasavatī* (hence the school is called *Jaumara*), which has been in its turn commented but only for books I-VII : this doesn't however mean that the Prākrit section was not a part of the original *Saṅkṣiptasāra*. We must not consider (as Rājendralāl MITRA did) as a commentary on this work Nārāyaṇa Vidyāvinoda's *Prākṛtapāda*, which is an edition of Vararuci analogous to that by Vasantarāja (this is shown by an analysis of the *Prākṛtapāda*, pp. 133 ff.). On the whole Kramadīśvara is not a great grammarian ; for the principal Prākrit he depends essentially on Vararuci, whose sūtras sometimes he gives up, also if important, for the love of conciseness, whilst he adds new observations, often on matters of very small importance ; these additions are not taken from Hemacandra (then ZACHARIAE'S *terminus post quem* seems to lose every consistency). Of the other dialects Kramadīśvara studies Apabhraṁśa, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī and Paiśācī, mentions only Ardhamāgadhī and dismisses with a few words the theatre dialects (the same that are mentioned by Bharata). For the literary Apabhraṁśa Kramadīśvara seems to have used the same source as Hemacandra.

The last mentioned and his *Siddhahemacandra* are the argument of chapter V. For this Doctor of Jaina religion the author has no great sympathy : already on the beginning she declares her opinion that he has no originality at all. To support this affirmation the *Prabhāvakacarita* (13th century) is quoted, according to which Hemacandra has made a compilation of eight older grammars, and on p. 152 two cases are exhibited, in which Hemacandra has misunderstood his sources. For the principal Prākrit Vararuci is directly utilised ; for the other dialects one of Hemacandra's sources is—as shown on p. 158 ff.—the same as of Namisādhu in his commentary on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṅkāra* II 11-12 : this commentary was written in 1069 A.D., some twenty years before Hemacandra's birth. Besides Vararuci and this source, Hemacandra has utilised also the canonical Jaina texts, whose language he calls Ārṣa and many peculiarities of which he remarks in his treatise on principal Prākrit ; whilst here his data are generally correct, he is not so scrupulous with the Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī of non-canonical works, which he knew very well but cared not so much for, inasmuch as he compiled from older grammarians, even if here and there he introduces some information on it. In this way his principal Prākrit is a pot-pourrī of gāthā and epic Mahārāṣṭrī, of the Mahārāṣṭrī of canonical and of non-canonical Jaina works : so that it is dangerous to use his grammar in so far as a greater knowledge of the texts doesn't give us the possibility of assigning to each speciality of Mahārāṣṭrī the forms taught by him.

As for Hemacandra's Paiśācī, the author thinks (p. 175 f.) that the extracts given by him come from the Kaśmīrian *Bṛhatkathāsaritsāgara* postulated by LACÔTE as source of Somadeva and Kṣemendra, whereas Mārkaṇḍeya through his sources quotes from Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*. The Apabhraṁśa, then, is for Hemacandra a dialect of a unity and stability unknown to other grammarians ; the author is inclined to ascribe to the epoch of Muslim invasion the dohās quoted by him, which to a certain extent resemble the gāthās of the *Sattasaī*.

The arguments of chapter VI are Trivikrama and the sūtras of Vālmiki with inclusion of GRIERSON'S western school, which the author would better call a

southern one. The *Prākṛtavyākaraṇa* (also **vyākaraṇavṛtti*) by Trivikrama (3 adhyāyas divided in 12 pādas comprising 1085 ślokas or āryās) is a recasting in verse of the *Siddhahemacandra*, and its age must be the 13th century; about the middle of the 16th century Lakṣmīdhara wrote a commentary on it, the *Ṣaḍbhāṣā-candrikā*, a little later (end of the 16th century) is the other commentary, Appayadīkṣita's *Prākṛtamaṇidīpa*. Siṁharāja's *Prākṛtarūpāvatāra* is probably older and in any way partly independent of Trivikrama. On pp. 186 ff. the author examines the relations between Trivikrama and Siṁharāja and the question whether the sūtras, which the traditions assign to Vālmīki, are or not the work of Trivikrama. —In lapse of time some grammarians of this school, like Śubhacandra who wrote the *Śabdacintāmaṇi*, show a secondary return to Hemacandra.

We reach to the VII and last chapter, dealing with Caṇḍa, on whose *Prākṛta-lakṣaṇa* (originally written perhaps in Prākrit, cp. pp. 206 f.) the author maintains against HOERNLE that it is not so ancient and that it has come down to us in a fragmentary form. Caṇḍa and Hemacandra have in common rules and forms unknown to the lyrical Mahārāṣṭrī taught by Vararuci: from this statement we may infer that Caṇḍa continues a traditional school of Jaina grammarians or, more exactly, his work is the reflex of a grammatical treatise made by and for the Jaina. Hemacandra has included in his grammar a part of this stuff, probably the oldest kernel of the *Prākṛtalakṣaṇa*. It seems also, although the author dare not affirm it, that the sūtras of this grammar teach the Ārṣa; at least, the examples of its commentary are taken from the canonical Jaina texts. On account of the said Jaina kernel of the *Prākṛtalakṣaṇa* our author concludes with the hypothesis that probably the Jainas have tried to oppose to the Brahmanical tradition their own grammatical school, but they were not able to fulfil such an ambitious plan: somebody collected—probably many centuries before Caṇḍa—the scattered āryās on grammatical generalities and the sūtras that circulated in their midst and tried to make therewith a grammar of the language of the Jaina text, independent of the grammars of lyrical Mahārāṣṭrī, of *Apabhraṁśa* and *Paiśācī*; but the materials were neither rich nor well classified, and the result of this attempt cannot be called a grammar.

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In her introduction the author draws some consequences from the great mass of facts heaped up in the book. Before all, she warns against four prejudices that reign among scholars since LASSEN'S time: 1° Mahārāṣṭrī is the *prakṛṣṭaṃ prākṛtam* (Daṇḍin I 34) not because it is more like Sanskrit than other Prākrits (which is false), but only because it possesses a richer literature; 2°. It is not true that the more recent the grammarians are, so much the greater is the number of dialects they treat: the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (the oldest of extant treatises except Vararuci) knows more dialects than the other grammars; generally a great number of dialects are to be found in such grammars that are intended for the theatre; the Jainas tend to reduce the Prākrits to Mahārāṣṭrī; 3°. It is not true that in Vararuci's grammar only a few sūtras are devoted to the dialects other than Mahārāṣṭrī; all dialects are implicitly treated with the principal Prākrit, and the special sūtras represent only the points in which they differ from Mahārāṣṭrī; 4°. It is not right to blame the Indian grammarians when they speak of Sanskrit as the source of Prākrit; for them Sanskrit means not only the classical but also that Vedic language, where so many similarities with Prākrit can be found.

On p. 4 the author admits that some of her general conclusions had better have been grouped together so that the book could gain a more harmonious appearance; she has however preferred to leave the conclusions in their original places along with the logical development that had produced them. With the help of some

hints contained in the introduction I will try here to resume synthetically the author's view on the whole of Prākrit grammatical tradition and on the nature of the languages taught by it.

What we have in the matter of Prākrit grammar are the relics of a great shipwreck: with the exception of Vararuci, whose sūtras do not however constitute a real grammar, what has come down to us are the reflexes of older traditions lost probably for ever. We must assume many starting points of the different traditions, according to the employment of the different kinds of Prākrit. We have then:

I. Lyrical Mahārāṣṭrī: Vararuci's sūtras, which are a description, or better a justification from the point of view of Sanskrit, of the language of gāthā anthologies like Hāla's *Sattasaī* (on this lyric depends the epic Mahārāṣṭrī).

II. Dialects of the drama: rules for pronunciation and so on, of which a specimen is preserved in the XVII chapter of *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

III. Lyrical Apabhraṁśa of theatrical lyrical intermezzos and of the dohās: grammars?

IV. Paiśācī of tales (Bṛhatkathā): rules appended to the already existing grammars of lyrical and dramatical dialects.

V. Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī (Ārṣa and language of non-canonical writings: a collection of rules (āryās and sūtras), a reflex of which is found in Caṇḍa's *Prākṛtalakṣaṇa*.

On these sources depend the various later schools, namely:

On I, II, III and IV depends the Oriental school (a predecessor of which is Śākalya), which in Mārkaṇḍeya can boast of one of the most learned authors on Prākrit grammar; the same must be said for Kramadīśvara who on account of the theatrical dialects is perhaps directly indebted to Bharata and for Apabhraṁśa (III) uses the same source as Hemacandra;

Hemacandra depends on I, II, III, IV (his Paiśācī reflects the Kaśmīrian *Bṛhatkathāsaritsāgara* rather than Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, as the Paiśācī of the Oriental grammarians does; one of his sources for dialects other than principal Prākrit has been utilised also by Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa II, 11-12), and on V: his Jaina materials came from the same work that constitutes the kernel of Caṇḍa's Grammar. A recasting of Hemacandra is given by Trivikrama and his (western, or better southern) school.

The next task of modern research is therefore to reconstruct so far as possible the original sources from their remains and vestiges contained in the works still in our possession.

How must the Prākrits taught by the grammarians be now considered? (I conform myself to the classification according to the literary use that has been transmitted to us by the Indian tradition).

The lyrical Mahārāṣṭrī of the oldest gāthās reflected naturally the popular speech. But soon this kind of poetry fell into the hands of learned people who according to the pattern received and, to be sure, under the strong influence of Sanskrit language and grammar, transformed it into a pastime for courts and highly cultivated circles, and its language became more and more a literary dialect the forms of which could be easily created by phonetically modifying Sanskrit forms according to rules like those given by Vararuci. A kind of corrective can perhaps be obtained from both varieties of Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī, the Ārṣa and that of the non-canonical writings, if we succeed in keeping them aside from the lyrical Mahārāṣṭrī. Ecclesiastical languages are generally petrified traditions of popular dialects, and they preserve often with greater scrupulousness although in a life-less rigidity, the original forms. Such forms, identified and compared with those of Vararuci's principal Prākrit, could give us back some features of the original popular Mahārāṣṭrī.

About the same as for lyrical Mahārāṣṭrī, but without the corrective of an

ecclesiastical complement, are the conditions of lyrical Apabhraṁśa and narrative Paiśācī. Much worse are those of the dialects of the dramas: to judge of such dialects from what grammarians and MSS. teach us, would be the same as to judge of an Italian dialect from the language used on the stage of a region other than the original by a personage supposed to speak that dialect: characteristic inflexions of voice, some well-known changes in the pronunciation of certain sounds and a few local words are the means for making of the national tongue a well intelligible parody of a dialect: enough for a spectator to enjoy it, but too little for linguists to infer from such medleys the real nature of a regional speech.

The opinion expressed by PISCHEL in his Habilitationsschrift, that literary Prākrits are artificial languages invented by erotic poets when Sanskrit, as a holy tongue, was still avoided by such a kind of poetry, may therefore be in part less wrong than most people deem it; Prākrit deserves a long chapter in a future book on how common languages rise and develop themselves, and if this be once done, the author of such a book will have to turn over and over to Mrs NITTI-DOLCI's *Les grammairiens prakrits*.

Rome. VITTORE PISANI

The Critical Examination of the Philosophy of Religion, in two Volumes by Sadhu SANTINATHA; Amalner, 1938; pp. xxi, 1110, vii.

Mayavada or the Non-dualistic Philosophy (Vedanta), by Sadhu SANTINATHA, Poona, 1938; pp. 153, 18, 5.

Thanks to the munificence of Pratap Seth of Amalner fame, Sadhu SANTINATHA has been enabled to bring out two lengthy volumes of criticism of the Philosophy of Religion. This examination of all shades of theories, Eastern and Western, shows evidence of patient labour and a keenly critical mind. The conclusion that the riddle of the universe must remain unsolved is identical with Sri Harsha's, but for the latter's profession of Advaita; our Sadhu has as little use for Advaita as for other theories.

The booklet on Māyāvāda is specially devoted to the exposition of Advaita, and its refutation in pp. 451-628 of the bigger volume has also been reprinted as a companion booklet. A more sympathetic understanding would have secured more satisfactory results. It is neither correct nor fair to identify the Advaitin's self-luminous experience (anubhuti) with the knowing subject (pp. 522, 523). Nor is it very sound to convict the theist of the fallacy of composition, in the face of the determined attempts of systems like the Śaiva Siddhānta to avoid just this fallacy. Despite such deficiencies, the patient reader will find much stimulating material in the volumes.

Madras. S. S. S.

A CHAPTER ON THE REIGN OF 'ALI ' ADIL SHAH OF BIJAPUR*

By

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[This article is based on the *Tarikh-i-Bijapur* of Ibrahim Zubairi, and it deals with events that took place after the battle of Talikota.

It gives a picture of the caves and creeks that once existed in the principal part of the city of Vijayanagara, supplies the date of Ram Raja's death, and narrates the conquest of Raichur and Mudgal by Ali Adil Shah, the construction of Bijapur fortress, Ali Adil's conquest of the Karnatic, his success over the forces of Ahmadnagar and Golconda, the construction of a fort at Mahdarak or Dharwar, the death of Kishwar Khan, the Bijapur general, Ali Adil's conquest of Adoni, the alliance that was made between Adil Shah and Nizam Shah, the appointment of Mustafa Khan as the minister of Bijapur, and lastly the conquest of Bankapur by Adil Shah.]

There are mountains with chasms and creeks in the principal part of the city of Vijayanagara. Some three or four leagues below these mountainous crevices, there runs the thoroughfare which is sometimes spacious and sometimes narrow : again, at some places it is so dark that one cannot walk without the help of a torch : sometimes, the sky is made visible and the light is to be seen. (After the battle of Talikota) most of the inhabitants of Vijayanagara left the city[1] and ran away in different directions ; some betook themselves to the caves and took up their abode there. These dwellers of the caverns would issue out of their retreats and secure food and water from without. When the Muslims picked up this information, they kept a sharp look out for the egress of the Hindus. Whenever the Hindus came in sight, the Muslims laid violent hands on them, and would not let them go unless they had wrenched something from their captives.

Rafi-ud-din Shirazi, who was an eye-witness to one of such adventures, relates his personal experiences. Some three or four Hindus were kidnapped by the Muslims one day. On being put to the rack, they alluded to the existence of the mountainous cleft that had served the purpose of a hiding place for their wives and children, their goods and chattels. Later, in return for an assurance of safety to their life, the prisoners made an offer of a large sum of money to the escort and also led them to their hiding places. Wickedness and covetousness are the two characteristic weaknesses of human beings. The hands of these captives were put together by means of cords, and the prisoners

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* Based on *Bussatin-us-Salatin* or *Tarikh-i-Bijapur* of Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi.

The events narrated in these pages took place after the battle of Talikota, for which please refer to my article " The Battle of Talikota—Before and After " published in the Vijayanagara Six-centenary Commemoration Volume, p. 245.

1. The text reads ... ورزيده

were made to march in front of the *concierge* who followed them at close quarters. Having traversed some distance, the party came across deep gorges that ran in various directions. Now, the muslims took fright lest they might lose their way during the return-journey and wander in distress in the ravine, and thus might be captured and killed. To keep themselves on the safe side, they procured some dressed cotton, and made two or three torches. The party, now, worked its way. While moving forward along the intricate maze, the muslims left their finger marks on the rocks, so that during their return-march they might be guided by those impressions....The *troupe* proceeded half a league inside the cavern till they reached a point where the passage became very narrow. Then, with great difficulty and in a kneeling pose, they covered a distance of three to four yards. When two of the captives whose hands had been tied with ropes went past the narrow portion of the gorge they asked their companions to follow them. An articulate sound was now heard, and it seemed that, a large number of persons were speaking up within. A clashing of arms was also audible. The chords round the hands of the prisoners were ripped up, and they went inside the cave. The noise grew louder and louder every movement, and it became obvious that there were many persons inside the cave. The muslims now took alarm and thought that, in case they proceeded any further, they ran the risk of an assault upon them. Being rendered helpless, they turned back frightened and disappointed; they, then, edged their way with the help of the finger-marks left by them on the rocks, and at last issued out of the labyrinth safe and sound.

Most of the hills in that area are full of defile and *crevasse*.

Anagundi, a populous city, is situated near Vijayanagara. A large running stream meanders between these two cities. After the destruction of Vijayanagara, Ādil Shāh took measures for populating Anagundi. Agents were appointed to make it a flourishing city, and soon a large number of people alighted and colonized it.

Three years subsequent to the event narrated before, the son of Ram Raja, who had run away from the battle-field (Talikota) and taken refuge with his family in a cave that was situated at a distance of three leagues from Anagundi, moved out of his retreat, and having captured Anagundi expelled the Ādil Shāhi agents.

Rafi-ud-dīn reports that, the son of Ram Raja with all his family lived at Anagundi till 1017 H. (1609 A.D.) and derived income out of the revenue raised from the town and its adjoining places.

The date of this event (death of Ram Raja) is described as "*Fatah-Din Marg La'ain*" or the victory of the Faith and the annihilation of the accursed. Gulām 'Alī Astrābādi, the father of Muhammad Qasim Ferishta has called it appropriately as "*Qatal Ram Raja.*" If the letter jim (ج) be eliminated the remaining alphabets would (according to the *Abjad* system of reckoning) tally with the date of his execution which is 972 H (1564-65 A.D.). The disjoined head of Ram Raja was despatched to 'Imād Shāh (of Berar) by way of terrorising him, inasmuch as, he had not entered into an alliance

with 'Ādil Shāh, but on the contrary, being actuated by rebellious motive and evil intentions had extended the hand of destruction in the territory of Nizām Shāh (of Ahmadnagar).

Previous to this, a compact had been formed among the Muslim sovereigns to the effect that, after the conquest of Vijayanagara two of the four important fortresses, viz., Raichur and Mudgal, would be ceded to 'Ādil Shāh. Now, when 'Ādil demanded the surrender of the said fortresses, Nizām Shāh and Qutb Shāh sent an embassy to Tilmraja demanding from him the evacuation of the two fortresses. But Tilmraja made excuses. As the rainy season set in, 'Ādil Shāh became anxious. At last, it so transpired that, Nizām Shāh and Qutb Shāh not only did not agree to the cession of the fortresses but had also dissuaded Tilmraja from surrendering them to 'Ādil, for, Nizām and Qutb looked with disfavour upon the increase of 'Ādil's power and dignity resulting from his possession of Raichur and Mudgal. Further, Nizām became disquieted as he thought that, if 'Ādil became hostile, he would stand in the way of the two Sultans' (Nizām and Qutb) return to their countries. Both (Nizām and Qutb), therefore, took recourse to a stratagem. They sent a written note to 'Ādil informing him that, 'Imād Shāh (of Berar) had invaded Ahmadnagar and that for the suppression of the invader, both should (with 'Ādil's permission) march against him. But as 'Ādil knew that the presence of Nizām and Qutb was a hindrance to the success of his enterprise, he permitted them to return.

Nizām Shāh and Qutb Shāh return to their countries.

After their departure, 'Ādil besieged Raichur. The garrison keenly felt the want of provision and drinking water. The nobility, therefore, made up their mind to approach Ādil and pay him their homage. The Bijapur ruler accepted their submission and conferred on them gifts and robes of honour. The garrison, on their part, became disappointed of help and supply of provision, and they, likewise, drew in their horns. They made a present of the keys of the fortresses to 'Ādil and the latter, in return, bestowed on them royal gifts and robes of honour. Royal officers were appointed to look after the fortresses. The Bijapur Sultan insisted on rebuilding Raichur; having personally looked to the construction work, he made his way to the capital. By way of thanksgiving (to God) and commemorative of the great victory, 'Ādil opened the door of charity in such a manner that, the poor and indigent gave themselves up to pleasure and merry-making.

Ādil captures Raichur, Mudgal etc. and returns.

When the territory of Ali 'Ādil Shāh expanded and his army grew in number, people flocked to his court from the four corners of the globe. The people of Bijapur were always under an apprehension lest their enemies might effect a combination and avenge the wrong done to Ahmadnagar by the Bijapur Sultan. Regard being had to this fact, 'Ādil Shāh constructed a fort of stone and mortar. The work of construction was entrusted to Kishwar Khan, and expert builders and sculptors were

Foundation of Bijapur fortress and construction of Ja'mia' mosque and canals.

recruited from all sides. A large number of experienced persons were appointed as supervisors, and the construction of each portion of the fortress was committed to the charge of a courtier. The structure was completed within two and half years.[1] In area it was six leagues : the width of the ramparts measured 18 *dar'a* and the height 8 *dar'a*.[2] There were 120 towers, 6000 turrets and 70 windows. Each tower was strong like a fort and the whole architecture was strengthened by stone and mortar. There were six gates. The gate to the west was called " The Holy Mecca ", and the other gates were named after the villages that lay adjacent to them. There was a deep and a wide moat with a constant flow of water round the fort. The whole construction was completed towards the beginning of 973 H. (1565-66 A.D.). The nobility and the high officials occupied the palatial mansions. There stood in the city of Bijapur the castle of double walls and double moats that had formerly been built by Ibrāhim 'Ādil Shāh.[3] Within a short time, three large orchards were laid out inside the castle wall. The first nursery was called the *Duwazdah* or the twelve, after the twelve Imāms ; the name might also refer to the amalgamation of twelve small beds much older in date. The second was known as *Alwi Bagh*, and the third *Bāgh-i-'Ali*. The grandees built their houses near the gardens. There were a large number of parks near the city which yielded summer and winter fruits.

By the orders of the Sultan, Kishwar Khan cut an aqueduct and supplied water to the city from a distance of two leagues. A large reservoir, called *Karanj*, was constructed near the Bijapur fort. It was always full of water, and the citizens received an ample supply of water from it.

The climate of Bijapur was moderate and wholesome. It made men healthy and increased their appetite. Outside the fort walls a large and populous town named Shāhpur grew up. Merchandise was imported into this city from all parts of the world and then carried to different places. There was a big stock of commodity in the town. Originally, Shāhpur was situated at a distance of one league from the citadel, but later on, it touched the confines of the Bijapur fort : now, only the ramparts and the ditch lie between the two.

On account of its vast population specialists and experts came in large numbers to the city (Bijapur) from all parts of the country. Articles of every description were available there.

A very large and exquisite Jāmiā mosque was constructed at Bijapur under the supervision of Kishwar Khan.

The construction of the entrenchments round the city (Bijapur) was completed within three years.

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1. Rafi'-u'd Din Shirazi, the author of Tazkirat-ul-Muluk says that the fort was constructed in 2 years.

2. Rafi'-u'd Din gives the width as 18 yards and height as 20 yards.

3. Originally, the fort was made of mud. After about 1530 A.D. Ibrahim thought of strengthening it. (*Tazkirat-ul-Muluk*)

After the destruction of Vijayanagara and the death of Ram Raja, 'Ādil Shāh incorporated the territories of Vijayanagara which extended from the Krishna to the port of Rameshwar and consolidated his empire. With the subjugation of the chiefs and governors, private quarrels and feuds disappeared from the land. Tilmraja,[1] the brother of the late Ram Raja, resided at Palconda[2] and became reconciled to the territory that he had conquered.

Ādil invades Karnatic: jealousy of Nizām Shāh and Qutb Shāh.

'Ādil Shāh passed his days in peace and happiness. The personal talent that he had shown in carrying the holy wars added to his fame and glory, rank and honour. After a temporary respite, he again made up his mind to take up the sword and conquer territories. For the glorification of the Faith and the expansion and consolidation of the empire, he aimed a blow at the neighbouring kingdoms of Palconda[3] and Nirmal. Kishwar Khan, the trustworthy minister of 'Ādil, passed an opinion that, it was not necessary that the king should personally lead an expedition against the infidels; any skilful and experienced courtier could, if he was entrusted with the duty of carrying out the imperial order, bring the expedition to a successful issue.

'Ādil Shāh, accordingly, sent Kishwar at the head of twenty thousand armed cavalry against the Hindus. When this fact became known to Qutb Shāh, he sent an ambassador to Nizām Shāh. The note that Qutb had sent ran: "None of us possess any rich and fertile land to the south of Bijapur. It is rumoured that, a Bijapuri force under Kishwar Khān has been despatched to that side. In view of our present resources we cannot offer any opposition to Bijapur. But with fresh conquests and annexations 'Ādil would grow more powerful and he would reduce us to subjection. Under such circumstances it is only becoming that we should attack Bijapur. We would, in that case either conquer a portion of his kingdom or compel him to recall his army devoid of any military glory." Nizām admitted the weight of Qutb's argument and having persuaded the chief of Berar to cast in his lot with him, Qutb joined Nizām. The confederate forces then took the offensive against Bijapur.

Nizām Shāh, Qutb Shāh and the son of Tafaul Khān, the minister of Imād Shāh (of Berar), formed a combination against 'Ādil Shāh and invaded his kingdom. On receipt of this information, the Bijapur Sultan left his headquarters and met the advancing army at Shah Darak. The enemies had no courage to give battle; they marched against Bijapur through a different route and halted near the tank at Shāhpur. They were under an impression that, it was easy to capture the flourishing city of Bijapur, which was in an undefended

The allied army invade Karnatic: Kishwar defeat the auxiliary army.

1. Ferishta writes Timraj and makes him the son of Ram Raja.

2. Ferishta writes "Penkonda," and says that it was "Venkatadry" the younger brother of Ram Raja and not Timraj who ruled at that place.

3. Acc. to Ferishta, Ali Ādil Shāh wanted to place "Timraj" in place of "Venkatadry" and the latter applied to Nizam Shāh for help.

state and was protected only by a fortress which, again, was not complete in construction. 'Ādil Shāh, on the other hand, took no alarm. He remained at Shah Darak, and sent out a force for the defence of Bijapur. The towers, gates and other fortifications were now strengthened, and a corps of six thousand horse mounted guard over the city. On the third day, the enemies having marshalled their forces, approached the city and besieged it. They were, now, on the look out for getting an access into the city, when cannon was fired upon them which killed two of their horses and one elephant. Two battles were fought, one near the Sarwār gate and the other near the *Mangoli* gate[1]—in both, the Bijapuris offered stubborn resistance to their opponents.

Among the soldiers of 'Ādil Shāh there was a certain chief named Hindui Hindiya[2], who was the master of two thousand swift-footed horse of which even the smallest was worth not less than one hundred gold coins. Having made all his troops lie in ambush, he rushed at the enemies with 300 cavaliers. He then pretended to beat a hasty retreat, so that, his followers who had been lying in wait, might drive the enemies hard from the front and the rear. Hindui and his men marched some distance in the scorching rays of the Sun. Owing to lack of water and the unbearable heat of the Sun, his followers and beasts of burden became entirely worn out, when, all of a sudden, they caught sight of the Allāpūr reservoir. The enemy cavalry, on their part, wanted to reach it as well. At this stage, Kamil Khān, Nasīr-ul-Mulk and Pir Muhammad Muquarrab Khān, who had been placed in defence of Allāpūr gate hastened to meet them... The enemies were soon hemmed in on all sides and run down. Some of their generals were killed, some wounded and some taken prisoners. Meanwhile Kishwar, who had been sent against Nirmal, reached the spot with 20,000 horses. This timely arrival of Kishwar added fresh strength to the Bijapuri army. The enemies were totally defeated, and Kishwar laid his hands on a rich booty consisting of 150 elephants, four to five thousand horse, and a huge amount of goods and chattels. Moulānā 'Ināyatullāh, the minister of Nizām Shāh, was taken prisoner by a Bijapuri named *Sherzādāk*, but the latter, out of old intimacy, set him free. Moulānā Jamāluddin, the treasurer of Nizām Shāh and his attendants were also imprisoned.

Kāmil Khan, who had once been a faithful servant of Nizām Shāh, was now in the suite of 'Ādil Shāh and attained the rank of a commander. Bearing in mind Nizām's past kindness and affection towards him, Kāmil released all the prisoners and sent them back to Nizām with a present of four hundred loads of fruit for the Sultan. Kāmil sent a message to Nizām. It stated that, the discomfiture which his (Nizām) army had suffered was due to the timely arrival of Kishwar Khān that imparted extra strength to

1. On the South of the fort the gate is called after the Mangoli Town which lies few miles S. E. of Bijapur.

2. The text reads هندوی هندیا

the Bijapuri army; that, as his faithful servant he (Kāmil) had left no stone unturned to look to his interest, though Kishwar Khan was not at all favourably disposed towards him; that, it was, under the circumstances, only proper and advisable that he (Nizām) should run back to his country otherwise a serious misfortune was in store for him. Nizām Shāh attached importance to this advice. Attended by all his followers he withdrew to his country.

Kishwar now held a council of war. "We should not," he addressed the other war-officers, "Miss this opportunity, for, a chance once lost is lost for ever. We have frustrated our enemies. Many of them are scattered and wounded. If I am permitted I can snap them up." Shāh Abul Hassan, the son of Shāh Tahir, and some others shrugged their shoulders. They held that, if the Deccani Sultanates lost their power, the whole of the peninsula would melt into one empire. In spite of the difference in opinion, Kishwar Khān, with a select body of troops, attacked the enemies and captured their camels, horses and other movables. Thus, when the enemy had made their exit, Kishwar Khān and Shāh Abul Hassan found their way to Shāh Darak and paid their homage to 'Ādil Shāh, who offered thanks to Kishwar and bestowed robes of honour upon him. The Sultan, then, turned his attention towards the administration of his kingdom.....

Nizām Shāh and others form alliance and attack Ādil Shāh.

Notwithstanding the repeated failures that they had met, the enemies (of 'Ādil) were not repentant, but were, on the contrary, setting their wits to work for the defeat of 'Ādil. The Bijapur Sultan deputed Kishwar Khan and some other nobles of high rank to put a check to the evil machinations of the malefactors.[1] Kishwar selected Ahsanābād as his headquarters, and took the offensive. Day after day, the contestants fought with each other, and there was heavy casualty on both sides. But Kishwar and his officers were at cross purposes. So the opponents made a timely attack on Kishwar, and the latter being attacked by the three kings (Ahmadnagar, Golconda and Berar) was hardly able to bear the brunt of the assault and betook himself to the fort: his soldiers took shelter in the trenches. Although he ordered his troops to fire cannons from the fortress, they, being actuated by ill-will and malice, displayed negligence and carelessness.....As soon as the Bijapur ruler received this message he entered the lists like a raging storm. The enemies failed to hold their ground and retired from the scene of action. 'Ādil Shāh, thus, returned to his capital in the midst of mirth and rejoicings.

Kishwar constructs the fort of Mah Darak also called Dharwar: his death.

Kishwar Khan, who was undoubtedly one of the bravest generals of his time, achieved wonderful glory and marvellous success every day. He was promoted to higher rank and more dignified position in the presence of all his brother officers. His ungracious rivals being actuated by rancour

1. Acc. to Ferishta, Kishwar marched against the enemies in 975 H = 1567 A.D.

used their endeavour to bring about his fall. They always found fault with him, and his virtues were represented as vices. In order to keep himself safe from all their evil designs, Kishwar deemed it advisable to make himself scarce. ... He made a representation to the Sultan stating that, there was no trace of an old fort named Mah Darak that was once situated near the territory of Nizām and at a distance of ten leagues from Shāh Darak; that if His Majesty would permit, he would reconstruct the fort in a short time and this reconstruction would surely facilitate the task of making frequent raids on Nizām's territories and conquering it. But the nobles of the court were divided in their opinion on this question. Some were at one with Kishwar, while others at variance with him. "Let us", the King said at the conclusion of the debate, "consult the Holy Quran. We should act in conformity to what is enjoined in the Holy Book." Moulana 'Ināyat-ullāh Maqsad Shirāzi, also known as Afzal Khān, happened to be present in that royal assembly. The Sultan turned to him and commanded, "Refer to the Holy Quran and observe how it augurs." While opening the Book, Afzal came across the verse dealing with "slaughter and carnage." "We should," the Khān gave his opinion, "abstain ourselves from the act of construction, otherwise, it would result in bloodshed." But Kishwar was not inclined to give up the object he aimed at, and put forward his own interpretation. "The act of consulting the Quran," he said, "savours of blasphemy and idolatory. For arguments' sake even if this consultation be justified, this verse could only be applicable to the fate of our enemies."..... "If Kishwar is obstinate," 'Ādil Shāh at last held forth, "let him reap the consequences. We wash our hands of the business."

At last, Kishwar Khan, in the company of experts and specialists in the art of building construction, moved towards Mah Darak and began the construction work. One noble was deputed to look after the construction of each tower. Most of the nobles did their best for imparting stability and strength to the new construction. But Ankus Khān, who bore a grudge against Kishwar, left a breach in the parapet. The construction was completed within a short time, and this fort was later named Dhārwar. The place became the store house for war materials, such as, cannons, muskets, siege engines, field pieces and the like. For the purpose of providing the garrison with ration, some forty-thousand bags of grain that had been secured from the territory of Nizām, were stored up in the fort.

Meanwhile, Nizām Shāh, who was ever hostile to 'Ādil Shāh, took exception to the conduct of Kishwar, and having raised an army, made preparations for a fresh encounter. The combined forces of Ahmadnagar, Golconda and Berar marched upon Kishwar, who also held his ground: Kishwar sent a petition to the King of Bijapur asking for military assistance and the presence of the Sultan in the field. At the order of 'Ādil Shāh, every chief marched to Mah Darak with his army. Though these chiefs had been sent in the relief of Kishwar, their conduct and action were always against the interest of the latter. Many of these nobles, such as, Aīnu-l-Mulk, Noor

Khān, Shah Abul Hassan and others, who always entertained hostile designs against Kishwar, did not like that he should enjoy a dignified and exalted position. They were lacking in a spirit of co-operation and submission, and thus failed to do their duty.

Shāh Abul Hassan, who was a friend of Nizām Shāh and favourably inclined towards him, looked more to his (Abul Hassan's) interests than to anything else. He, now, dissuaded the Bijapur ruler from helping Kishwar Khan. He further deceived many of the nobles and the chief, by representing that, their contribution towards his (Kishwar's) cause would not stand them in good stead, and the victory in the battle would, undoubtedly, add to his glory and renown, and place the amirs under his subjection. It was much better if they had left the place and sacked the capital of Zani Shāh, for, in that case, the chiefs of Nizām Shāh would take fright and having left the battle field would go away in defence of their family honour; and Nizām, on his part,being unable to continue the battle, would be compelled to retire to Ahmadnagar.

Being thus duped by Abul Hassan, the chiefs left Mah Darak and proceeding to Ahmadnagar, put things out of gear. Nizām Shāh realised the situation and became assured of the disruption in the Bijapuri camp. He showed little concern for the protection of his country from the devastation of the Bijapuri nobles and stormed Mah Darak. Though hard-pressed, Kishwar maintained his ground and repelled the enemies. With a firm determination for winning victory, the assailants fought with great vigour and made repeated onslaughts. Before the gate, stood Kishwar showing a bold front and retaliating upon the enemies. At this critical movement, the beleaguers got an access into the fort through the breaches made in the walls by the malicious Bijapuri nobles Ankus Khan and Ahang Khān. Negligence and lack of vigilance on the part of the watchmen also brought about this incident. While Kishwar was fighting tooth and nail, news reached him that the enemies had found entry into the fort. He was terribly shocked and disappointed, but continued fighting bravely.....But as divine assistance had forsaken him all his efforts were of no avail.....An arrow struck him on the abdomen and went deep into the body. Kishwar fell down and his followers made a stampede. Kishwar's head was severed off the trunk and brought before Nizām Shāh. The latter ordered that the body should be flayed and the skin be stuffed with straw and paraded in the camp.

Story is related that, on the day of the battle when Kishwar was marching out fully armed, he came across a certain individual, who had in his hands the poetical works of Khwajah Hafiz, *May his secrets be sanctified*! He took the work from him and on opening it, he found the following verse at the top of the page he had opened.

VERSE.

He who had on his head the bejewelled crown in the morning,
Was found with his head on the dust at the time of evening prayer!

Thereupon, Kishwar became down-hearted: he, however, mounted his horse and galloped off. In the sequel, he met his death in the manner that has been described above. Ah, poor soul, even dust was denied him beneath his head! Nizām Shah made a triumphant entry into Mah Duraḥ and committed it to the charge of his loyal lieutenants. He rewarded the prisoners with gifts and robes of honour.

Among the prisoners there was a certain negro named Yakut or the Ruby who was a bond-slave of the deceased Kishwar. Nizām ordered that the naked body of Kishwar Khan should be handed over to Yakut. "Every soul," the slave declared, "has received royal blessing and a robe of honour, why should an exception be made in the case of Kishwar?" At the orders of Nizām the body of Kishwar was handed over to Yakut. The body was covered with its own skin and the severed head was stitched to the trunk. Nizām, then ordered that, the body should be carried to Bijapur and interred in the orchard that was laid out by the deceased.

Having the game in his own hands, Nizām Shāh, next, turned to the 'Ādil Shāhi nobles, who had gained nothing out of their resistance to Kishwar, and paid dearly for their discord and dissension. Ainu-l-Mulk was put to death and Noor was taken prisoner.

When the news of Kishwar's death and of the sack of Mah Duraḥ reached the ears of 'Ādil Shāh, he knit his brows. "Kishwar Khān," the Sultan ejaculated, "turned a deaf ear to the advice of Afzal Khan, and the consequence is that what the Holy Book predicted has been accomplished." To wreak his vengeance he wanted to assume the offensive against the enemies, but as the latter, having disbanded themselves, had marched back to their country, he put off the matter till the next time.

Abul Hassan, the son of Shah Tahir and the prime-minister of Bijapur, was sent on an expedition against the fort of Adoni.[1] The fort was strong and impregnable, and none of the earlier muslim sovereigns had conquered it. Situated on the summit of a mountain, the fort contained many lofty buildings and fountains flowing with sweet and transparent water. Sew Rai and the later sovereigns of the Vijayanagara house strengthened the fort in every possible way as a protection against the growing power of the Muslims. With 8000 infantry and cavalry and fully equipped with cannons and artilleries, Abul Hassan set out on his campaign. The commandant of the fort was originally a noble in the court of Ram Raja, but he had, on the death of the latter, taken possession of the fort, made his position strong and paid homage to none. The commander displayed his gallantry against the assaults made by Ankus, but he was defeated in all the engagements. In the end, he removed all his provisions in the fort and took shelter in it. When after a prolonged siege the provisions had run short,

The Bijapuris under Ankus conquer Adoni.

1. Ferishta relates how before an expedition against Adoni was undertaken Ādil Shāh moved to Goa (in 976 H=1568 A.D.) with a view to recovering the place from the Portuguese but being defeated was forced to retire.

he sued for peace and surrendered the fort to the victor. Flushed with success, the Bijapuris began conquering the neighbouring regions and the forts till they illuminated the whole of the pagan area with the light of Islam. The heathen temples were pulled down and mosques raised in their place.

Though an agreement and combination had been affected between 'Ādil Shāh and Nizām Shāh through the conjoint efforts of clever diplomats, it led to no beneficial results. As victims of hypocracy and perverseness, both the Sultans were at loggerheads with each other, with the consequence that, prosperous and flourishing countries were laid waste. Consequently, Shāh Abul Hassan, the son of Shāh Tahir and Khwaja Mirak approached Jingiz Khān, the minister of Nizām Shāh, for bringing about an harmony between the two rulers. The minister induced the Sultans to hold a conference and split the difference that existed between the two. It was agreed upon that, 'Ādil Shāh would annex Vijayanagara, and Nizām Shāh, Bidar and Berar...The terms being agreed upon, the parties bade farewell to each other in the midst of rejoicing and mirth and returned to their capital.

Alliance between Ādil Shāh and Nizām Shāh through the intervention of Abul Hassan and Jingiz Khān.

In conformity to the pact, Nizām Shāh settled preliminaries and forced his way to Berar. The chieftains, who had been disgusted with the son of Tafawal Khan for his rebellious conduct against his own overlord whom he had put under restraint, took the side of Nizām Shāh and acknowledged his sovereignty. Thus, without any strife or bloodshed the whole of Berar came under the sway of Nizām Shāh.

In consultation with his councillors, 'Ādil Shāh, likewise, equipped himself with an army and marched out against Vijayanagara. He laid siege to Palconda. The Hindu chiefs of that locality, who were called *Pārakgirs*[1] or *Nāyeluars*, were noted for their bravery and military skill. After the death of Ram Raja, they were the first to acknowledge allegiance to 'Ādil Shāh. They always remained in the vanguard of the Bijapur army and took part in plundering and devastating the enemy territory. But during the period under review, they had become supercilious on account of their wealth and prowess, and had, ultimately, cast off the hegemony of Bijapur. They cut off supplies from the Bijapur forces and helped the garrison with ration. In view of the fact that, the Hindu chiefs had in their army 15,000 horse armed with swords and were warlike, 'Ādil Shāh put off the siege for a future occasion and wheeled round and returned to his headquarters via Gulbargah.

After a temporary respite, 'Ādil Shāh sounded the note of preparation, and took up the cudgels against the refractory governor of Torkul.[2] Having

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1. The text reads در شجاعت و سپاهی گری باغ طویل میداشتند حتی که این قوم از یک دکن می گفتند

2. Ferishta places the expedition in 978 H or 1573 A.D. and gives the name of the governor as Venkutty Yesso Ray.

Invasion of the infidel lands: Dismissal of Abul Hassan, and the appointment of Mustafa Khān Ardistani as the minister of Bijapur.

administered the lash to the rebel, the Sultan turned to Dharwar and conquered it. Meanwhile, on account of some mis-conduct, Shah Abul Hassan was dismissed from the ministry and was succeeded by Mustafa Khan, alias Saiyid Kamāluddin Hussain. After he had come out of his native country, Kamaluddin gained favour in the court of the Qutb Shahis and gradually rose to power. He became the prime minister of Golconda, and the title of Mustafa Khan was conferred on him. When Ram Raja was slain, he took leave of the Qutb Shahis and reached Bijapur. 'Ādil Shāh bestowed honour and dignity on him. Step by step, he rose to the position of prime minister, and by dint of his wise policy he made the country flourishing. He, then, subdued the rebels of the Carnatic, conquered a number of territories and thus caused an expansion of the Bijapur kingdom by his statesmanship.

Conquest of Bankapur.

When the affairs at Dharwar was brought to a successful issue,[1] 'Ādil Shāh sent his victorious army under Mustafa Khan to conquer the fort of Bankapur. After the death of Ram Raja, one of his subordinates[2] had conquered the fort and become recalcitrant. At the approach of the Muslims, the Raja of Bankapur sent his son with 1000 cavalry and 10000 infantry against the invaders, and himself retired to a fort with ample store of ammunition and food. The Raja's son located himself in the thorny forest and hilly regions, and then, gave battle to the muslims. The latter routed their opponents, captured many prisoners and cut off supplies. The Raja sent an appeal for help to the brother of the late Ram Raja, the ruler of Palconda. In return for the help sought for, the Raja promised to become his vassal. On receipt of the letter begging help, the Palconda ruler admonished him and wrote in reply that the petitioner had broken away from the bonds of loyalty and had, thereby, set an example which made others violate their allegiance to the liege-lord. He, however, sent the required aid. Thus, the neighbouring (Hindu) chiefs and *Pānchgirs*[3] advanced rapidly and bore down upon their enemies. They blocked up the roads, and intercepted supplies: they imprisoned the Muslims and cut off their nose and ears. On nightfall, they made a dead set against their opponents and seized whatever things they could lay their hands on. Thus, on account of inadequate supply and of ill-blood and fury on the part of the infidels, the Muslims came to a deadlock. But they made up their mind to fight to the last. Mustafa Khan infused courage into the rank and file, and displayed his military skill. He recruited 6000 cavalry composed of Hindu chiefs and set them against the enemies. So that, whenever, the opponents would make a sortie,

1. Acc. to Ferishta the fort was taken within six months.
2. Ferishta gives the name as Velapa Ray.
3. The text reads پانچ گیران

they might be repulsed by this cavalry force. Further, Mustafa Khan sent 8,000 infantry to invest the enemy-fortress; barricades that might serve the purpose of double-trench were constructed and a strict watch over the enemy's manœuvres was kept day and night. With the adoption of such measures the depredations of the enemies came to a standstill and the muslim army received an ample supply of provision from outside. The latter, now, rallied round and made vigorous efforts in storming the fort and putting pressure upon the garrison. At last, when their supplies were cut off, the inmates of the fortress sued for peace.

Mustafa Khan found his way into the fortress; he ordered for the demolition of the great temple and its idol and the construction of a big mosque on its site. The Sultan of Bijapur and his vizier (Mustafa Khan) laid the foundation of the new construction. When the structure was complete, a *Khatib*,[1] a *muezzin*[2], and an *imam*[3] were attached to the mosque. Thus, *namāz*,[4] *Azān*[5] and other allied religious functions observed by the muslims were introduced in that place. As a reward for his wise and diligent discharge of public duties, Mustafa Khan received royal favours and was promoted higher in the imperial service. At last, he was entrusted with the duty of affixing the royal seal to every document relating to civil and financial administration of the country; he was not to wait even for the royal sanction or approval.

The Bijapur ruler made the fortress his temporary residence and amused himself.

Mustafa Khan, on the other hand, was sent with a large force to conquer other fortresses[6] that were fortified by the vassals of Ram Raja. One by one the fortresses were carried by storm and the banner of Islam was hoisted over them. A large number of temples were pulled to pieces and mosques set up on their sites. It is reported that, about two to three hundred temples and about four to five thousand idols made of brass, stone, silver or gold were crushed to atoms. The Bijapur Sultan personally dealt destruction to the images. The expectation of reward in the next world led Ādil Shāh to execute these deeds of iconoclasm. Having, thus, assumed the title of the Champion of the Faith, and after having conferred the territories on Mustafa Khan in reward of his services to the imperial cause, 'Ādil Shāh returned, after an absence of three years, to his headquarters.

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1. The Sermon deliverer.
2. The public crier, who assembles people to prayer.
3. One who leads the congregational prayer.
4. Devotional service.
5. The signal for in summoning to prayer.
6. Jerreh and Chundurgooty, (Ferishta). The Raja of the former place made his surrender to Ādil Shāh. Whereas the Raja of Chundurgooty offered him resistance. Chandergooty was carried by storm in the year 983 H = 1575 A.D.

SAMANA

(SAMANA FESTIVAL)

By

KALICHARAN SHASTRI, Krishnagar.

History is seldom perused for its own sake. Thousands approach it with thousand different purposes in view. It is a free emporium where belligerents peaceably meet. Real history, CARLYLE rightly mourns the loss, has never been written. It can never be written. History proper is nothing but the record of destructive events. The real benefactors of mankind, the builders of societies, the inaugurators of constructive schemes, or the inventors and discoverers of the very elements of civilisations—the very beings upon whose disinterested diligence and devotion our days rest, are forgotten beyond recovery. The march of human society from its infancy to our days is as inscrutable as its origin. Conjectures of antiquarians on the relics of the past, or on the findings of archaeologists have sometimes more muddled and shrouded the truth than have thrown any intelligible or intelligent light on the progress of the human race. Such attempts have more often bordered on the ridiculous like that of DICKENS' Pickwick.

Yet nothing is perhaps more amusing, more instructive, sometimes more profitable, than a successful research into the mines of the 'rich past'. Nothing pays the ceaseless labour and the honest pursuit of a student of ancient history more than the discovery of a link missing from the chain of human progress. He bursts forth like Archimedes—I have found. A few, however, there are in these days of gross utilitarianism who pursue history for its own sake or consider its study as an end in itself. It opens up a field to that disinterested devotee similar to that the passionate lover of arts finds. It is indeed a pleasure and a discovery to watch the slow, mysterious and easy growth of a baby into manhood or womanhood. Equally pleasing is the growth of society from infancy to a developed form. Rightly had the Greeks accorded History the first place among all branches of knowledge and installed Clio, the eldest of the nine Muses, as the deity presiding over it.

Our attempt in this thesis will be to trace the origin and development of the authorised and authenticated, healthy recreations of the Hindu society. To define yet clearly, we propose to discuss herein only those festivals, outdoor and indoor, which have a special bearing on the profane, social and non-religious instincts of the Hindu race. We have thought it judicious to proceed by the rule of dichotomy—of dividing the festivals into religious and non-religious, and we have taken upon ourselves the task of dealing with the latter only. Festivals such as the Durgā-pūjā or the Kālī-pūjā, we have decided not to include in the scope of our discussions. But such

a division of festivals into religious and non-religious may seem to one to be rather fictitious than real inasmuch as the very instinct of the Hindu race associates any institution social or otherwise with something of the Pantheon ; their native impulse has often tinged things non-religious with the emotion of religion. Still our attempt to winnow out the non-religious out of the religious will not be a vagary. We shall see that in many cases the colour of religion in some of the festivals is of later date, they being purely social in their origin. We propose as well to discuss those which show a happy blend of the two elements or the one which borders on the other.

Prof. H. C. CHAKLADAR in his *Social Life in Ancient India*[1] holds on the authority of Vātsyāyana, the celebrated author of *Kāmasūtra*, that there were many high days and holidays when the *nāgaraka* made merry with his friends and companions. With regard to all these games and festivities enjoyed in company, Vātsyāyana gives the sage advice that they can be relished best in the company of friends of the same social status, but not with those that are either above or below one, because permanent good relations and mutual understanding can only be established when each party in a sport seeks to afford pleasure to the other and where each is honoured and respected by the other.[2]

Vātsyāyana classifies the occasional festivities into five groups.[3] In the first place he mentions the festivals in connexion with the worship of different deities (*samāja, yātrā*, and *ghaṭā*), sometimes attended with grand processions ; then come the *goṣṭhīs* or social gatherings of both sexes ; next *āpānakas* or drinking parties and *udyāna-yātrās* or garden-parties, and last of all, various social diversions in which many persons take part (*samasyākrīḍā*).[4]

'The social gatherings are known in later times as *goṣṭhī* (Vide also Amara & Kṣīrasvāmin) which has been described in some detail by Vātsyāyana (*Kāmasūtra*, ch. IV, pp. 47ff, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series). This resembles very much the modern institution, the club. It is held in a definite house where people meet in the evening to amuse themselves with music, drinking and various discourses on literature and arts. Sometimes there are garden-parties and drinking bout in a member's residence. These institutions are apparently meant for healthy amusement and relaxation.[5]

Among the festivals purely social in nature *Samana* seems, on literary evidences, to be the earliest of the kind. The historical records of the times to which the festival relates, appear in the Ṛgveda. We propose to take it

1. Pp. 161f.
2. samasyādyāḥ sahakrīḍā vivāhāḥ saṅgatāni ca |
   samānair eva kāryāṇi nottamairnāpi vādhamaiḥ ||
   parasparā-muddhāsvodā krīḍā yatra pravṛjyate |
   viçesayantī cānyonyaṃ sambandhaḥ sa vidhīyate ||
   —*Kāmasūtra*, CSS, p. 190.
3. ghaṭā-nibandhanaṃ, goṣṭhī-samavāyaḥ, samāpānakaṃ, udyāna-gamanaṃ, samasyāḥ krīḍāçca pravartayet |—Ibid. p. 49.
4. CHAKLADAR, *Social Life in Ancient India*, p. 162.
5. R. C. MAJUMDAR'S *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 174.

up in the first place not because of its any intrinsic value as such a festival, but because it precedes all the rest of its kind in point of time.

The word *Samana* has been variously explained. MONIER WILLIAMS in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* assigns to it the following meanings: Ved. a battle, fighting (in Naigh. II. 17 enumerated among the *saṅgrāma-nāmāni*), rivalry, coming or going together, meeting, union, collection; a marriage, marriage-ceremony; a sacrifice (Say. *yajña*). Yāska[1], the author of the *Nirukta*, explains it as a *saṅgrāma*, who is followed in his explanation by many a Vedic scholar. Sāyaṇa, the celebrated Indian scholiast, interprets it differently on different occasions. This, he does to suit contexts. We can hardly say that he never interprets it as a festival.

Some of the Orientalists among Western scholars delved deep into the Vedic literature with a view to trace the origin of the Hindu civilisation of the East and have often discovered rare materials out of the same, lying neglected till very recent times. It is worth while to refer to them for the interpretation of the term, which they have honestly attempted to unfold.

PISCHEL holds, it is a general popular festival or a social gathering to which men and women are equally welcome. It is specially meant for recreation, relaxation and amusements and not for any religious purpose. It is a tournament in which bowmen compete and riders vie with each other. Poets and artists try their skill and excellence; women, young and elderly, seek their partners and courtezans put to proof their amorous tricks. Festivities continue till the morning or, on occasions, till the fire is extinguished. By the word, GRIFFITH understands a 'gathering'. KEITH believes that it is either a battle or a festival. The conjecture is hardly compatible with itself, unless we agree to explain the contradiction by saying that he interpreted the term to suit the contexts. But it is nevertheless clear that he leans more towards taking it to mean a festival—a popular institution than a battle. PETERSON in his *Hymns from the Rgveda*[2] enumerates, in a note, various meanings as suggested by the use of the word in different contexts, but his final opinion on the word seems to mean an assembly, a holiday gathering.

Our own impression from a close study of the text, though difficult, is that the word must primarily mean a festival, among other things. We shall attempt to show by reference to the text that it is chiefly a social recreation that the term connotes.

We look in vain in the Rgveda for a graphic picture of the *Samana* festival. But there are unmistakable evidences to show that it must have been an occasion zealously seized by all alike as a source of all the elements of joy and peace, music and mirth and meetings and carousings. We trace from the similes and metaphors used in the text, such as, in course of the praise to the gods, that this is an annual festival of the Rgvedic people, for the return of which every heart is eager. It imposes no restrictions on age. People,

1. *Nir.* IX. 14, 18; AnSS, Vol. II, pp. 789, 793.
2. P. 287.

adolescent, young and old take keen interest in it, and seek to satisfy themselves according to their own measures. Elderly people meet with their relatives and kinsmen and old friends and find joy in being introduced to others. Young girls enjoy a latitude on these occasions which they are often denied. They are bold now to seek satisfaction in the company of strangers, in meeting and conversing with them which fact happily reminds one of the Greek festivals. Just to be equal to the occasion, they are described as dressing themselves in the most gaudy fashion possible. It is just a remarkable feature of the festival that no colour of religion is given to it.

Now we turn to the Vedic hymns.—

"svādhyo'vi dhiro devayanto'pi çrayurathayurdevatātā |
pūrvī çiçum na mātarā rihāṇe samagmiro na samaneṣvañjan"[1] | |

"With holy thoughts the pious have thrown open Doors fain for chariots[2] in the Gods' assembly.

"Like two full mother cows who lick their youngling, like maidens for the gathering, they adorn them".[3]

"saṃpravate anuvātasya viṣṭā evaṇ gacchanti samanaṇ na yoṣāḥ"[4]|

"Along the traces of the Wind they hurry, they come to him as dames to an assembly."[5]

We see, therefore, that it is a popular custom with the women, young and grown-up, to join such festivities which are chiefly social diversions.

"In some of the Himalayan Cis-Sutlej States, even to this day, are held similar fairs, notably one at Solon and another at Sipi, where women congregate in large numbers and enjoy themselves in various ways. At the Sipi fair, till very recently, women were arrayed in rows, and exposed for sale and knocked down to the highest bidder. The Vedic Samana must have degenerated into these modern institutions; for while at the former, women both young and elderly, were given an opportunity of selecting their husbands, at the latter they were sold like goods and chattels and allowed no choice of their own. These fairs having degenerated into veritable slave-marts, the enlightened rulers of the States have rightly put them down with a firm hand."[6]

The following hymns, according to PISCHEL, show that poets and artists take part in the ceremonies, their idea being to win fame with regard to their poetic skill and instincts.

"pra te nāvaṇ na samane vacasyuvaṇ brahmaṇā yāmi savaneṣu dādhṛṣiḥ |
kuvinno asya vacaso nibodhiṣadindramutsaṇ na vasunaḥ siceāmake"[7] | |

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1. *Rgveda* VII. 2. 5.
2. Fain for chariots: welcoming the approach of the cars in which the priests come to the ceremony.—GRIFFITH's translation, Vol. II, p. 4 fn.
3. *Op. cit.* p. 4.
4. *Rgveda* X. 168. 2.
5. GRIFFITH's translation, Vol. II, p. 500.
6. A. C. DAS in his *Rgvedic Culture*, pp. 233-234
7. *Rgveda* II. 16. 7.

"I, bold by prayer, come near thee in thy sacred rites, thee like a saving ship, thee shouting in the war.

"Verily he will hear and mark this word of ours; he will pour Indra forth as 'twere a spring of wealth"[1]

"*eṣa pratnena vayasā punānastiro varpāṃsi dukhiturdadhānaḥ* |
vasānaḥ carma trivarūthamapsu hotreva yāti samaneṣu rebhan"[2] | |

"He, purified with ancient vital vigour, pervading all his Daughters' forms and figures,

"Finding his three-fold refuge in the waters, goes singing, as a priest to the assemblies".[3]

In the second hymn quoted above Sāyaṇa explain '*samana*' as a sacrificial ceremony.[4] PISCHEL believes that poets assembled on the occasion. The priest, reciter of the hymn, we see, goes to the assembly. It is evident that it not being out and out any religious ceremony, the presence of the priest for any *bona fide* priestly functions can never be presumed. We may, with reason, infer that he goes there with the idea of displaying his poetic faculties.

It follows from the mention of various amusements connected with the *Samana*, that the area wherein it is held must be spacious. It cannot be otherwise; else how can the archers who enter the arena on such occasions fight in a narrow, enclosed space? Surely a large portion of the area is kept reserved for feats of archery where bowmen display their ability and skill and win various prizes.

We see, now, that PISCHEL is right in thinking that feats of archery form a part of the festival. We have seen that Sāyaṇa[5] and GRIFFITH[6] follow Yāska who explains it as a *saṅgrāma*.[7] We note that the word often implies a gathering. How are we then to account for the new meaning it assumes? We believe that it is a festival, but the prevalence of mock-fight in the shape of tournament of archers gained prominence in later days and in consequence of this, that in Post-Ṛgvedic periods, some have denominated it as a battle, which it is only in a partial sense. Another part of the great space for gathering is reserved for horse-race.

Courtezans appear on the scene in the midst of the revelries in a different part of this extended area, which it is presumed, is implied in the garb of a simile in the following hymn:

"*abhi pravanta samaneva yoṣāḥ kalyāṇyaḥ smayamānāso agnim*"[8]

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1. GRIFFITH's translation, Vol. I, p. 280.
2. *Ṛgveda* IX. 97. 47.
3. GRIFFITH's translation, Vol. II, p. 363.
4. yathā hotā stuti-dhvanim kurvan yajñeṣu yāti
tadvat samaneṣu samanti karmāṇi dhṛṣṭāḥ pragalbhā yantyatreti samanā yajñāḥ teṣu | —D. LAHIRI's RV., VII Aṣṭaka, p. 362.
5. D. LAHIRI's RV., V. Aṣṭaka, p. 66.
6. Vol. I, p. 646.
7. *Ṛgveda* VI, 75, 3, 5.
8. *Ṛgveda* IV. 58. 8.

"Like women at a gathering, fair to look on, and gently smiling, they incline to Agni".[1]

According to ROTH the hymns—

[2] "*te ācaranti samaneva yoṣā māteva putraṃ vibhṛtāmupasthe*"[3] and "*sam prerate anu vātasya viṣṭā ainaṃ gacchanti samanaṃ na yoṣāḥ*"[4] |

imply an embrace and we may say, on the strength of the statements of the authors of the Vedic Index, that the passages present a picture of maidenhood which resembles, in many respects, that of the Greek festivals in which maidens enjoy a good deal of freedom.

At the centre of the place allocated for the purpose, fire is lighted. People gather round it. PISCHEL infers that the festival commences at night and lasts till morning when the fire is extinguished and the celebrators go to look after their own business just at the break of day.

Below we quote the *ṛk* which is revealed in adoration to Uṣā :

"*vi yā sṛjati samanaṃ vyarthinaḥ padaṃ na vetyodhati*"[5]

Sāyaṇa, we have seen, explains the term as battle. But here in this hymn, he takes *samana as* [6] '*samīcīnaṃ ceṣṭāvantaṃ puruṣam*' and *visṛjati* as *preraya*ti : and following in the footsteps of Sāyaṇa thus translates Griffith 'She sends the busy forth, each man to his pursuit : delay she knows not as she springs'.[7] We cannot agree with Sāyaṇa when he interprets the terms as that. He elicits some meaning indeed but at the cost of self-consistency. Would it not be better if we take it to mean a festival and *visṛjati* as creating and thus take Uṣā as the creator of the *Samana* which, according to custom, it may be presumed, begins at dawn ?

"*saṃhotraṃ sma purā nārī samanaṃ vāva gacchati*"[8] |

"From olden time, [9] the matron goes to feast and general sacrifice"[10]. But *gacchati sma*, referring as it does to remote past, should be construed as 'used to go' and not as 'goes'. So we can presume with due reverence to Sāyaṇa

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1. GRIFFITH's translation, Vol. I, p. 463.
2. *Ṛgveda* VI. 75. 4.
3. These, meeting like a woman and her lover, bear, mother-like, their child upon their bosom.—GRIFFITH's translation, Vol. I, p. 646.
4. *Ṛgveda* X. 168. 2.
5. *Ṛgveda* I. 48. 6.
6. *yā devatā samanaṃ samīcīnaṃ ceṣṭāvantaṃ puruṣaṃ visṛjati prerayati | gṛhārāmādi-ceṣṭā-kuśalāṃ puruṣāṃ upajīvālaṭayanād utthāpya svasva-vyāpāre preraya*ti*ti prasiddham |*
—D. LAHIRI's RV. : Sāyaṇa's commentary, I Aṣṭaka, p. 2392.
7. Vol. I, p. 65.
8. *Ṛgveda* X. 86. 10. It also occurs in the *Atharva-Veda* 20. 126. 10.
9. The matron goes to feast : Indrāṇi means that Vriṣākapi assaulted her when she was on her way to a festival, which women were accustomed to attend ; and that her rank as Indra's consort did not preserve her from insult.—GRIFFITH's translation, Vol. II, p. 508n.
10. *Op. cit.* p. 508.

that his explanation only serves to confound the plain import. Again the word *parā* in this hymn is significant. It shows on its face that the festival must have been quite old by the time the hymn was revealed.

From the study of the above passages, we may infer that the festival was current in the days of Vedic culture and we have every reason to believe that it continues to exist even to a much later date. But time modifies its rite to a great extent : its scope is restricted.

VĀCĀRAMBHANA

By

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Ananda K. COOMARASWAMY, interprete sicuro e dottissimo del Veda, ha dato recentemente alla luce uno studio esegetico,[1] d'incomparabile valore, efficacemente l'interpretazione del upaniṣadico sopra riportato.[4]

Sull'uso di *vācārambhaṇa*—termine che occorre nella Chāndogya-Upaniṣad VI, 1. 4—[2] il COOMARASWAMY, a parer mio, dà un'interpretazione poco consona al pensiero delle antiche Upaniṣad.[3] La sua traduzione "Modification is a matter of wording, a giving of names to things" (*vācārambhaṇaṁ vikāro nāmadheyam*), nega evidentemente la pluralità del mondo affermandone, nello stesso tempo, l'irrealtà. Il passo ṛgvedico X. 125. 8, citato e discusso dal COOMARASWAMY da un punto vista puramente psicologico, non sviluppa efficacemente l'interpretazione del upaniṣadico sopra riportato.[4]

La seguente traduzione mette chiaramente in rilievo il significato dell'intero passo:

> "Come, o caro, mediante un solo blocco d'argilla si può conoscere tutto quel che è (fatto) d'argilla, (*tutto essendo*) una pura distinzione verbale,[5] una modificazione, un nome, mentre la realtà è una sola, l'argilla.[6]

Secondo il nostro eminente indianista Valentino PAPESSO, "la individualità dei singoli oggetti sta aggrappata unicamente alle parole, è affare di parole, non di sostanza: le singole cose non sono essenzialmente distinte, a sè, sono solo modificazioni dell'unica realtà, sono, corrispondentemente, denominazioni. Le cose non esistono indipendenti dall'unica realtà. Il passo è inteso dal DEUSSEN e da altri differentemente: 'La modificazione è un appigliarsi alle parole, è un nome'; si avrebbe così negata la pluralità è affermata la irrealtà del mondo (DEUSSEN, *60 Up.* 154, cir. *Allg. Gesh. d. Phil.* I, 11, 40 sg.): ma non è questo il pensiero delle antiche Upaniṣad."[6]

Il COOMARASWAMY si rende perfettamente conto dell'importanza di questa breve discussione, e da parte mia spero che egli ritorni sull'interpretazione del passo upaniṣadico, a favore dell'esegesi vedica.

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1. A. K. COOMARASWAMY, Vedic Exemplarism *HJAS.*, I. 44-64.
2. *yathā saumya ekena mṛt-piṇḍena sarvaṁ mṛn-mayaṁ vijñātaṁ syāt, vācārambhaṇaṁ vikāro nāma-dheyam, mṛttikā ity eva satyam.* || Il termine ricorre anche in VI, 1. 5-6; 4. 1-4.
3. Così gli indianisti DEUSSEN, HUME, SENART, ed. altri ancora.
4. ... (*vācārambhaṇaṁ vikāro nāmadheyam*, reminiscent also of RV. X, 125, 8, where the Word, Vāc, speaks of herself as *ārambhakāṇā bhuvanāni*; *ārambha* has been defined as "mental initiation of action"). *art. cit.*, p. 61.
5. "*un appigliarsi alle parole*".
6. V. PAPESSO, *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, Bologna, 1937, p. 189.

A NOTE ON NA STANAN SAMMRSATI

(ĀPASTAMBA-ŚRAUTASŪTRA VI. 4. 2)

By

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In a passage of the Āpastamba-śrautasūtra, in which the author gives the rule for the milking of the cow that must yield the milk for the agnihotra-offering, we find the following strange statement : "*na stanān saṃmṛśati*."

According to the dictionaries, *saṃ-mṛś* has the same meaning as the simple *mṛś* "to touch." Therefore one is at first inclined to translate literally : "He (the man who has to milk the cow) does not touch the teats" ; and in fact CALAND has translated : "Er berührt die Zitzen nicht." But it is of course impossible to milk a cow without touching her teats.—"*sarvathā saṃmarśanapratiṣedho na yujyate 'śakyatvāt*" says a commentator.—CALAND explains the passage by saying : "Nachdem durch das Kalb die Milch zum Fliessen gebracht ist, berührt er nicht, wie im gewöhnlichen Treiben, *mit der befeuchteten Hand*, die Zitzen."—That is : "After the milk has been caused to flow by the calf, one does not touch the teats with the wet hand, as is done in ordinary circumstances."

This explanation is evidently founded on the commentary of the parallel passage of Hiraṇyakeśin : "*na saṃmṛśati : prasavārthaṃ sodakena pāṇinā 'dho na saṃmṛśati*." It seems, however, impossible to admit that, in the text of Āpastamba and in the parallel passages of Hiraṇyakeśin and Baudhāyana, the words "*sodakena pāṇinā*" (with the wet hand), the words which, according to that interpretation, would express the principal idea of the rule, must be understood.

The source of that passage of Āpastamba and of the parallel passages of Hiraṇyakeśin and Baudhāyana is surely the following text of the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa : "*pūrvau duhyāj jyeṣṭhasya jyaiṣṭhineyasya ..... aparau duhyāt kaniṣṭhasya kāniṣṭhineyasya ... ; na saṃmṛśati, pāpavasyasasya vyāvṛttyai*."

In this text, and consequently also in the passages which have this text as their source, *saṃ-mṛśati*, accordingly to etymology, means "to touch two or more things at the same time," and there is no question of a wet hand.—"For somebody who is the oldest son of the oldest wife of his father, one should milk the two teats in front ; for somebody who is the youngest son of the youngest wife of his father, one should milk the two teats behind. In order to avoid confusion (in order that one may not make any mistake in the due order), one does not touch simultaneously (that is, one does not touch more than one teat at a time)."

It is true that the commentator of the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa explains *saṃmṛśati* by *mardayati* (one crushes, one squeezes) and *pāpavasyasa* by *pāpayuktaṃ vastu* (bad matter). He says: "In ordinary life, before milking, after the sucking of the calf, for greater stimulation, they squeeze the teats (of the cow) with fingers. Here (at the sacrifice) one prohibits that. One does not squeeze (the teats), for the exclusion of *pāpavasyasa*. The *pāpavasyasa* is the bad matter obtained by violence done to the teats. In order to avoid that, the squeezing of the teats does not take place (there is no squeezing of the teats)." But these explanations are of course inadmissible. *Saṃmṛśati* does not mean "he squeezes," and *pāpavasyasa* does not mean "bad matter." The meaning of *pāpavasyasa* is well established. It means "confusion; mixture of bad and good." For example: "They do so lest there should be a confusion of classes, and in order that society may be in proper order" (Śat. Br. 5. 4. 4. 19).—"The gods arranged the metres so, as it ought to be, lest there should be a confusion" (Śat. Br. 1. 8. 2. 10).—"Now, confusion occurs in that they perform the same thing with a better and a worse instrument; for the ass is worse than the horse; they lead the horse in front to avoid confusion; therefore the worse follows after the better" (Taitt. Saṃh. 5. 1. 2. 2-3).

na stanān saṃmṛśati means: "He does not touch the teats simultaneously; he does not touch more than one teat at a time."

In other passages concerning the rules of the agnihotra, *saṃmṛśati* has the same meaning. It means: "He touches at the same time." For example in Āpastamba-śrautasūtra VI. 8. 4. b. The adhvaryu has drawn four or five spoonfuls of milk from the agnihotra-pot, and has poured them into the large agnihotra-spoon. Then, *gārhapatye hastaṃ pratāpya, saṃmṛśati*, having warmed his hand at the gārhapatya fire, he touches simultaneously (the milk contained in the agnihotra-spoon and the agnihotra-pot).

The parallel passage of Hiraṇyakeśin has: "*unnītaṃ sthālīṃ cābhimṛśati*"—"he touches that which has been drawn *and* the agnihotra-pot." And the parallel passage of Baudhāyana has: "*athai 'te saṃmṛśati*"—"then he touches simultaneously the two things" (Baudh. Śr. s. III. 8. 18). And the commentator (Baudh. Śr. s. XX. 20) explains: "*ubhayaṃ saṃmṛśed yac ca sthālyāṃ sruggataṃ ca 'ti*"—"he should touch, at the same time, the two things, that which stands in the agnihotra-pot and that which is contained in the agnihotra-spoon."

SVETADVĪPA IN PRE-CHRISTIAN CHINA

By

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Ever since A. WEBER directed the attention of orientalists and historians of religion to the Śvetadvīpa-legend in the Śāntiparvan of the *Mahābhārata* the question of its origin has been discussed by a great number of Indianists. WEBER's identification of Śvetadvīpa with Alexandria was not shared by anybody else. But that the legend has something to do with Christianity has been supported by so many scholars that even GARBE, in 1905 still upholding the theory of an Indian origin, sided with the majority in 1914.

By the arguments brought forth by W. J. CLARK[1] and KASTEN RÖNNOW[2] the question was settled. All the characteristics of the white people living north of Mount Meru have been proved as being purely Indian. "The points of contacts with Christianity must be rejected" (RÖNNOW).

If Indianists had been able to demonstrate that the notion of a pious white people far in the north was already known in pre-Christian times much time and acumen could have been spared. Unfortunately this was obviously impossible to prove by the data at their disposal.

This conclusive proof is furnished by a number of passages from Chinese sources.

The essential features of the legend may be summarised as follows (according to GARBE): The white, brightly shining inhabitants of Śvetadvīpa are supernatural beings; they have no senses, live without taking food, are sweet of scent, and sinless; their luster makes sinful men blind; they adore the one invisible god Nārāyaṇa in their hearts by low murmuring of prayers and constantly folded hands; they are filled with the highest love for him.

A white people is spoken of by HUAI-NAN-TSŬ, in the *Shan-hai-ching*, in LÜ PU-WEI's *Lü-shih-ch'un-ch'iu*, and in the *I-chou-shu*.

HUAI-NAN-TSŬ, who died in 122 B.C., in the series of people living "beyond the (four) seas from Northwest to Southwest" also mentions the White People. The others are the Longlegged, the Heavenly, the Shu-shen, the Wu, the Female People, the Male People the Onelegged, the Onearmed, and the Threebodied (chapter 4, 11a/b). From this list alone we may suppose that this white people is no more real than the rest (whereby we may justly exclude the Su-shen).

In an almost equal enumeration in chapter 7 of the *Shan-hai-ching*, treating what is "beyond the seas in the West", we read:

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1. *JAOS* 39 (1919), 209-242.
2. *BSOS* 5 (1928-1930), 253-284.

"The kingdom of the White People is north of the Lungyü. They have a white body and wear their hair open. They have Sheng-huang that look like foxes with horns on their back. They ride on them. They reach an age of two thousand years."

This is not the place to inquire into the relations between HUAI-NAN-TSŬ and the *Shan-hai-ching*.[3] Whatever strata in the text of the *Shan-hai-ching* as handed down to us may be distinguished it is to be remembered that it was commented on by KUO P'O (276-324 A.D.). Not taking into account minor additions and omissions the text was fixed at the latest in the third century A.D.

In the West, too, lives the White People acc. to *Shan-hai-ching* ch. 16; in the East, however, acc. to ch. 14. In the latter passage it originated from the mythical emperors Ti Tsün and his son Ti Hung and belongs to the clan Hsiao. The chapters 14-17 may, with perfect safety, be considered as the latest part of the *Shan-hai-ching*. Their tendency to connect even the fabulous peoples with Chinese emperors and Chinese clans dates them at a time when Chinese imperialism claimed the sway of the world and considered all nations as subjects, that is after Ch'in Shih Huang-ti.

The characteristics of the White People in the older chapters of the *Shan-hai-ching* are therefore: white body, possession of Sheng-huang, living in the far West, north of the Wu-people. The kingdom of the White People is north of the Wu (HUAI-NAN-TSŬ, loc cit.); the Lung-yu live north of the Wu (*Shan-hai-ching* ch. 7, 5a).

Sheng-huang are the tribute given by the White People to king Ch'eng according to *I-chou-shu* ch. 59, 7a. To whatever part of the patched-up Wang-hui-chapter this passage has to be assigned is of no importance to us. It is quoted by KUO P'O.[4] He identifies the Sheng-huang[5] with the "Flying Huang", and that is correct. The Flying Huang appears with other fabulous beings when the world is following the Tao, the right way (HUAI-NAN-TSŬ ch. 6, 9a). In the reign of the virtuous emperor Shun Sheng-huang-horses came forth from the ground (*Chu-shu-chi-nien*, LEGGE, *Shoo-king* prol. 115). HUAI-NAN-TSŬ ch. 8, 20b says that in olden times under the reign of virtuous rulers the earth produced Sheng-huang, but that nowadays they are not seen any longer.

The White People is therefore a people given to Tao, a pious people.

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3. *Asia Major* 1 (1924), 564-565.

4. G. HALOUN, *Seit wann kannten die Chinesen die Tocharer*. Leipzig 1926., p. 116.

5. I believe that formerly not the sheng-huang but the lung-yü were regarded as the riding-animals of the White People. An analysis of the Shan-hai-ching led me to the conclusion that the nucleus of the chapters 6 to 9 was a simple enumeration of names of peoples and fabulous beings, later enlarged by descriptions of pictures illustrating them and finally presented as a geography.

Lung-yü "dragon-fish" is, as shown by the variants, the etymologization of a non-Chinese name (*lung-yü*, *ling-yü*, *ling-kü*, *pang-yü*, pointing to **plang-kiwo*)

And this people is immortal. It reaches immortality by riding on the Sheng-huang (cf. KUO P'O's commentary to *Shan-hai-ching* ch. 14, 4b). That was the mean by which Huang-ti became a hsien (see the commentary to *Han-shu, Li-yo-chih* 22, 13b).

In the above quoted article (see note 3) I proved the identity of the Wu with the Uttarakuru. The Kientree is the Jambū-tree. It yields clothes, its leaves shine and glisten, its fruits remove all maladies (loc. cit. 572-578). The White People lives north of the Kientree acc. to LÜ PU-WEI's (died 235 B.C.) *Lü-shih-ch'un-ch'iu* ch. 13, 4b.

We have thus in China, in pre-christian times, the white, righteous, pious people, north of the World Tree. All essential features of the Śveta-dvīpa, therefore, are pre-christian.

I close with references to statements of several ancient authors that, as far as I can see, have not been thought of as connected with our subject. A CONRADY[1] presumed the White People spoken of in the *Shan-hai-ching* might be a slight proof of a knowledge of India. It reminded him of KTESIAS' Pandare and of MEGASTHENES' Pandai. CONRADY, as LASSEN, connected these names with *pāṇḍu*, white. If actually these names contain *pāṇḍu* and if a white people be really meant thereby then we understand why the Pandare-Pandai are long-lived (annos ducentos vivere, PLINIUS, nat. hist. VII 2, 28) and most righteous (Nicol. Dam. 145).

1. *ZDMG* LX, 345.

USE OF GUNS AND GUNPOWDER IN INDIA FROM A. D. 1400 ONWARDS.

By

P. K. GODE, Poona.

Sir P. C. RAY in his *History of Hindu Chemistry*[1] has collected much valuable information about Gunpowder, Saltpetre and the Mineral Acids. In connection with the belief entertained in some quarters that the ancient Hindus had the knowledge of the art of manufacturing gunpowder he quotes a passage from *Śukranīti*[2] or the Elements of Polity of Śukrācārya, containing mention of *Agni-cūrṇa* or fire-powder (gunpowder) and to *Nālāstra* or gun, but concludes by the remarks that "Śukranīti is a patch-work in which portions of Chapter IV were added sometime after the introduction of gunpowder in Indian warfare during the Moslem period."[3]

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1. Vol. I, Calcutta, 1902, pp. 95-103.

2. Ed. by VIDYASAGARA pp. 555-57 verses 201-211. Verse 202 mentions *agnicūrṇa* or gunpowder. *Nālāstra* or gun is mentioned in verses 203, 205, 210. *Goloḥ* (*lohamayaḥ*) or cannon-ball is mentioned in verses 204, 209, 211. *Laghunāla* or a gun with a light barrel is mentioned in v. 204. Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara, the commentator of the Mahābhārata (Between 1650-1700 A.D.) refers to *nāla* in the following passage :—

"यन्त्राणि आग्नेयौषधबलेन सीसकांस्यदृषदोलक्षेपकाणि लोहमयानि भाषायां नालछन्दानि-खेयानि तेषां सूत्रं मूलकं शास्त्रम्"

This is a description of iron guns. *Agneyauṣadha* = *agnicūrṇa* = gunpowder (Vide *Sabhāparvan*, v. 21. Chitrashala Edition of the *Mahābhārata*, Poona, 1929, p. 17).

3. "Dr. R. L. MITRA, judging from the description of guns alone, concludes this portion to be spurious *vide* Notices of Sanskrit MSS Vol. V, p. 155." Vide p. 145 of "Chronology of Modern India (A.D. 1494-1894) by James BURGESS, London 1913 :—

"A. D. 1702 Gunpowder first manufactured at Madras." Obviously this entry refers to the English manufacture of gunpowder at Madras. It would be useful to investigate and record references to the manufacture of gunpowder in India earlier than A.D. 1702 by either Moslems or Hindus between, say, 1400 and 1702 A.D. A Maratha in the employ of Tipu Sultan by name Shivaji Mahadeva has recorded some information about Tipu Sultan's army while at Kalmeri in the province of Kopal near Tungabhadra. According to this information Tipu manufactured guns for his army and ceased purchasing guns imported by the English.

("नव्या बंदुका कारखाना करवास लाविले आहेत. तेथें नव्या बंदुका तयार करीत आहे. इंग्रजांकडील बगैरे बंदुरी बंदुका घेत नाहीं."—*Vide* ऐतिहासिक टिपणें—No. 22 (Pub. by PARASNIS in इतिहाससंग्रह Jan. 1911.)

The Peshwas purchased pieces of cannon from the English in *December 1759*. Ramaji Mahadeva was asked to purchase these pieces of cannon from the English

The above conclusion raises the question about the earliest reference to guns and gunpowder as also their use in Indian warfare. About this question Dr. P. C. RAY makes the following remarks :—

"The first record of the use of cannon and gunpowder in Indian warfare is in the memoirs of Baber. In 1528 he forced the passage of the Ganges near Kanauj with the aid of artillery[1]".

Let us now record some authentic references to the invention and use of gunpowder and guns in the European records. According to *Encyclopædia Britannica*[2] "we have authentic information of guns in France in 1338 and in Florence in 1326 and that the Oxford MS *De Officiis Regum* of 1325 gives an illustration of a gun." This information clearly proves that Baber's use of guns and gunpowder in 1528 in his Indian warfare is about 200 years after their invention in Europe about 1325.

We are concerned in this paper with the earliest reference to the use of guns and gunpowder in the Indian warfare by Moslems or their enemies.

The *Rās Mālā*[3] states that Mahomood Begurra,[4] the celebrated Mahommedan king of Gujarat in his fight against the pirates of Bulsar used a force consisting of *musketeers* and gunners about A.D. 1482.[4] He also *cannonaded* the city of Champaner according to the Muhammadan account of the fall of Champaner recorded in the *Rās Mālā*.[5]

In the history of the Vijayanagar kings we find references to *pyrotechny*[6] in which gunpowder may possibly have been used.

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at Bombay weighing more than 20 seers (*Persk. Daftar Selection*, No. 45, p. 101).

"तोफाचे करार केले आहेत तरी वीस वेरलासून नवें असतील ते घेवें."

In *Persk. Daft.* No. 39. Letter 70 of 6-9-1766 repair to guns and manufacture of ammunition is mentioned.

1. Vide article on early Asiatic fire-weapons by Maj. Gen. R. MACLAGAN in the Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, Vol. XLV, pp. 30ff.

2. *Fourteenth Edition*, 1929, Vol. II, p. 3.

3. This book is also known as the *Hindoo Annals of the Province of Gujarat* by A. D. FORBES, founder of the Forbes Gooserathi Sabha, Bombay. (Born July 1821 and died at Poona on 31st August 1865).

4. *Ibid.*, p. 283.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 288. Vide also p. 65 BRIGGS: *Ferishta* (History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India till A.D. 1612) Calcutta, 1910, Vol. IV, p. 65 BRIGGS remarks about the use of musketeers in the siege of Champaner as follows :—

"This is the first mention of artillery and musketry in the Guzerat history. They were probably introduced by the Arabs and Turks from the Red Sea and Gulf of Persia," p. 69. Use of a *shell* against Raja Bemy Ray's palace in the siege of Champaner is mentioned. BRIGGS' note on the word *shell* reads :—

"The word is *kooka*. The use of shells at this early period is remarkable, although it is mentioned that the Moslems employed *grenadoes* in their ships at the time the Portuguese reached India."

6. The following reference to the use of fireworks at Vijaynagar is noteworthy: A.D. 1443. 'Abdur Razāq, the ambassador from the Court of Sultan Shāh Rukh who stayed in Vijayanagar from end of *April* A.D. *1443 till the 5th of December* A.D.

In the historical poem *Kaṇṭhīravanarasarājavijayam*[1] composed in A.D. 1648 we have references to guns (*piraṅgi*) carried on carts together with thousands of bags of gunpowder taken with the army in the expedition of Rajasdullakhan against the king of the Karnatak and his feudatories.

In a work called the *Yāvanaparipāṭī-anukrama* composed by Dalapatirāya under his patron Mādhavasimha about A.D. 1764[2] we have the draft of a letter to be addressed by the king to the officer in charge of the king's artillery called *Analādhyakṣa* ordering him to make the artillery ready for action. This draft as given in the *Yāvanaparipāṭī anukrama* makes interesting reading and hence may be reproduced from MS No. 409 of 1882-83 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona :—

Folio 10—

" अनलाध्यक्षं प्रति **यंत्रशाला** सज्जीकरणाय राज्ञः ॥ पत्रं ॥ सौवर्णैर्वेणिवेश्वरनीकसत्पादिदक्षया स्त्रियंस्वाम इति भवान् स्वनियोगे समवहितः ॥ सप्ताकवहिषाणघृतः पदातिनः चरमांश लेखवद्धानां **लघुनालिकानां** शतशताद्धनालिकानां च मुधा निसर्गशुद्धानां विश्वस्वाधानां शकटिका **गुलिकांगारचूर्णदवरिका**गुडाकंदर्दपताकायुगनिसर्गसिद्धिपसारविसुखभक्षितानामीरे प्रथमेद्यश्वगजयुगमितया नियोजयतु ॥ द्वितीयेद्यश्चकारेण**मधुनालिका हयनालिका गजनालिकाश्च** निजनिजोपस्करसज्जाः स्वयमपि कवचिभिः सप्तभाहतुरगैर्मदैः परिवृतो वर्मीवरुह स्वाधिकारनियुक्तपरिजनयुक्तोनुसरतु किं बहुना समुचितज्ञे ॥

From the above passage we get some Sanskrit equivalents of terms denoting the artillery and its equipment. *Yantraśālā* is evidently the place or building where the guns and their accessories were stored. *Gulikāṅgāra Cūrṇa* means gunpowder and reminds us of the term *agnicūrṇa* mentioned in the *Śukranīti* as we have seen above. We further get the terms *uṣṭranālikā* meaning portable guns carried on camel's back, *hayanālikā*, those carried on horse-back, and *gajanālikā*, those carried on the back of elephant.

It appears that the term *nālikā* had become current since the importation of guns into India as we find the usage of the term in the above passage from a work of the 18th century. I shall now quote a passage from a 17th century poem called *Sambhurājacarita* composed by Harikavi alias Bhānu-

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1443 during the reign of Devarāya II mentions the use of *pyrotechny* in the *Mahānavami festival* (See Elliot, *His. of India*, IV, pp. 117-118). Perhaps in the pyrotechny referred to above gunpowder may have been used. According to Sir P. C. RAY (*His. of Hindu Chemistry* Vol. I. p. 100 f. n. 4). " Saltpetre has been in use from time immemorial as the basis of Rocket and other *fireworks* both in China and India."

1. *Śiva-caritra-sṛita Saṁgraha* (Khaṇḍa I—Kānadi Vibhāga). B. I. S. Mandal, Poona, 1938, p. 4. The author of the poem *Kaṇṭhīravanarasarājavijayam* is Govinda Vaidya. He was a resident of Srirangapattan and a court-poet of the Mysore kings. He wrote this poem at the instance of Nanjarājendra, the general of Kaṇṭhīravanarasarīya in the Śaka year 1570 (Sarvadhāri Saṁvatsara) = A.D. 1648. He was a Smārta Brahmin, well versed in Sanskrit and Kanarese languages. His patron, K. Narasarāja ruled from A.D. 1638-1659.

2. Vide Mr. M. M. PATKAR's article in *IHQ*, XIV, No. 1, pp. 153-57.

bhaṭṭa[1] in A.D. 1685. The poet describes in the following stanzas of the *Sambhurājacarita* (MS No. 191 of 1875-76) folio 71[a] the thundering of guns on the battle-field, where Sambaji, the son of Shivaji the Great, is shown as being surrounded by the army of the enemy :—

" ततः समभवद्रवः प्रहतभूरिभेरीमकः
सुतालनिननालिकागणवधारवभ्राजितः ।
विलोलितमहीतलो बहुलगर्जिताध्वस्थलो
निनाद इव मेघजः कुलिशरावसंराजितः ॥ २८ ॥ "

Folio 72b—

" सशस्त्रवरसंवृतां बहुलनालिकासंकुलां
सकंकटभटोद्धुरां प्रबलकुंजरायेसरां ।
रणोद्भूततुरंगमोद्भटतरंगरंगोत्तरां
चकर्ष परवाहिनीं प्रतिबलचिनीं स्वां ततः ॥ ७१ ॥ "

Folio 92—

" ततो भूपतिपैन्यतो बहुलनालिकावक्त्रतो
नहारवविदारितश्रवणमस्तका निर्ययौ ।
सुगोलकततिश्चलद्युमणिमालिकेवेक्षिता
रिपुव्रजपताकिनीं तपरि निर्दहंती द्रुताद् ॥ ९१ ॥ "

Verse 91 quoted above contains a good description of the series of cannon-balls (*sugolakatati*) issuing from the mouths of cannons (*nālikāvakitraṭaḥ* ....*udgatā*) and looking like a row of suns, destroying the army of the enemy.

From the 17th century we shall now go to the 16th century and quote a passage from a Sanskrit poem, called the *Rāṣṭrauḍhavaṃśamahākāvya*[2] composed by a *Dākṣiṇātya* poet of the name Rudrakavi at the court of the Bāgalāṇ king Nārāyaṇa Shah in A.D. 1596. In Chapter XX, v. 52 we have the following description of red-hot cannon-balls issuing from the mouths of guns :—

" शितशरैरुपलैरथ नालिकाविनिहतज्वलदायसगोलकैः ।
मिलितयोरुभयोरथ सेनयोः प्रवृत्ते समरस्तुमुलस्तयोः ॥ ५२ ॥ "

It appears from the above verse of A.D. 1596 that the iron cannon-ball (*āyasagolakaiḥ*) with which the gun was charged (*nālikāvinihata*) contained within it sharp arrows (*śitaśaraiḥ*) and stones or gravel (*upalaiḥ*). This description finds its analogue in Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara's description of guns in the latter part of the 17th century in which he describes guns as machines (*yantrāṇi*) made of iron (*lohamayāni*) and capable of throwing away (*prakṣepakāṇi*) by the force of gunpowder (*āgneyauṣadhabalena*) balls of lead (*sisa*) bell-metal (*kāṃsya*) and stones (*dṛṣadgola*).

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1. Vide my paper on Hari Kavi, *Annals*, Vol. XVI pp. 262-291.
2. *Gaikwad Ori. Series*, No. V, Baroda, 1917.

A further reference to *nālikā* is found in a work called the Ākāśabhairavatantra[1] which appears to have been composed during the prosperous days of the Vijayanagar Empire, most probably before A.D. 1550. In the 60th chapter of this encyclopædic work the king is advised to worship 32 weapons on a particular day. Among these weapons *nālikā* is mentioned as No. 23 :—

Folio 189 (of B. O. R. I. MS No. 43 of 1925-26).

"*Trayoviṁśam nālikāstram svāstikam tadanantaram.*"

As Abdul Razzāq, who visited the Vijayanagar Court in A.D. 1443 mentions the use of *pyrotechny* at the Mahānavamī festival, the use of gunpowder appears to have been current in the Vijayanagar Empire about the middle of the 15th Century and this fact would justify our interpretation that the expression "*nālikāstra*" in the above passage means a gun and nothing else, especially in view of the reference to musketeers and gunners about A.D. 1482 used by Mahmood Begurra in cannonading the city of Champaner.

In the Deccan also the use of gunpowder appears to have been introduced about 10 years earlier than that made in the siege of Champaner in 1482 A.D. Mahmud Gawan during his second campaign against *Belgam* in A.D. 1472 made use of mines successfully to make a breach in the walls of the fort. The account of this campaign[2] given to us by Prof. SHERWANI on the authority of *Burhānu-i-ma'āthir*[3] and *Ferishta*[4] reads as follows :—"*Second campaign ; Belgām*—1472 : The Khwajah informs the King that Parśētah of Belgām and the chief of Bankāpur want to raise an insurrection and invade Goa and offers to lead the expedition himself, but His Majesty decides to command the expedition in person and orders a vast army to be collected at the capital. Immediately when everything is ready he marches direct to Belgām, a fortress of great strength, surrounded by a deep moat full of water. Besieging the place he orders that the moat should be filled up with rubble and wood in order to facilitate the entry of the royal army when time comes ; but the Khwajah's work to that end in the day is frustrated by the Rai's men during the night as they clear the moat of the rubble under cover of darkness. On this the whole strategy is changed and *mines* are laid under the walls of the fort under cover of a new wall erected parallel to the former

1. In a paper submitted by me to the Karnatak Historical Conference (May 1938) I have proved that the work called the Ākāśabhairavatantra (MS No. 43 of 1925-26 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute) has nothing to do with Tantra, but that it is a work dealing with the inner life of the kings of Vijayanagar in elaborate detail and bearing on all its aspects, civil, religious, political and cultural. The original of this copy is in the Tanjore MSS Library.

2. Vide pp. 263ff. of the *Journal of Indian History*, Madras, Vol. XVI. Article by Prof. H. K. SHERWANI on "Mahmud Gawan's Campaigns in the Maharashtra."

3. Published by the Persian Texts Society, Hyderabad (Deccan). It contains a number of diplomatic letters to the kings of Gujarat and Jaunpur as well as to the rulers of Turkey, Persia, Hirāt etc.

4. Ferishta's History of India was written at Bijapur in the time of Ibrahim Ādilshah II, (1579-1626).

and *as this laying of mines is entirely a new thing in the Deccan*, the Rai is not aware of the significance of the new walls being created. Anyhow *three mines*, those from the posts of the Khwajah Yusuf 'Adil Khān and Faṭ-hu'l-lāh "Imādu'lmulk burst open the wall and breaches are effected."

As stated in the above account the laying of mines for bursting open the walls of forts was a new thing in the Deccan in A.D. 1472. The use of mines presumes the importation of gunpowder or its manufacture in India, if such manufacture could be proved to have been carried out in the 15th century in Gujarat, Deccan and at the Vijayanagar court.

From A.D. 1472 we now go to A.D. 1406, when *guns* were available in Bengal according to an account of Mahaun, a Chinaman[1] who visited Bengal at that time and who was attached as an interpreter to the suite of Chêng Ho, sent by the Chinese Emperor, Yung-lo with a party of 30,000 soldiers in a fleet of 62 ships to the various kingdoms of the western Ocean in order to show that China was rich and strong. Mahaun describes the language of the people as Bengāli and states that Persian also was spoken in Bengal. He states that "not having any tea they offer their guests the betel-nut in its place." He further records: "The mulberry tree and silk worms are found there. Silk handkerchiefs and caps embroidered with gold, painted ware, basins, cups, steel, GUNS, knives and scissors are all to be had there. They manufacture a white paper from the bark of a tree, which is smooth and glossy like a deer's skin."

The reference to "GUNS" in the above extract is very important as it proves that *guns* were to be seen in Bengal about 1406 A.D. when Mahaun visited the country. This reference, therefore, takes the antiquity of GUNS in India and consequently of gunpowder upto say 1400 A.D. I shall feel grateful if any scholar publishes reference to GUNS or *gunpowder* in Indian literature earlier than A.D. 1400.

I shall now summarize in chronological order the reference to guns, gunpowder, mines, etc. recorded by me, in the following lines :—

European References

A.D. 1325—Picture of a *gun* in an Oxford MS.

A.D. 1326—*Guns* in France and Florence.

Indian References

A.D. 1406—References to "*guns*" in Bengal by Mahaun, a Chinese Interpreter.

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1. Vide *JRAS* 1896, Mahaun's Account of the Kingdom of Bengala (Bengal) by Geo. PHILIPS, pp. 523ff. Cheng Ho was ordered to go on the expedition in the 6th month of the year 1405. The party visited Cochin China, Straits and India and gave presents to the princes and chiefs. Mahaun has given us an account of 20 kingdoms visited by the expedition. Mahaun's *Travels* are just like those of Marco Polo, Friar Odoric and Ibn Battuta. Mahaun's book contains also an account of Calicut, Ormus, Aden, the Maldives and many other places in the Indian Ocean.

A.D. 1443—"Pyrotechny" at Vijayanagar Court mentioned by Abdur Razzaq.

A.D. 1472—Use of "*mines*" at the siege of Belgām in the Deccan (for the first time) by Mahmud Gawan.

A.D. 1482—A force of *musketeers* and *gunners* at the siege of the fort of Champaner by Mahmud Begda.

A.D. 1528—Babar's use of *cannon* and *gunpowder* near Kanauj.

A.D. 1595—*Nālikā* = Gun, mentioned by Rudrakavi, the Court-poet of Nārāyan Shah of Bāglan.

A.D. 1648—References to *guns* carried on carts together with bags of gunpowder by Govinda Vaidya.

A.D. 1685—Hari Kavi's description of guns (= *nālika*) and gunfire in the *Śambhurājacarita*.

A.D. 1764—Dalapatirāya's Sanskrit draft of a letter to be addressed by a king to his *analadhyakṣa* or the officer-in-charge of artillery to keep the *yantraśālā* ready for action.

I believe the above references would be found sufficiently authentic and instructive as they take the antiquity of the use of guns and gunpowder in India upto, say, 1400 A.D. I shall be happy to know from veteran researchers any references to *guns* and *gunpowder* as used in India between A.D. 1300 and 1400.

P. S.—Since this article was sent to the press I have been able to note a few more references to Guns. These are as follows :—

(1) Three iron *Guns* bearing inscriptions and recording the names of Fāruqi Kings Muhārik and Adil Shāh. One is dated 1554-5 A.D. while another is dated possibly 1589 A.D. (Vide p. 73 of *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* by HIRA LAL, Nagpur, 1916) *Item 102*—Khandwa Gun Inscriptions—*Item 94* on p. 68—Asirgadh Gun Inscriptions (a bronze gun made at Burhanpur in A.D. 1663 and another in A.D. 1664.)

(2) Barbosa (A.D. 1515) refers to riders of elephants with bows, arrows and *handguns* (Vide p. 259 of *History of Gujarat* by COMMISSARIAT, Vol. I, 1938).

(3) The *Campūbhārata* of Anantakavi (c. 1500 A.D.) describes gunfire as follows (Stabaka III, v. 54—p. 113 of N. S. Press Edition, Bombay, 1903) :—

" कालम्बुदालिनलिकाक्षगदीक्षितर्त्वा
संघुक्षितात्सवधि कृच्चनि निःसरद्भिः ।
वर्षाऽसकौसगुलिकानिकरैः कठोरै-
घर्मांगिवालिनवर्षीद्धनकाल बोधः ॥ ५४ ॥ "

(4) Prof. RAMANAYYA (Vide p. 129 of *Vijayanagar : Third Dynasty*) states that the Vijayanagar army was weak in artillery, which comprised a corps of musketeers and several cannon. The Mussalmans made use of

artillery fully with the help of Turkish gunners trained in European wars.

(5) Sir E. Denison Ross (*Arabic History of Gujarat*, 1928) refers to guns (p. 220), shot and ball (p. 453), broken gun-carriage (p. 497), five hundred brass guns in the army of Gujarat (p. 568), 12000 muskets in Gujarat, etc.

(6) On November 1, 1526 Baber witnessed the casting of a gun by Ustād Ali Kuli (Vide pp. 343-344 of *Memoirs of Baber* by ERSKINE, London, 1826).

(7) In the Rabari Songs of Kathiawar recorded by B. L. MANKAD p. 66 of *Bombay Univ. Jour.* VII (New Series) Pt. IV, we find a reference to guns in connection with a marriage party :—

"Drums are beaten and *guns are fired* as the bride-groom's marriage party starts from the house of the bride."

(8) Principal Dr. BALKRISHNA sometime ago published an article on *Fire arms in the Mahābhārata* in the Rajaram College Magazine called the *Rajaramian*. Dr. V. S. SUKHTHANKAR has shown to me a reprint of it but I have not examined the views of Dr. BALKRISHNA stated in this article.

(9) About Saltpetre, vide pp. 66-67 of *The Travels of John Albert de Mandelso from Persia into East Indies* (London, 1669). Sir P. C. RAY regards this as the earliest account of Saltpetre on a commercial scale, (vide *Hindu Chemistry*, I, p. 100). Regarding *Transport of Saltpetre in India in the Seventeenth Century* by land and Sea, vide *Jour. of Beh. and Orissa Res. Society*, XXV, Pt. I (March, 1939)—article by J. N. SARKAR, Feb. 6th, 1627—about Rs. 2,500 were exacted from the English factories at Surat as taxes on Saltpetre and Sugar conveyed by a caravan.

AN UNPUBLISHED INDIA OFFICE PLATE OF THE VĀKĀṬAKA MAHĀRĀJA DEVASENA

By

H. N. RANDLE, London.

It is not known how or when this copper-plate came into the possession of the India Office. It is the first plate of a set of which the other plates are not forthcoming.[1] It now measures 9¾ × 2¾ inches, and weighs 5 ounces; but since a part has been broken away at the ringhole (which is fortunately in an unusual position, clear of the inscription, on the proper right edge), the plate in its original condition must have been rather longer and heavier. The sides are straight, but the intact end has the corners rounded off. There is no raised edge or rim. The inscription consists of three lines, engraved fairly deeply (so that some characters show slightly on the reverse), and on one side only, as is usual in the case of the first (and last) plates of Vākāṭaka grants. The first and last *akṣaras* in the third line project beyond the limit of the first two lines. The inscription ends in the middle of a word. The *language* should have been correct Sanskrit (discounting the engraver's errors). There are two cases of the doubling of consonants after *r*. The *script* is a typical example of the fully developed box-headed alphabet found in most Vākāṭaka plates, as well as in inscriptions of other rulers,—for example the Ṛddhapura (Rithpur) plates of the Mahārāja Bhavattavarman (11th regnal year).[2] The box-head ornament is very decorative, but quite unessential; and what is in essence the same script, with or without this decoration, was widely diffused. The inscriptions of the Gaṅga (or Gāṅga) king (or kings) named Indravarman[3] of Kaliṅga, could be turned

1. There are three recorded Vākāṭaka copper-plate inscriptions of which the first plate is missing: the Patna Museum plate of Pravarasena II (BHANDARKAR'S *List of North Indian Inscriptions* No. 2095), described in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* XIV p. 472, and the Indore plates of the same ruler, edited by Sushil K. Bose in *E. I.* xxiv, part ii,—neither of which of course is connected with the plate here described; and the Rāmṭek plate registered in HIRA LAL'S *Inscriptions of the C. P. and Berar*, 2nd ed., (1932), p. 4, No. 5, which is unfortunately not described.

2. *Epigraphia Indica* XIX, p. 100. Bhavattavarman's plates are dated from Nandivardhana. The Poona Museum plates of the Vākāṭaka Queen-Mother Prabhāvatigupta, dated in the 13th year (BHANDARKAR'S list, 1703), were issued from Nandivardhana. If the same place is referred to in both grants (and curiously enough Bhavattavarman's plates were found together with Prabhāvatigupta's *other* plates, of the 19th year), the Vākāṭakas may have taken it from Bhavattavarman,—*or vice versa*. The difference in orthography, Nandi- and Nandivardhana, is clear on the facsimiles and has to be noted. On the "Central Indian" script and its wide affinities see FLEET, *G. I.* Pp. 3-4 and 18-19.

3. *I. A.* XIII pp. 119-124; *E. I.* III, pp. 127-130.

into typical 'Vākāṭaka' character by developing the rudimentary box-heads. Samudragupta's Eran inscription[1] and Candragupta II's Udayagiri inscription[2] have the box-head more or less developed.

As regards its *forms*, the inscription is without the initial (or rather marginal) words *siddham dṛṣṭam* which are usual in completed Vākāṭaka grants, and which (on what seems the most reasonable interpretation) represent the official "seen and approved." It begins simply with the word *Svasti*. And there is no genealogy. A *date* would presumably have been given on the later plates. Vākāṭaka inscriptions however give only regnal years; and there were varying estimates of their chronology, until K. B. PATHAK's preliminary notice in the *Indian Antiquary* 1912 (p. 214) of Prabhāvatiguptā's grant of the 13th year (later edited by him and K. N. Dīkshit, *E.I.* XV, 1919, pp. 39-42), settled the matter beyond doubt. She is described in previously known Vākāṭaka grants simply as the daughter of the Mahārājādhirāja Devagupta; and Devagupta was at first identified with the later Gupta of Magadha so named. But in her own grants she adds the imperial Gupta genealogy in full; so that the identity of her father Devagupta with Chandragupta II is placed beyond doubt, and the central point of Vākāṭaka chronology is thus fixed at c. 400 A.D. Devasena, who issues the grant here described, must therefore be dated towards the end of the 5th century A.D., in view of the established[3] Vākāṭaka genealogy and succession:—

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1. FLEET, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 18.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
3. The genealogy down to Pravarasena II is given in his own plates (Chammak, 18th year, and Siwani 18th year, *Gupta Inscriptions* Nos. 54-56; Dudia, 23rd year *E.I.* III, p. 260; Patna Museum, incomplete, *JBORS.* XIV, p. 472; Tirodi, 23rd year, *E.I.* xxii, p. 167; Indore 22nd year, (first plate missing), *ibid.* xxiv, part ii; Paṭṭan, 27th year *ibid.* xxiii, p. 81). The grants of his mother Prabhāvatiguptā give the Gupta but not the Vākāṭaka genealogy. (Poona Museum, 13th year, *E.I.* XV p. 41; Poona Museum (Rddhapur), 19th year, *JRASB.* XX p. 53 with reversed facsimiles). She was regent for her son Divākarasena in the "13th year"; and Queen-Mother of the reigning monarch Damodarasena-Pravarasena [II] in the "19th year." I take it that the latter's regnal years are counted from the death of his father Rudrasena II, although he did not succeed until at least 13 years afterwards. In other words six years intervene between these two grants.—The evidence for Narendrasena and Pṛthvīṣeṇa II is provided by the Bālāghāṭ plates of the latter, undated (*E.I.* IX. p. 267). Vincent SMITH overlooked this important grant in his article (*JRAS.* 1914 p. 317) *Vākāṭaka dynasty of Berar in the fourth and fifth centuries* A.D., and he therefore (p. 322) enters Narendrasena as "unnamed son" of Pravarasena II, and omits Pṛthvīṣeṇa II.—The evidence for Devasena and Hariṣeṇa is an Ajantā inscription (Cave XVI. BURGESS, *Buddhist Cave Temples —A. S. W. I.* IV, p. 124) which gives the whole genealogy and many valuable historical details, but curiously omits Rudrasena II, and (apparently) either Narendrasena or Pṛthvīṣeṇa II. The Ghaṭotkacha Cave inscription of Hastibhoja (*ibid.* p. 138) mentions Devasena.—The Deotek slab has a "box-headed" inscription, partly defaced, which speaks of a *dharmasthāna* of a king Rudrasena at Chikkambari (edited with facsimile by Prof. V. V. MIRASHI in *Proceedings of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference* 1935, published in 1937,

Vindhyasakti

(1) Pravarasena I, son of the above
Gautamiputra, son of (1). *m.* the daughter of Bhavanāga Mahārāja of the Bhāraśivas

(2) Rudrasena I, grandson of (1)

(3) Pṛthvīṣena I, son of (2)

(4) Rudrasena II, son of (3). *m.* Prabhāvatiguptā, daughter of Caṇdragupta II

(5) Pravarasena II, son of (4) (was reigning at least 27 years after his father's death)

(6) Narendrasena, son of (5)

(7) Pṛthvīṣeṇa II, son of (6)

(8) Devasena, son of either (6) or (7)

(9) Hariṣeṇa, son of (8)

Fragmentary though it is, this inscription, besides being the latest of the known Vākāṭaka land-grants and the only one issued in Devasena's name, contributes at least one interesting and epigraphically new place-name, *Vātsyagulma*.

Earlier grants of the Vākāṭakas[1] were issued from *Nandivardhana* (the queen-mother Prabhāvatiguptā, as regent); *Pravarapura* (Pravara II); and *Padmapura* (the incomplete Drug plate).[2] *Vātsyagulma* may have been yet another Vākāṭaka capital. *Vātsyagulmaka*[3] occurs twice in lists of peoples in Vātsyāyana's *Kāma-sūtra* (V. 5, Āndhrāṇām ... Vātsyagulmakānām ... Vaidarbhāṇām ... Aparāntakānām ... Saurāṣṭrakāṇām. V. 6, Aparāntikānām ... Ābhīrakāṇām ... Vātsyagulmakānām ... Vaidarbhakāṇām etc.). If it could be inferred from the present inscription that Vātsyagulma became the Vākāṭaka capital at about the period of Devasena, and that the people *then* began to be called by the name of the new capital, a valuable indication of the upper limit of date (c. 500 A.D.) for the composition of the Kāma-sūtra would be given by this plate. The geographical inference from the order in which the *Kāma-sūtra* lists these peoples seems merely to confirm what was already clear from the normal find-places of

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pp. 613-622). The editor agrees with CUNNINGHAM (*C. I. I.* Vol. I, 1st ed., p. 28) in identifying this king with Rudrasena I. If so, it is the earliest known Vākāṭaka inscription. The name of the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Pṛthvīṣeṇa [I] occurs in stone inscriptions at Nāchnā (*Gupta Inscriptions* p. 233) and Ganj (*E. I.* xvii p. 13),—both in Bundelkhand.

1. I exclude grants plainly issued from *tīrthas*, such as Prabhāvatiguptā's grant from Rāmagiri, or *vāsakas* [*see* following note). As regards Nandivardhana see footnote 2. It is perhaps a little unsafe to assume that any of these places were capitals.

2. Edited by Prof. V. V. MIRASHI, *E.I.* xxii, p. 207. The genealogy breaks off just before the mention of Rudrasena I. The editor is inclined to assign it to Pṛthvīṣeṇa II, whose Bālāghāṭ plates were intended to be issued—they were never completed—from his camp (*Vāsaka*) at Vembāra.

3. BÖHTLINGK and ROTH, *s. v.*, refer only to the *Kāma-sūtra*.

Vākāṭaka grants,—that they occupied the districts of the Central Provinces surrounding Berar on the north and east.

The present inscription was intended to be issued from *Vātsyagulma*, and is addressed to Devasena's lieges (*sammara*),[1] soldiers (*bhaṭa*), officials (*bhojaka*), officers of justice and others (*daṇḍanāyakādi*), his *sacarantaka*[2] and nobles (*kula-putra*), in the Nāṅgara[3] division (*haṭaka*) in the northern region (*uttara-mārga*). They are to be informed that he [has granted] to the *dharmasvāmin* Bhavasvāmin, of the Śāṇḍilya *gotra*, the village Yappajja,[4] together with [?] ...

Transliteration[5]

Line 1. Svasti Vātsyagulmāt Vākāṭakānām = mahārāja-śrī-Devasenasya vacanā[t][6] Uttara-mārgga-

Line 2. Nāṅgara-kaṭake asmat-sammara-bhaṭa-bhojaka-daṇḍanāyakādya[s] sacarantaka-kula-prakā (-putrā)

Line 3. vaktavya(ā) yathaiṣo'sma(ā)bhi[r] grāmaḥ Śa(ā)ṇḍilya-sagotrasya dharmmasva(ā)mina(o) Bhavasmarnita(svāmino) Yappajjas = sa- ...

[Ends.]

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1. *Sammara* here, though intelligible, may be the engraver's misreading of *santaka*; since *asmat-santaka* is a normal commencement to the list of officials addressed in Vākāṭaka inscriptions.

2. I am unable to explain *sacarantaka*. In formation it seems similar to the *santaka* of Vākāṭaka inscriptions (for which see *Gupta Inscriptions* p. 241, footnote 10).

3. The nasal—unless there be other evidence for such nasalization—must preclude identification with places commencing Nāgara-. FLEET (*Dynasties of the Kanarese districts*, p. 281, footnote 3) made the suggestion that in such names as Nāgarakhaṇḍa (a division of the Banavāsi province—*I. A.* XIX p. 144), "the first component of the name Nāgara, being the Kanarese genitive plural masculine, points distinctly to its denoting the territory of the Nāga people." The late Mr. K. P. JAYASWAL, in his *History of India* 150 A.D. to 350 A.D. (*Lahore* 1935) built a considerable superstructure on this foundation.

4. The conjecture that this strange word (which may be no more than another aberration of the engraver) is a village name is however made improbable by the position of the word in the sentence. If it be a village name, *sa-* may have been completed on a following plate into (e.g.) *samādhiṣ sopanidhiṣ* or. But I doubt if there ever was a following plate. The absence of the initial or marginal *dṛṣṭam* may (as Professor Otto STEIN suggests to me) indicate that the engraver's incompetence proved too much for the Vākāṭaka official, and that the plate was rejected before completion.

5. Emendations are inserted in round brackets, omitted letters in square brackets. The engraver has misread his 'copy' through likeness of letters in two (and perhaps three) cases: *prakā* for *putrā*; *Bhavasmarnita* for *svāmino*; and (possibly) *sammara-* for *santaka* (see note 1). I suspect that the plate (which does not bear the usual *dṛṣṭam*, marking official approval) was for these reasons rejected.

6. I supply *-t* because *samādhi* would not have been applied here.

INDIA OFFICE PLATE OF DEVASENA



Photograph by R. B. Fleming.]

[Scale about 2/3

NOTES OF THE MONTH

The recently inaugurated Project for the development of Indic Studies at the Library of Congress, Washington, has sponsored an exhibition of Indic manuscripts and paintings from the collections in the United States of America which reveals for the first time in America examples of most of the numerous languages, scripts, manuscript materials, and forms found in India, Tibet, Burma, Ceylon, Siam, Java, Sumatra, the Dutch East Indies, Indo-China and the Malay Peninsula.

This is a welcome feature which is bound to exercise great influence on the future of Indic Studies in the United States. Such exhibitions well conducted in our own country will to some extent counteract the apathy of our learned bodies towards the purely cultural aspect of Indic Studies.

Among the Indian languages represented in the Mss. collections are Sanskrit, Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Panjabi, Rajasthani, Tamil and Urdu. Pāli and Prakrit Mss. are also fairly represented. Of the dialects of Greater India are Bugis, Burmese, Malay, Mongolian, Siamese and Tibetan in a representative collection. Fifteen Rajput Paintings lent by the Heeramaneck Galleries of New York City lend charm to the exhibition.

Horace I. POLEMAN who recently completed his book on "A Census of Indic Manuscripts in the United States and Canada," is in charge of this Exhibition as Director of Indic Studies in the newly established department. We wish this branch of the Library of Congress every success. It is to be hoped that such a move in the United States synchronises with a greater recognition in India of the importance of Indology to cultural and national development by the different Provincial and the Central Governments and the States of India.

Dr. Rajendralāl MITRA published in 1880 his *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts* in the Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner under the orders of the Government of India. This was surely a forward step in the history of search and cataloguing of Sanskrit MSS. in India as it brought home to interested scholars the importance of the Bikaner MSS. In spite of this catalogue the difficulties in the way of the actual study of these MSS. by competent scholars were great as no MSS. were lent out by the Bikaner Darbar to individual scholars or institutions. In the absence of any official arrangements to prepare copies of MSS. with the help of a regular establishment kept for the purpose all scholars were helpless in satisfying their curiosity roused by the above catalogue of Dr. MITRA. It is, however, a matter for satisfaction to note that Bikaner Darbar has at last realised their responsibility in this matter after about 60 years as will be seen from the following Notification of the Prime Minister, Bikaner, dated 10th April, 1939 :—

No. 18.—In order that the public at large may get the benefit of the rare works —religious, philosophic and scientific—to be found in the State Sanskrit Library, His Highness' Government have thrown open that Library to Research Scholars all over the country. They will be welcome to examine the works contained in the Library (which has been catalogued but not yet printed) with a view to the publication of such works as have not yet been printed.

When such a work is found by the researchist and recommended for publication, it will be examined by a Committee formed in consultation with Pandit Madan Mohan MALAVIYA and Mahamahopadhyaya Rao Bahadur Pandit Gauri Shankar OJHA.

On the Committee agreeing with the opinion of the researchist that the selected work is worth being published, the Government will arrange for its publication, at its own cost, as a volume of "The Ganga Oriental Series" for the publication of which the Government have sanctioned an annual expenditure of Rs. 5,000.

Scholars who intend to take the advantage of the scheme hereby notified may apply for permission to the Director of Education, Bikaner, to work in the Library.

Should a scholar need an honorarium to enable him to carry on research he should apply to the same Authority either during the period or at the end of his work. Such applications will be considered but it cannot be promised that every such application will be granted.

We congratulate His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner as also the Prime Minister for this much needed but overdue reform and trust that proper arrangements will be made by the Bikaner Darbar for lending out their manuscripts to responsible institutions and scholars for *bona fide* study and research. There are already in India numerous responsible institutions interested in these manuscripts and it would be advisable to lend out the MSS. to them for the use of scholars. This method of lending out MSS. has been already adopted with success by many learned bodies in India and Europe and we recommend it strongly to the Bikaner Darbar in the interest of the proper use and care of their valuable MSS.

THINGS HE WILL NOT HAVE TAUGHT

By

MRS. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS, Chipstead.

In a little book recently published: *What was the original gospel in 'Buddhism'?* I have made positive statements as to what are, for me, the things that Gotama called the Buddha may, by critically weighed evidence, be held to have taught as his essential Message. I have there, incidentally or otherwise, rejected certain teachings, now held as orthodox, as neither essentially nor in any way his Message. Here, not incidentally but in a definite catalogue, I would touch briefly on the chief of the teachings I reject as not his.

There is nothing exceptional in world-religions like Buddhism in such critical eclectical decisions. With the advance of higher criticism, that is, of historical criticism, such decisions will be more definitely come to, more freely stated than is now the case. To compare such criticism as has so far been made in Christianity with its like in Buddhism were to compare an adolescent with a babe. But we can, forestalling the future, see that advance in deciding about 'things that will', and 'things that will not have been taught' by the respective Founders are complicated by the difference in the time-interval before the compilation of authentic written scripture, supplanting that which had been orally taught only. Believers in the superior reliability of a carefully conducted oral transmission may, with a recent writer, point to "the 10,000 variant readings in the New Testament".[1] I would set over against this the book of the 10,000 Vedic Variants[2], as, *pace* the respective length of documents, no mean case of pot versus kettle.

I maintain, that an oral thesaurus (with possibly only lists or heads or at most an 'argument' written on metal leaves), which is recorded as having been set down in writing (no mention made of the language) some 400 years, at the shortest reckoning, after the death of the Founder of the religious institution adhering to that teaching, is bound to have come thus to a second birth in a very different world of religious values from that of the Founder. And therein and thereby to have undergone important editorial changes, necessarily exceeding those in scriptures where compilation of a Canon has taken place in less than half that interval.

Here is one important result of this difference in interval. In Christianity the relatively shorter interval prevented the Hebraic environment from affecting the teaching in the New Testament to the extent to which that 'affecting' came to change the institutional teaching of later Christia-

1. RAY KNIGHT; 'Silence as to the ministry of Jesus in early Christian belief', *Hibbert Journal*, Oct. 1938.

2. *Vedic Variants* by BLOOMFIELD and EDGERTON.

nity :—the doctrine namely of sacrificial expiation. We are able to catch the reminiscences of the life and ministry of the Founder before they had, under the hand of time and changing values, become relatively much altered. That which, in Christianity is reminiscence handed down unwritten during a few generations, has in Buddhism become almost purely legendary cult. Time and changing values have been much longer at work. The Man, loyal friend and helper of man, has become a superman, object of awe and worship. The monastic cult grown great has superposed its own outlook, on life as 'ill', on the original message which sought to expand and safeguard the teaching of Immanence current in its day. The analytic cult of the new psychology has seen, in the Man who "is That", just body and mind. The protest against Brahmin ritual has come to include protest against all, *even the central* Brahmin teaching. It was in this environment that the Pali Canon was built up, was finally closed, was finally written down. It is hardly strange that in it we find much, very much more of which we can plead : this and that he will not have taught, than we can find in the Christian Gospels.

For all that I am not complacently expecting agreement with my 'Nots', any more than with my positive statements as to what Gotama Śākyamuni did teach. I would only, while yet for brief space the light (such as it is of earth is with me, have both Ayes and Noes clearly set down, so that I be judged by what I have said and not (as has happened before) by what I have not said.

I sum my 'Nots' up under ten things he will not have taught to man about man, and one thing he will not have taught about himself. (I could add others.)

He will not have taught that

1 the man, the very man : self, spirit, soul, *puruṣa* is not real.
2 the very man is but a compound of bodily and mental parts or states.
3 man was to trust in, depend upon his present, actual self as lamp and refuge.
4 *dhamma* had value and reality as code or body of teaching only.
5 his teaching was mainly about 'ill', namely, old age, illness, death.
6 craving as such was to be stopped.
7 'leaving the world' was a higher life than living 'in' the world.
8 causation had religious value as stopping, not as bringing about.
9 man's religious concern was mainly with life here and now.
10 man's ultimate goal was waning out as man. Finally—
11 he will not have taught about himself that he was omniscient or outstandingly 'Buddha' (awakened, wise).

These ten, with the 11th are ranked by Hīnayānists (or, if they prefer it Theravādins) as either central tenets, or as important. And it is expressly claimed, by record, or tradition, or both, that "the Buddha taught them".

I will briefly dismiss the last first. We have, in the Second Collection, a categorical repudiation of being omniscient ascribed to Gotama. A man asks: "I have heard it said that you are all-knowing, all-seeing" and en-

larges on this. The answer is: "This witness is not true; it imputes to me what is false, untrue."[1] His reply could be supported by such admissions in the Canon, that he *hesitates* whether he can profitably teach men or not; that he, seeking former teachers, is *informed* from the unseen that they are deceased; that, being asked whence he had knowledge of this or that matter, he is made to say: "A deva told me". It is added (significant addendum): "And I knew it of myself". Again, where he is once recorded as saying: "Think of me as 'buddha', brahmin" and in the following verse: "hence am I buddha," the context demands, as I have pointed out, that the needed word is, not *buddha*, but *suddha*: purified.[2] I have also elsewhere shown, that, in the records of the first two councils after his death, at the interval of a century between the two, he is not referred to as Buddha.

I come to the ten 'Nots' concerning his teaching.

Let us take Nots 1, 2 and 3:—denial of an entity in human personality; acceptance of him as a body-mind complex only; and that this complex was to be its own saviour. These three may be seen and heard as the orthodox Hinayānism of today times without number. But the third is more taught now than by the exegesists, it being largely due to European mistranslation which has affected Buddhists of the present day. That which is lacking in all three assertions is *the atmosphere of the religious culture* which was present about the birth of Gotama's message.

When Jesus taught the sonship of every man to a Divine Father, he was bringing to the front of his teaching a background concept of the Old Testament, of some Apocalyptic literature, of Stoic philosophy. The "Have we not all one father? Hath not one God created us?" of the prophet Malachi has many echoes in these teachings, as Paul reminded the Athenians. In the same way, when Gotama began his mission by advising men to seek thoroughly for the Ātmā (spirit, self), and ended it by bidding men live as having the Ātmā for their lamp and refuge, he spoke within the atmosphere of current religious Immanence, using its phraseology. "We worship Brahman as the Ātmā" was the accepted teaching, which Gotama sought; "not to destroy but to fulfil". To the extent that man was to choose the better, the "middle way" in his life, not once, but at every turn is the one item in the teaching that may, at first sight, support the notion of self-saving. But to see in this, not, as it is, the exercise of man's will in his quest, but the winning of the quest itself, is as bad as to confound 'conversion' with final attainment.

Nor is Buddhism in this misconstrued slogan of self-saving logical. It had clearly no such tenet in mind when it set up for the believer the trinity of 'Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha' as every man's 'refuge', forgetting that the Founder had limited such refuges to two: *Ātmā*, and *Dharma*—"and no other", among the last words ascribed to him. It has not only changed

1. *Majjhima*, No. LXXI.
2. *Aṅguttara*, ii, 30. P. T. S. ed.

the first of his two refuges, putting 'Buddha' in the place of his 'Ātmā', it has added a third to the two, namely, Sangha.[1]

Further, Buddhism has committed another logical absurdity about the man or self. Because the Second Utterance enjoins that he be not identified with either body or mind, it has concluded that therefore 'he' does not exist. As if, as I have said, we were to pass over boatswain and purser, in seeking the captain, and say: Then there's no captain. The Founder himself is shown recognizing the absurdity. In an overlooked saying,[2] he is shown reminding a debater, that you cannot recognize as king-judge one who disposes of his subjects' life and fortunes, and at the same time see in him a mere subject. He is a *more* than they.

Buddhists cannot have it both ways. Either they are wrong, or their scriptures make the Master contradict himself. Nor must we forget, that in their numerical lists of titles of doctrines, the apparently oldest of these lists[3] does not mention the title, under its Fives, of the five groups (*khandhas*) into which body and mind came to be divided. Nay, it is fairly clear, from another canonical saying, that at one time the 'five' included the very man, thus: body, three mental functions and the experiencer through these (*viññāṇa*), invisible but very real.

I have tried to show elsewhere, how we see here the way in which—much as with Europe in our own age,—the new psychology or proto-Sāṅkhya was causing the growing Buddhism to lose touch with the Brahmanic teaching of Immanence, and to concentrate, not on the Man, but on his instruments.

In the fourth Not:—the original place in the teaching of 'dhamma,'—the new foreground detaches itself somewhat from the older background of Immanence. But only to this extent. Gotama, in speaking of man as longing for the Great 'Ātmā', declares himself a worshipper of 'dhamma'. This word was no new term in his day, but it corresponded rather to the concept of propriety in conduct: the 'what is done, is not done'. He saw in it the higher force, the more dynamic ethic, of what *ought* to be, or not to be done. He virtually equated it with the *antaryāmin* of the Upaniṣads, the 'conscience'—"ay, that Deitie within my bosome"—of our own time and place.[4] It was this that he is shown naming as his sole successor, not the externalized code of teaching which it became. Nor do I find anything in Hīnayāna justifying a modern tendency to look on *dhamma* as cosmic law, a tendency possibly due(?) to the newer attention that is being given to Mahāyāna. *Dhamma* is only rightly rendered as 'law' in the sense of conscience as a 'law unto one's self'. Early Buddhist poetry calls it a man's 'best of wayfarers'.[5] The seeing in the word a Leibnitzian monad

1. The gloss about the Sangha is obvious in the *Aṅguttara*.
2. *Majjhima*, No. 35, version ii, 21. P. T. S. ed.
3. *Aṅguttara* iii, *Pañcakanipāta*.
4. SHAKESPEARE, *The Tempest*.
5. *Theragāthā*, ver. 303—6.

is a metaphysical emergence a thousand years later than the day of Gotama. Midway between those two dates we find it, in the Pali books, as applied to religion in general: thus "what is this *dhamma* by which your disciples, being comforted, see in man's inclination the basis of the godly life?"[1] As if the word had come to stand for religion with the growth of men's seeing in religion a mockery were it not 'lived'.

In numbers five to ten we see certain emphasis due to the steady growth of monasticism, beginning in Gotama's day and gaining strength so much that it transformed that earlier background into his own back-and-foreground. If we, to get truth through sympathy, assume the monastic ideal that life as layman is "the low thing" so-called in Buddhist scripture of life as leading even at its best to material welfare here and an otherwise material welfare hereafter, with no term set to recurrence of death—if we then create a teacher of the ideal that a distaste for, and renunciation of life, as we know it, is best, we shall then be able to accept these six Nots as very much *what we should expect such a teacher to say*. We should not, with the former, be seeking, more than most laymen." Not if he were a Christian monastic! Why? Because in the Indian teacher's case, two conditions would bend him in another direction. He would not, with the former, be seeking, more than most laymen, "a better country, that is an heavenly."[2] He would be bent aside by the rupture with Brahmanic Immanence and by the new psychology. *All* living, the 'heavenly' too, would be to him 'ill' (*dukkha*). He was not out to "seek another country". He was out so to live as hereafter no more to experience being born, living, dying 'in' or of any world, but to win to an indescribable state, indescribable save that it was one of "supreme happiness". To do that he would have in a way to be a happy 'man'; but in so far as he identified 'man' with mere body and mind, there must be an outgrowing of such manhood. For this, nirvana, the new, the later *summum bonum*, was truly a waning out, attainable only when the age-long wayfaring in many lives, many worlds was consummated. But the Christian monk would cheerfully look forward to further wayfaring in that "better country".

But *he* would have this notion of 'ill' better conceived than was the case of the Buddhist monk. He would make little of bodily and psychological 'ill': old age, illness, mental worry, dying, birth. For him 'ill' would spell mainly or solely the spiritual Less which he sought to improve in a spiritual More. For the Buddhist monk, it was the former class of ills which are avowedly called *dukkha*. Spiritual dis-ease does find mention, but rarely. He sang:—

> Like forest fires behold them drawing nigh:
> Death and disease, decay, dread trinity.[3]

1. *Dīgha*, iii, 40.
2. *Ep. Hebrews*, xi, 16.
3. *Theragāthā*, ver. 447-50.

And when he did conceive in verse his notion of happier conditions rewarding moral effort here, it is mainly a physical betterment that he describes.[1] There is, it is true, the negative "no fear, no grief" of the Islamic paradise, but added well-being is not worthily made out as spiritual. In the only passage I know, where a happier hereafter is made a replica of a sincerely religious life here, the Master is made to describe it as just a happy "suchness" of the latter.[2]

But that, here and now, the monk-life implied, as such, a higher stage in preparation is emphatically rejected in the Master's saying, that for him a man had worth not in being a monk rather than a layman, but solely in better conduct.[3]

Monasticism, again, went far in obliterating the emphasis in the (much-edited) First Utterance on man as willer, as chooser. Not only in the substitution of a superman for the 'Wayfarer' therein, but also in the condemnation of will or desire as 'thirst', usually translated as 'craving'. Now for the 'man', 'everyman', there is nothing in will, under any name for it, that he can afford to wipe out. Where would man as constructive creature be had he excised all will having a strong coefficient of feeling, namely, yearning, longing, craving? But the monk, walking 'in the world yet not of it', has found it often needful to cool off desire or efferent will; at least the Buddhist monk with his curtailed outlook certainly did so. Note, on the other hand the persistence in the refrain urging to ever further effort: "thus and thus must ye train yourselves"; this and that still remains further to be done":—fine calls upon will as desire to attain. And so illogical is it to see, in the teacher of these, the man who could call any term for "desire to attain, to accomplish" the *necessary precedant of 'ill'*, that I cannot see both calls *and* condemnation as truly his.

Nor can I accept as his the formula known as Arising by Causation.[4] His long mission may have permitted formulas to be drafted in his lifetime. But this one, wherein the natural course of man's life is shown as so many conditions of 'ill' *and that alone*, is but a one-sided application of the current interest in man's inner causal uniformities. It is unworthy to stand alone[5] as illustrating the more general statement of causal law: Given this, that follows; stop this and that is stopped. How did not monasticism weaken Buddhism by this decapitation!

Finally, we have in number 9 perhaps the most tragic result of the darkened monastic outlook:—its dread namely of a protraction of life; its conversion of the great symbol of man's progress, the Wheel of his becoming, into a mere Ixion-rotation of sameness. Forgotten are the canonical sayings calling the Master's goal or aim in religion one that is of the Beyond

1. Cf. e.g. The *Vinaya-suttu*.
2. *Majjhima*, No. LXVIII.
3. *Anguttara*, i, 69.
4. *Paṭicca-samuppāda*.
5. The one bright exception does but end sadly, *Saṃyutta*, ii, 30. P. T. S. ed.

(*samparāyika*). Forgotten the description of the Way, not as an inadequate 'eightfold' string of qualities, but as solely "leading to the Beyond."[1] So that we can even hear young Ceylon say: "He taught us about life here, and left the next world to take care of itself." What a monstrous description of his teaching, who is said to have found "sheer happiness" in converse with good men of other worlds, who was sought after to give news of lost ones gone before, who bade disciples look forward to a happiness hereafter within their power to win!

This is but a hasty exposition of certain things which both scripture and our own unprejudiced judgment tell us the founder of a great world-religion did not teach, nay, could not have taught. Historical criticism has not yet duly exerted itself to show, that things put into his mouth are largely, even mainly, the work of compilation from older materials affected by the editors holding, under the long pressure of certain influences, different values from those of his day. If we set that historic figure in its due place and time, we can see that, to be what he was, *not one of those things will he have taught*. They are all of the Less in man's nature, life, destiny. There is no evidence that he judged his age had been rating these as too much in a More. If anywhere he checked the uplift in a More of the current Immanence, it was in his reticence concerning the Most. Man was being taught to call himself the 'Most'. Gotama saw him as, at best, in a More, and taught the More there lay before him to become.

1. *Sutta-nipāta*, ver. 1130.

AN UNNOTICED PRĀKRIT IDIOM

By

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On p. 110 ff. of her beautiful book on Prākrit grammarians (*Les grammairiens prakrits*, Paris 1938) Mrs. NITTI-DOLCI collects the additions made by the "oriental grammarians", in regard to conjugation, to the rules already given by their older colleagues. Many of these additions are of remarkable importance: so the one represented by Mārkaṇḍeya's rule VI, 35 and accordingly to Mrs. NITTI-DOLCI (p. 111) not returning elsewhere, which runs as follows: —

jjo jjāhi ca tivāṇ vā

Translation of Mrs. NITTI-DOLCI "(Les désinences) *-jjo* et *-jjāhi* peuvent être employées à la place de toute désinence verbale."

I am not able to find this statement in PISCHEL's *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen;* probably it remained unnoticed by this author, owing to the bad conditions of the MSS. used by him, cp. *Grammatik* p. 43 §40.

What is the linguistic meaning of Mārkaṇḍeya's rule? And before all, which are the endings named by him? *-jjāhi* is, as known, one of the endings of the second person of singular optative; *-jjo* contains also evidently the *-jj-* characteristic of optative, the final vowel is on the contrary enigmatic. I am inclined to think that *-jjo* stays before voiced consonant for *-jja-ḥ*, that is the nominative of singular of a declined *-jja;* Mārkaṇḍeya is not consistent in declining or not the grammatical endings which he speaks about, and so f.i. he has in our sūtra an undeclined *-jjāhi*, where as in sūtra 32 we read *madhyame kiṃ ekāraḥ*. But, before examining the value of *-jja*, let us consider the best identified *-jjāhi*.

It is at first sight significative, that of the different endings of 2. sg. opt.: *-jjāsi, -jjāhi, -jjāsu, -jjā* taught by PISCHEL, *op. cit.*, p. 325 §459, only *-jjāhi*, (of which *-jjaḥi* is only a secondary variant) can stay for all verbal desinences; the *-jjaḥi* namely which adds to the optative suffix *-jjā-* the old ending of 2-sg. imperative *-ḥi* (PISCHEL, *op. cit.*, p. 327 §461). Also *-jjāsu* contains an imperative ending, *-su;* only, this *-su* is a doubtless younger formation made from the *-si* of indicative according to the relation of imperative *-ḥi* to indicative *-ti* in the third person (PISCHEL, *op. cit.*, p. 331 §467), whereas *-ḥi* is a very old ending, returning not only in Sanskrit (*-hi, -dhi*), but also in other Indo-European languages: Avestic *-di*, Greek *-thi* and so on. We must conclude, I. that the use of the forms on *-jjāhi* for any verbal form is a very old one, prior to the establishment of *-su* as ending of 2. sg. impt. (or at least to the creation of *-jjāsu* and II. that such a use of *-jjāhi* is due, principally at least, not to the optative suffix, but to the imperative ending.

In other words: we have in this use of *-jjāhi* the same fact that I have largely considered in my paper *Pāṇini, Māgha e l'imperativo descrittivo* (*Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, Classe di scienze morali, vi, ix, p. 246 ff.; reprinted in PISANI, *Saggi di lingua e filologia*, Rome 1934, p. 87 ff.), of the 2. sg. impt. appearing in many languages as substitute for every form of finite verb. I must refer to that paper for examples of such an idiom out of Indian languages and for an attempt to explicate it; here I will only hint very briefly to the results which I arrived as far as Sanskrit is concerned. Pāṇini III, 4, 2-4 teaches :—

kriyāsamabhihāre loṭ loṭo kiṣvau vā ca tadhvamoḥ || 2 ||

(BÖHTLINGK's translation : Um die Wiederholung einer Handlung auszudrücken wird der Imperativ gebraucht, und zwar die zweite Person sg., die auch statt der zweiten Pl. stehen kann);

samuccaye 'nyatarasyām || 3 ||

(B. : Wenn mehrere Sätze auf einander folgen, ist diese Construction nicht nothwendig);

yathāvidhy anuprayogaḥ pūrvasmin || 4 ||

(B : Das nach dem Imperative hinzugefügte Verbum richtet sich nach dem vorangehenden);

samuccaye sāmānyavacanasya || 5 ||

(B : Wenn in dem 3, 4, 3 erwähnten Falle verschiedene Verba vorangehen, muss in der Folge ein Verbum gesetzt werden, welches alle diese Bedeutungen umfasst).

According to the commentators, sūtra 2 would prescribe locutions as *lunīhi lunīhīty evāyaṃ lunāti*, respectively *imau lunītaḥ, ime lunanti, ayam alunāt, ayaṃ laviṣyati*, etc. 'he cuts, they both cut, they cut, he did cut, he will cut, etc. repeatedly', where (*ity evaṃ ayaṃ*) *lunāti* etc. is called the anuprayoga; sūtra 4 orders that the anuprayoga must be from the same root as the imperative; sūtra 5 that, if there are many imperatives from different roots, the anuprayoga must be taken from a root including their meanings (*i.i. odanaṃ bhuṅkṣva saktūn piba dhānāḥ khādety evāyam abhyavakarati*). In my paper I have shown that the tradition of commentators is not completely in accordance with that of the *Candravṛtti* and, above all, with the use of the sole Indian author by whom such a construction is employed, viz. Māgha, who in his *Śiśupālavadha* I, 51 says: —

purīm avaskanda lunīhi nandanaṃ muṣāṇa ratnāni kirāmarāṅganāḥ |
nigṛhya cakre namucidviṣā vaśī ya itthaṃ asvāsthyam **akharniśaṃ** *divaḥ* ||

"He who repeatedly besieged the city, destroyed the garden, stole the jewels, kidnapped the women of the gods, and so fighting with Namuci's fiend (Indra) he, the powerful (Rāvaṇa), caused night and day the unhappiness of the Heaven". Here the anuprayoga is *cakre asvāsthyam*, and we don't

find the embarrassing and pedantic *ity evāyam* (in the *Siddhāntakaumudī* only *iti* : *yāhi yāhīti yāti*), which has no correspondence in the other languages where such a use of the imperative appears again. I concluded therefore that the words *ity evāyam* were dropped into the text of the comment from a marginal gloss of a somewhat pedantic grammarian, who would explain in this way the logical origin of the imperative formula taught by Pāṇini : the rightful application of Pāṇini's rule must therefore be seen in Māgha's stanza.[1]

According to BÖHTLINGK, note to III 4, 2, an analogous use of the imperative finds place also in Marāṭhī. Therefore the use of forms with *-jjāsi* taught by Mārkaṇḍeya is proved to come from the *-hi* of the ending, and not only does it find analogies in non-Indian languages, but inserts itself in the Indian tradition. That in the present case *-hi* is added to the optative suffix, may be connected with the narrative value of optative (as in English *he would say = he used to say*, etc.), of which I have given examples (also from Sanskrit) in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* L, p. 21 f.; cp. also *Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica* XVI, p. 22 f. with note. Another example is now produced by S. M. KATRE, *NIA.* I, p. 536.

If consequently we must see in these "omnibus" forms on *-jjāhi* 2. sg. persons of optative enclosing in themselves the value of narrative optative, brought by the suffix, and of "omnibus" imperative, brought by the ending, the other formation taught by Mārkaṇḍeya is very easily explained. According to what has been suggested above, *-jjo* stands for *-jja-ḥ*, where the visarga is a nominative ending : the proper form ended with *-jja*, which is arisen besides *-jjāhi* according to the doublet *-a* : *-āhi*, *-ahi* in the imperative paradigmi : *-a* (of the first conjugation) is as old as *-āhi*, cf. Sanskrit *bhara—yāhi*, Greek *phére—khy'thi*, etc.

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[1] I have also suggested to substitute for the actual reading of sūtras 2-4 of Pāṇini the following one: —

kriyāsamuccaye loṭ, loṭo hisvau vā ca tadhvamau || 2 ||
samuccaye yathāvidhy anuprayogaḥ pūrvasmin || 3 ||

For the reason of suggested changes I beg to see p. 248 f. (89 f.) of my paper. The actual sūtra 3 is of course senseless. For a source of errors in the traditional text of Pāṇini cf. now *NIA* I, p. 562 f. (S. P. CHATURVEDI).

TERMS IN STATU NASCENDI IN THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ

By

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The Bhagavadgītā is still today in India a kind of people's Bible. It is well suited for this purpose by its manner of expression completing every thought generally with the half-verse, emphasizing once and again a few fundamental ideas, using no elaborate scholarly Sanskrit, but popular terms so that its diction is concrete and never abstract—all these are means to bring the Bhagavadgītā near to the common understanding. On the other hand, it can please no less the mind trained by Upaniṣadic speculations and by later systematics.

Being a kind of transition from the Upaniṣads to the following philosophical systems, the Bhagavadgītā contains the terms and concepts around which the later philosophical and religious literature circle, but they are given in a stage of instructive development, where they are not presupposed to be generally known, but still need attributes, i.e. explanations, for being fully grasped.

What is the means of later commentators of systematic texts, e.g. of the Nyāya-literature, that is to be found in the Bh. G. still in the text itself. Just as the early hymns of the Ṛgveda emphasize the meaning of the words applied in repeating, as possible, in the very sentence the verbal root from which they are derived, just so explains the Bh. G. its terms by putting them together with their root; in a similar manner commentators of later systematical texts prefer to explicate the terms in hand more often by adding the verbal forms to which the nouns belong than by providing their synonyms. The Bh. G. accordingly uses in the very same verse beside the substantive either its verb or—quasi as a form of transition between the full verb and noun—the respective participles.

The concreteness of earlier dynamic language is not lost in the Bh. G.; the past participle, for instance, still stresses the fact that the preceding action is finished, while in the later texts this dynamic feeling of Time is partly effaced.

Just as dynamically as the character of Time is felt in the Bh. G. are the dynamics of Space; the prepositions which are added to the simplex are carefully and significantly chosen: *sam-*, *vi-*, differentiate the verbs and their participles in polar directions and prove the simplex, resp. the noun, as a kind of *media vox* embracing in this manner the fullness of the ambiguity of the word itself.

The very concreteness, and at the same time vagueness of the term, the noun, is enhanced not only by the above-given means, but also by another method which is already known from Brāhmaṇa- and Upaniṣad-times. One plays on similarity of sound; roots which are not philologico-

gramatically related, but articulated in their essential sounds at the same place, i.e. belong to the same phonetical group, are put together within one and the same verse to inspire associations not easily to be grasped by the Western Sanskritist, for which, however, the Indian who knows his Texts more by heart and ear than by script, is fully alive. The so-called etymological plays on sound of early Indian texts are taken seriously into consideration by their original commentators, the Indians. They, with their unimpaired capacity of perception, have preserved a keen ear for the rasas of the dark and the bright, hard and soft sounds and of their impression on the hearer. Just so as to ear (and eye) is the Indian fully conscious of the inner processes (circulations of breath, blood, gall, etc.). Similarly he is attentive, and reacts accordingly, to the process of articulation, the impression so-to-speak on the place of articulation by the formation of a sound. Therefore a word formed by hard articulation, for instance, produces the feeling of relation of this word with a second one similarly articulated. This phonetic-psychological association is to be taken into account beside the grammatical relation.

And yet another Indian peculiarity which plays its part in hindering a too quick deadening of a noun into a fixed term—a development which, according to its general "Weltanschauung," the West was only too inclined to accelerate—: in the Bhagavadgītā, but also in later systematics, the Indian has a predilection for *śleṣas*, for interconnection and ambiguity of meaning of words. A noun, a term, is once and again in India taken back into manifoldness, is never a 'terminus' in its literal Latin meaning as 'end in itself.' A special aim of Indian rhetoric is to insert so many *śleṣas* that in one and the same text several different continuous contents can be traced. This is an expression of India's view in general and not an accidental and artificial play on words and sounds. The West, since the time of the Sophists has isolated Man from his natural surroundings, has made him and his special gift of reasoning the "measure of all things" (cf. about this in detail my 'Indian and Western Philosophy, a study in Contrasts'). India, on the other hand, has never given up her concept of "Man as part and parcel of the Whole." Think of the still dominant doctrines of reincarnation and karma-theory which are based on this presupposition. In Nature nothing stands isolated; thus the Indian who is more or less still under the sway of his impressive landscape is ever reluctant against unnatural isolation. *Śleṣas*, interconnection between all things, are so-to-speak conditioned by Nature; nothing stands static and isolated in itself, but is continuously in transition from growth to decay, i.e. varying even in its own conditions.

This fundamental concept counteracts isolation even in logic and philology and is not limited merely to artistic expression of poetry and rhetoric. There is a reluctance against isolated and fixed terms and concepts in all Indian literature.

After these preliminary remarks we may investigate the terms and concepts of the Bhagavadgītā. As secondary result we may perhaps indirect-

ly contribute to the literary problem which R. GARBE and his followers put into the foreground of their studies of the Bh. G. Must we take our refuge to the hypothesis of different layers in the Bh. G. for explaining the divergent views implied? Can we distinguish between pantheistic and monotheistic view-points, or may they be combined merely as *paramārtha*—and *laukika*—aspects of one and the same problem as the Vedānta-commentaries suggest? Is not perhaps like in the Homeric works the author of the Bhagavadgītā (and the Mahābhāratam), Vyāsa (from *vy-as*) nothing more than the selecting collector of esoteric and exoteric shades of interpretation of one and the same complex of ideas?

GARBE and most of the scholars devoting their studies to the Bh. G. emphasize with good reasons that the concept of God and the expositions of *bhakti* is the essential of the Bh. G. The second main idea is the concept of *yoga* which is indicated as such among other details by the designation of each single book (except the first) as a kind of 'yoga' the meaning of which we shall try to elucidate later.

Beside these religious and psychological problems cosmogonic questions are treated in the Bh. G. in accordance with Upaniṣadic and Sāṅkhya-texts.

As to the *theistic problem*, it is true that we find in Bh. G. a mixture of personal and impersonal aspects of the divine side by side.

In favour of a predominantly personal interpretation it is generally stressed that throughout the whole Bh. G. God Kṛṣṇa is personally introduced and is speaking in the first person. The Bh. G. is considered the first continuous text of *b h a k t i* devotion to the personal God Kṛṣṇa. Bhakti, however, is, as I tried to point out in my "Studien zur Eigenart indischen Denkens" pp. iii ff and in my "Indian and Western Philosophy" pp. 35 and 73 f; not originally a personal concept; see more about it later on. Even the I-form of the teaching may not be necessarily taken as predominance of the personal theistic idea in the Bh. G. We may interpret it as a poetical form of exposition; I may recall the dialogue-form of demonstration of the Upaniṣads (cf. the frame-tale of the Kā. Up. and parts of the Chānd. Up., cf. 4, 5ff, where even the sacrificial fire, birds, etc. are introduced as personal speakers). Besides, even the epiphany of Kṛṣṇa in Bh. G., books 10 and 11, may be considered merely a poetical setting. I like to mention that Lucretius, the Latin poet and advocate of pure atheism introduces his work "De Rerum Natura" by an epiphany of a God (Goddess). More seriously we have to take into account the single sayings of the Bh. G., e.g. 4, 7f. Here God Kṛṣṇa is described as a kind of Messiah who whenever dharma, righteousness, is in decay, is reincorporated for protection of the good, for destruction of the evil. But here, too, we may object that the different *avatāras* of Viṣṇu let appear the God, though on a higher, but not on an altogether different level from all other beings; the God, too, is subject to a law of reincarnation.

The representation of the personal God in His epiphany is—as the terms of the context emphasize once and again, and as the name of the 10th book expressly states—a divine *vi-bhūti*; i.e. dispersion (*vi*) of the God into diver-

gent *bhaktas* is here taught. He manifests himself as manifoldness, as all single beings: as *ṛṣi* Kapila: 10, 26; as elephant Airāvata, as Veda, as metre Gāyatrī, as the perfect compound Dvandva, in short, as the sublime example of each category of persons and of things which are indiscriminately introduced. To emphasize plurality, not only all kinds of phenomena are enumerated, but also in emphatic repetition attributes are inserted which designate plurality: *aneka*.. (11, 10); *sahasra*.... (11, 12 and 11, 46); *bahu*..*bahu* (11, 23); *anekadhā* (11, 13); *nānā-vidhāni* (11, 5); *viśva*..*viśva*..(11, 16); *sarvatas*..*sarvatas*, (13, 14), etc.

Accordingly, past participles are added which are combined with the prefix indicating dispersion: *vi*; *vy-āptam* (11, 20); *vy-ātta* (11, 24), etc., etc. We may not overlook that just this manifoldness of the God is characterised as His being the *īśvara*, a personal God, but not the one divine uniqueness. (cf. 11, 3; 11, 8; 11, 9, etc). It is true, that there are in this context also some predicates of the deity which can be interpreted as designating a single divine personality, but they are remarkably few in number in comparison with the above-mentioned attributes of multiplicity. The God is praised, too, like in Western monotheism with terms like *pitar*, father of the world, but in the very verse he is called also mother, grandfather and with a neutral term the Veda and the *pavitram*, the magical means of purification. The personal designation *sakhā*, friend, is here and in earlier passages also applied; but e.g. 5, 29 the appellation 'friend' is coupled with the term '*bhoktar*,' a term which is familiar as attribute of the neutral brahman in Kā. Up. and in the Sāṅkhya for the *liṅga-śarīra*, the product of Prakṛti.

More definite traces of a divine personality seem to be given where the Bh. G. connects the God with the function of *bhakti*. But here, too, we may not forget sayings like in Bh. G. 6, 31, where the devotee is taught to venerate the God as *ekatvam* (neutre).

Other attributes of the personal God appear to be definitely transferred from the Sāṅkhya-system. But, then, the God is not identified with the *puruṣa* (*deus otiosus*) but with the Prakṛti, His counterpole (e.g. Bh. G. 7, 5). Other devatās besides Kṛṣṇa are significantly mentioned as equally adequate aims of *bhakti* (e.g. 7, 20; 7, 21).

The most frequent attributes of the God in the Bh. G. are the very same which are given in the Upaniṣads for the impersonal brahman: "I am the origin and final end of the world" (7, 6); "everything is woven into me" (7, 7); "I am the *rasa* of all things" (7, 8); "I am being and no-being, fear and no-fear" (10, 4). He is called "*aṇor aṇīyāṁsam*," the subtle of the subtle things (8, 9), a most characteristic term of the impersonal Upaniṣadic brahman. There remain but a few quotations which, being taken isolated, would confirm a predominant personal concept.

Bh. G. 9, 30 does state that the evil-doer becomes good by mere *bhakti* towards God. But not a pure ethical idea, more magical personal power of the God is here described. Bhakti, as we shall explain later on, is a magical participation in the sense of '*do-ut-des*.' It is noteworthy that

here, too, just as in the teaching of a personal god in the Nyāya-system, there are beside God other dominant principles which are independent from His influence. "God does not produce Karma nor the Karma-phalam" (5, 14). Even His own effects are not a free choice of the personal God: "I create once and again driven by the urge (*vaśa*) of prakṛti" (9, 8). The God produces here *quasi* unvoluntarily or compulsorily as in most cosmogonical tales of the Upaniṣads (cf. about this my reviews of K. A. SCHARBAU, *Die Idee der Schoepfung in der Vedischen Literatur* and of I. N. RAWSON, Kaṭha Upaniṣad, *JRAS*. 1936-37)

As to the concept of *bhakti* we have to apply all the means of explanation of a term enumerated in our introduction: variations of the word in hand are introduced by either adding its verbal root and (or) respective participles of the same root or its meaning is widened by inserting it in a *tatpuruṣa*-compound and (or) by interconnecting it with a similar-sounding word in a *śleṣa*. Throughout the whole Bh. G. the term *b h a k t i* itself is less frequently used than the more dynamical form of its full verb. "I love (*bhajāmi*) those who come to me": 4, 11; "they who love me *mad-bhaktās* come to me": 7, 23 "he who loves (*bhajati*) me, moves within me": 6, 31; "they love me (*bhajanti*) and find their support in my divine prakṛti": 9, 13; etc., etc.

Bhakti is nearer defined by an additional synonymous verb or noun: e.g. 13, 11: "unflinching bhakti towards me by yoga to no other objects.. or 9, 14: "worshipping (*namasyantas*) me through bhakti".... Furthermore bhakti, resp. the bhakta, is nearer defined by an accusative which shows his object of love": whatever form (*tanu*) any *bhakta* wants to reach with *ś r a d d h ā . .*": 7, 21. Other passages explain bhakti by introducing instead of the term bhakti the similar concept of attaining a goal, e.g. 16, 20 where "not reaching me" (*aprāpya*) is alternately used; the same occurs in 16, 23: "*siddhim avāpnoti*" is a variation in term, but not in concept, of bhakti..

The term bhakti is clearly traced back to the full meaning of its verbal root *bhaj*, to participate. In Bh. G. 18, 41 is significantly spoken of *pra-vibhaktāni karmāṇi*, i.e. the divergent tasks of the different castes; *bhaj* is still a *media vox* and not narrowed down to a mere technical term of later medieval religion. Besides, there are some passages where bhakti is taken in the sense of love in general, but more in that of a kind of affectionate union, e.g. 12, 20. On the other hand, there is expressly said that neither the *bhakta* nor the *a-bhakta* is loved by God because of His impersonal indifference, and the human *bhakta*, too, shall come to a stage beyond all feeling of love and no-love. Furthermore, there are other objects of bhakti beside Kṛṣṇa. This, too, emerges the personality of Kṛṣṇa into a vague pantheism and the concept of bhakti is still more ambiguous than in later bhakti-texts. Just as in the Brāhmaṇa- and Upaniṣadic literature through sacrifice, the devotee of the Bh. G. attains his aim of divine participation through bhakti. Kṛṣṇa enjoys the oblations of flower and fruit which are offered to him

together with- or without-bhakti like the devatās of early sacrificial Texts their more or less concrete gifts. (9, 22). If we turn back in this connection to the above-given quotation of the sinner who becomes a *sādhu*, somebody who stands on the right place through bhakti (9, 30), we may interpret it that through *bhaj* and bhakti in the sense of *bhāga ananyabhāk* the sinner becomes part of the divine being and loses thereby its original evil disposition turning to a higher main tendency (*karma-bīja*) which develops in its adequate *karma-phalam*—cf. *Yogasūtras* 2, 13 comm.

Similarly we can try to grasp the idea of YOGA, by psycho-philological methods. Philology of Sanskrit with its far-reaching conclusions is a safer means for the understanding of Indian religious concepts than the way through questioning by Western psycho-analysis or comparing obscure Tantra-texts. The term yoga, too, is in the Bh. G., and even so in the classical *Yoga-sūtras* (e.g. Y. S. 2, 1), not an isolated fixed term. The verb from which the noun 'yoga' is derived is preferably used instead of the substantive alone, and suffixes and prepositions are added for characterizing the ambiguous root in positive or negative direction; *śleṣas* also are applied to elucidate and circumscribe the ambiguous verbal complex. And even if the term 'yoga' itself is introduced, additional attributes are thought necessary for nearer definition. Accordingly, not yoga alone but *buddhi-yoga* and *buddhi-yukta* is said in the Bh. G., e.g. in 2, 50 and 2, 51, or *śraddhayā yuktas* in 7, 22. In a similar manner *Yoga-sūtra* 2, 1, comm. speaks of *yoga-yukta* and *samāhita-citta*. Terms do not easily become fixed and rigid in Hinduistic thought.

The ambiguous root *yuj*, to unite, is grasped with its full creative meaning. Therefore prepositions like *ni* and *vi* are added to the verbal root, resp. to its participles. "Why do you not bind yourself to karma" (*ni-yojayasi*): Bh. G. 3, 1. "The one who strives after perfection shall separate himself (*vi-yukta*) from *kāma* and *krodha*" (5, 26); *vi-yuj* is here used as synonym for *vi-gata*. .krodha (5, 28) *Yuj* is, as we see, here still a neutral term: to bind (or unbind). The full verb is used to emphasize the meaning implied together with its noun. The "*yogin yuñjīta* the *ātmam*" (6, 10) or "*yuñjyam* the *yogin*.." (6, 15); "*yoga-yuktātmā*" (5, 29); "*yoginām yuktatama*" (6, 47); "*yukta*. .*yogi*.." (6, 8). It is noteworthy that in the Bh. G. the term *yukta* is not limited, as in later terminology, to the designation of one who renunciates the world, but designates also the one who is bound to the world and to its material facts (e.g. '*balād*. .*niyojita*': 3, 36 and '*kāmakrodha-vi-yukta*' 5, 26). Even when connected with a preposition which has an intensifying, and not a negating sense, the term *yoga* or the participles of *yuj* are used in a way opposed to later terminology, for instance 3, 36: "by what *pra-yukta* (incited) does man act wrong."

The meaning of the root is frequently stressed by the preposition *sam*, together, e.g. "*buddhi-saṁyogam*" (6, 43) or "*samatvam* in yoga" (2, 48). About this we shall say more in our exposition of *Samatvam* later on. Similarly we may interpret the connection of yoga with the term *sam-ādhi* in 2, 53.—A transition to the later fixed meaning of yoga we may find in the

significance of *yukta* in 6, 17, where it is taken in opposition to *ati*, extreme, in world-nearness and -remoteness: in Bh. G. 6, 16 *yukta* means 'moderate' in food, motion, sleep, etc.. Besides, there are some passages, though few, where *yukta* is already used in the sense of psychological union, concentration. Bh. G. 2, 66 speaks of the *buddhi* and the *bhāvanās* of the *a-yukta* which lead to no *śānti*, no appeasement. Yoga as concentration is taken sometimes as synonym for *samnyāsa* or *samnyāsin*, the throwing-together and settling-down after all splitting doubts have gone (4, 41). Other verses of the Bh. G. explain the condition of the *samnyāsin* as result of yoga, e.g. Bh. G. 6, 4 and 5, 6. On the other hand, *samnyāsa* is a preliminary stage of yoga, when the *samnyāsa* of karma is meant. We see that the concept of yoga and its different stages are not definitely fixed in the Bh. G.; terms are here still in *statu nascendi*. The designation of the different books of the Bh. G., too, demonstrate in their ambiguity of meaning that yoga has still a wide scope. Yoga in the sense of the definite system and as such distinguished from the Sāṁkhya-system is seen in Bh. G. 2, 39 by some scholars, who do not grasp the Bh. G. from our angle of its being a text of transition, but others, though not following our leading idea, have already refuted this interpretation with good reasons.

A final word about the connection of the term yoga with widening *śleśas*: Bh. G. 4, 8, etc. speaks about yoga together with the *yugas*, the different periods of Time, and Bh. G. 11, 12, with *yugapat*, the adverb designating temporal interconnection.

Now let us turn to the concept and term SAMATVAM. It cannot be separated from the preposition *sam* which is once and again anaphorically put together with this noun. *Samatvam* is like all terms and concepts oscillating with ambiguity in the Bh. G. It stands either in a context which tends to expound the all-embracing divine power or in the sense of the yoga-system referring to the psychological function of a bhakta and yogin. 'Sam' is either used to designate extensity or intensity. Thus occurs the term *sama* in all places which deal with the epiphany of the God and His interconnection with all beings. "I am *Sama* in all *bhūtas*" (9, 29); "I am the *samuddhartar*" (12, 7); "*samam paśyan samavasthitam*" (13, 29); "as the wind draws within itself all smells, just so He grasps together all indriyas" (15, 7 and 8); "He settles down in the heart of all together" (15, 15). In true Indian interconnection this nearness in space results in indifference in quality. "I am *sama* in all beings, nothing is dear, nothing is repulsive to me" (9, 29). This is also exactly the presupposition for the yogic concept of indifference. "Through the synopsis (*saṁpaśyan*) of the world (*sarva-graham*) he may attain indifference" (3, 19 and 20). "He may become sama in siddhi and a-siddhi, i.e. he may attain samatvam in yoga" (2, 48); "he shall be sama in good and bad luck" (4, 22). From this basis of thought we have to interpret the Buddhist term sam-y-ak, curved together from distracting divergency, which is generally translated as an abstract logical term.—Just as for the God is for the yogin postulated a "*sama*-view within the cow,

the elephant, the dog and the brahmin" (5, 18). We may put these sayings of the Bh. G. together with Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad 1, 3, 22, where the ātmā in man is regarded as sama with the ant, gnat, etc. Indifference towards mud, stone, gold is taught in Bh. G. 14, 24 and 14, 25 beside *samatvam* also its synonymous adjective *tulya* is used. Thus the yogin and the master-yogin, the God, being balanced in themselves, are called *kūṭa-stha* (15,16), or the God is accordingly designated as *ekāntika* (14, 27) or the yogin is *ekākin* (6, 10) and *ekāgra* (6, 12), i.e. one who is not diverted, but concentrated.

From this angle let us grasp the full dynamic meaning of the preposition *sam*. The highest ātman is *sam-āhita* in fortune and misfortune (6, 7) and comes through this *tūṣṇīm*, silence, appeasement, i.e. no-more-striving after—or wanting for—this and that, cf. the literal meaning of *muni* and *maunam*. As long as man is still under the influence of *rajas*, passion, he is *a-sama* (14, 12). All other expressions of abstention from excess and extreme are accordingly also connected with the preposition *sam*. "All guṇas *sam-atītya*" (14, 26). "To throw (*as*) together (*sam*) all karmas and down (*ni*) that is to become a *saṃnyāsin*" (12, 6); "to force together (*sam-yam*) all gates of the body (*indriyas*) is prescribed in 4, 39. A similar concrete concept of *sama* can be found in the prescriptions of the bodily yogic exercises: head, neck, etc. must be *sama*, i.e. in perfect balance; the eyes, too, must be *sama*, bound to stare at the top of the nose (6, 13); in the midst of the eye-brows we shall force the vital *prāṇa* to enter *samyak* (8, 10); cf. the above remark about the Buddhist term *samyak*.

Therefore all *saṅgas*, all tendencies in the literal meaning of this term, must be avoided: "in *sama-cittatvam* one shall be a-saṅga, an-abhiṣvaṅga, asakti" (13, 10)—note the play on similar sounds as means of emphasizing! In the same manner *abhi-sneha*, sticking to a thing, is to be refrained from. Thus we must get rid of clinging to *viṣayas*, viṣaya-saṅga: 2, 62, or to the guṇas: 3, 29; or to external touch: 5, 21; or to the fruit of karma: 12, 11; or to the enjoyment of *kāma*: 16, 16 and 2, 44. In the two last quotations the preposition *pra*, towards, is added to enhance the meaning of tendency from which we shall free ourselves. In 4, 42 a śleṣa is used to stress the meaning: "with the sword (*asi*) of asaṅga one may cut off the the root of world-attachment."—Another example of a false etymologization, which is, however, justified as psychological means for attracting attention.

Another means of pointing out the same idea is given by contrasting it with all combinations formed with the opposite preposition *vi* (cf. above). Kṛṣṇa in His epiphany is *ekatvena pṛthaktvena*, unity, though manifested in extended plurality (9, 15). The *vi-kāras*, empirical changes, are but His manifestations. The actual world of phenomena is characterized by its continuous change. In the very word for 'world' its definition is implied. JAGAT (10, 42; 11, 7; 11, 45, etc.) is a reduplicated present participle of *gā*, a term for continuous going and changing; just so another term for 'world' bears the same meaning: *car-am*, the world. India's ways of definition are implicit, not explicit.

A few words about the verbal root *bhū* for the dynamic meaning of which the Bh. G. provides striking proofs (cf. about *bhū* my observations passim in my books since 1931 and the researches of Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS). In the Bh. G. not the perfect yogin, but the yogin *in statu nascendi* is demonstrated and remarkably often the term *bhū*, becoming, is therefore used in this Text. "Become one who is no more attached to the three guṇas" (2, 45); "become one who is balanced" (2, 48); "become one who does not expect anything more" (3, 30); "perfection originates from karma" (4.12); "without having dominated beforehand the will one cannot become a yogin" (6, 2); "become one who bears me in his mind" (9, 34); "after *rajas* and *tamas* having been conquered then *sattvam* originates" (14, 10). In all these places where psychological development is taught the term *bhū* is applied. In the description of cosmogonic and physical processes the term *bhū* is also significantly used: "From food become the beings, from rain food, from sacrifice rain" (3, 14). The absolute form *bhūtvā* is also still dynamically pregnant: "after having become soma I nourished all plants" (15, 13 and 15, 14). Besides, the full dynamic meaning of *bhū* is still alive in the Bh. G. as demonstrated by its frequent use of the causative form of *bhū*, e.g. 16, 17. Even the adverbial form *bhūyas* is still dynamically felt; it is anaphorically used with other derivations from its very root, e.g. Bh. G. 2, 20.

And yet a hint at another dynamic term which is fully alive in the Bh. G. and even so in later logical Nyāya-texts. *Vṛtti* and its verbal form *vartate* is not lowered down to a mere auxiliary verb, no more than *bhū-*, *Vṛt*, Latin *vertere*, and its compounds are fully dynamical. *Pra-vṛtti* is, as our word 'pro-cess' should still be, a term designating 'functioning' in its different stages of development. "The viṣayas, the single objects, *vi-nivartante*, i.e., evolve themselves" (2, 59). "The liberation is no-more *vṛtti*, that means no-more-return" (5, 17); "I know the past, the becoming and the living beings" (*vartamānāni*): 7, 26; "prakṛti emanates everything, jagat *vi-pari-vartate*" (9, 10); "the guṇas *vartante*" (14, 23); "the asuras do not recognize *pra-vṛtti*" and *ni-vṛtti*" (16, 7); but the sāttvikas do: 18, 30.

The term MĀYĀ I have tried to explain in detail in my "Indian and Western Philosophy" pp. 49ff; it too is in the Bh.G. in a significant state of development (cf. 4, 6; 7, 14; 7, 15; 7, 25; 18, 61). In the epiphany it is adequately mentioned as the *reality* of manifoldness of divergent forms, which, though actually pre-existent, is repeated by Kṛṣṇa in an act of display of His power.

And now a final hint at yet another term which is also preserved in the Bh. G. in an instructive ambiguity of relationships: I mean the term *yajña*. Just as in the Upaniṣads (cf. Bṛh. 6, 4, 12 and Chānd. Up. 5, 5. 1 ff.); the Indian concept of sacrifice is by far more embracing than in Western religions and thoughts. As I have several times pointed out elsewhere, the Indian concept of sacrifice is since Rgvedic times the offering of any substance,

more or less concrete and can be connected with the bio-ontological law of *do-ut-des*, of cause and effect. In the Bh. G., too, all kinds of sacrifice are accepted; either concrete gifts strengthen (*bhāvayanti*, resp. *bhāvitāḥ*: 3, 12, used like *vardhayanti* in Rgvedic and Brāhmaṇa-Texts) the devatās. The sacrificer is fully justified to expect an adequate counter-gift from his object of devotion: action inevitably attracts reaction. There is a striking saying in Bh. G. 3, 12: "He who enjoys something given to him without having given something beforehand, is a thief." Sacrifice is an exchange of gifts and goods and only then it is a correct deal. Sacrifice has its due reaction also in cosmic processes in accordance with the fundamental law of macro- and micro-cosmic interconnection. "From sacrifice originates rain" (3. 14). If the intention of the offering is to attain in return no material goods, but knowledge, this, too, inevitably is granted as response (4, 23). Indian positivism and realism takes it for granted that nothing is to be lost and each intention reaches its aim (just so the above-mentioned realization of the end of bhakti). Bh. G. enumerates indiscriminately all kinds of sacrifice. The biological sacrifice is breathing (4, 29). Material offerings are intermixed with the oblations of a psychological nature: *tapas* and *svādhyāya* are kinds of sacrifice: 4, 28. *Samādhi* resp. *Saṃyama yoga*, is accordingly called a sacrificial fire in 4, 27. *Jñāna* is the highest form of sacrifice in 4, 33. Invocation, *nāma*, just as *japa* is a form of sacrifice: 10, 25, if it is offered with the due rights: 16, 17. The yogin shall not ask for a material fruit, but for a higher psychological one through his devoted action; 2, 47; 17, 12; 18, 5. But a countergift in one form another is duly expected for the poured-out energy of more or less concrete substance.

And yet another concept of later systematics may be added in its embryonal stage in the Bh. G. I speak of the beginning of psychological TYPOLOGY in the Bh. G. Different types of sacrificers are distinguished in Bh. G. 7, 16. The Sāṅkhya theory of the three guṇas is already in the Bh. G. developed into a typology of constitutional types according to either predominant *sattvam*, or *rajas* or *tamas*. It is here even more specialized than in the commentary of the Sāṅkhya-kārikā. A theory of bio-psychological constitutions for all different conditions of life is taught in Bh. G. 17, 11-13 where three kinds of sacrifices, or in Bh. 17, 17-19 where three kinds of ascetic exercises are distinguished. Three kinds of mental attitudes in the presentations of offerings are enumerated in 17, 20-22; three kinds of *śraddhās* in 17, 2-4 and, in accordance with the general magical dogma, that man is what he eats, three kinds of predilections for certain food are demonstrated with regard to the predominance of one of the three guṇas: 17, 18-10. Furthermore, there is distinguished between three kinds of psychological types of *pravṛttis*, tendencies in 14, 17 and, transferred into the theological sphere, three kinds of aims of salvation are taught in 14, 18. Sinners and saints are characterized by their respective prakṛti, inner disposition, in 9, 12-13 or, according to their different aims of asceticism in 17, 5-6 or with regard to their eudemonological ends in 16, 3-6. Here, too, the Bh. G. has not stiffened,

fixed terms and concepts, but varies the theories, if necessary, from one moment to the other. In one place the Bh. G. distinguishes between three different types of puruṣas: the transitory of the physical man, the eternal within man and a third and highest type who is indifferent towards worldly happenings: 15, 16-18. But when Kṛṣṇa shall be shown as near to man in His epiphany, the tripartition is reduced to dipartition, Kṛṣṇa himself is *bkoktar* in 13, 15 ff. The *avyaktam*, too, is occasionally viewed under a double aspect; an extra-and an intra-mundane *avyaktam* is mentioned in 8, 20; an interesting contrast to the official Sāṅkhya-theory.

Now a last glance at the concepts of ĀTMAN in the Bh. G. Here, too, the Bh. G. has remarkable wideness and provides us with a transitory stage from orthodox Upaniṣadic view towards a later logical use of this term. The ātman is most frequently dealt with in the Upaniṣadic manner as the 'essential' in all beings. "To conquer the ātman, through the ātman, i.e., to dominate the ātman of desire by the higher meditative knowing ātman" is taught in 5, 10. "When the lower ātman is suppressed, the *para-ātman* develops": 6, 7. Thus the purified ātman in man becomes the divine ātman in general or the ātman of Kṛṣṇa (mahātman: 7, 19). On the other hand, mahātmānas in 9, 13 are men, while in 11, 12 only Kṛṣṇa is worthy of that name. In certain passages the ātman of the unenlightened is no longer considered existing at all (cf. 16, 9). Beside this significant incongruity of the concept while being in transition, there are other signs of further development of the ātman-concept in the Bh. G. Ātman as a kind of mere reflexive pronoun seems to be the meaning of passages like 16, 18, where "*ātma-para-deheṣu*" is said. Further-more, in 2, 44—*ātma*—or *ātmika* is used as final member of a compound as in later logical texts of the *Nyāyavaiśeṣikam*.

Ambiguous as in the Upaniṣads are in the Bh. G. all terms and concepts, not rigidly fixed as in Western systematics. A further study would prove that later Indian systematical texts, too, are still reluctant against one-sided definite fixations of terms.[1] And even when the texts themselves have undertaken this last step of hardening terms, then the commentators think it necessary to loosen once more the fixed limit of the terms by reviving them in explaining them by their productive verbal root. India's reluctance against any isolation reveals itself also in her logical attitude of aversion against unchangeable definitions. In India the fundamental elements of the verbal root are still dynamically potent and either one or the other of the complex meanings implied, is accentuated according to its context and the momentary needs. Even proper names are not deadened to one, and only one, significance. They are still bearer of vivid functions and as such can always be replaced by a synonym of either the whole or one part of its compound. About this see in detail my "Indische Namenskunde," *Festschrift W. Geiger*, 1931.

1. Such a study will shortly be published.

MINISTERS IN ANCIENT INDIA

By

B. BHATTACHARYA, Baroda.

Rightly or wrongly, writers on Ancient Hindu Polity did not believe as much in democracy as we do in modern days. They did not believe in Absolute Monarchy either, but in a Limited Monarchy, by which the power of the Monarch was limited or circumscribed by a Council of Ministers. Through this body and with the counsel of ministers regal orders could be transmitted for execution. It was considered a good administration where the King and the Council were mutually afraid of each other. Examples of conflict between the King and his Council are not rare, and sometimes King's orders were annulled by the Council of Ministers. One famous instance is that of the Kṣatrapa King Rudradāman of Junagad who was obliged to repair the dam of the Sudarśana Lake from his privy purse at an enormous cost simply because the Council of Ministers did not approve of the project.

Kauṭilya in his Arthaśāstra mentions the scrupulous care with which worthy ministers could be secured for the State. The process involves repeated examination of prospective candidates or persons already in service for a pretty long time by offering them various temptations to test their integrity, loyalty, character and ability. The test is described as fourfold and is done with the assistance of the Chief Minister and the High Priest.

The method advocated by Kauṭilya is not only unique but also interesting, and though by now well known, is worth repeating here in brief. The test consists in offering temptations or allurements in four different ways, and they are called by Dr. SHAMA SHASTRI as : (1) religious allurement, (2) monetary allurement, (3) love allurement, and (4) allurement under fear.

In the first case, a Brahmin priest should be publicly asked to teach the Vedas to an outcaste person. When the priest refuses to do so, he should be dismissed. Then the dismissed priest through the medium of spies instigates each minister with a view to remove the unrighteous king, and have a new king installed. If the minister refuses, he should be considered pure. This is called religious allurement.

Secondly, a Commander in the army should be dismissed from service on the ground of having received bribes ("condemnable things"—SHAMA SHASTRI). The disaffected Commander, through the agency of spies, should cleverly incite each minister to murder the king and thereby acquire immense wealth. If the minister refuses, he should be considered pure. This is called monetary allurement.

Thirdly, a woman spy in the guise of an ascetic highly esteemed in the harem of the king may allure each minister by saying that the queen is enamoured of him and that arrangements have been made for his entrance into her private chamber. She should also indicate that this will certainly

lead to a large acquisition of wealth. If the minister refuses, he should be considered pure. This is called love allurement.

A minister should induce other ministers to join him in a pleasure cruise. Apprehensive of danger, the king should put all of them under arrest, and deprive them of their rank and wealth. A spy should, thereafter, cleverly incite them to remove the king and place another in his stead. If the ministers refuse, they are considered pure. This is called the allurement under fear.

Such tests likewise in a more or less accentuated degree could be applied to other grades of servants of the State. Those who did not respond to religious allurement were considered fit for civil and criminal courts; those who passed the second test were employed in revenue collection and as a Chamberlain; those passing the third test were kept in charge of pleasure grounds; and finally, those who passed the fourth test were employed for personal work of the king. Ministers and others were required to pass through all the tests. But there were others who succumbed to either one or all allurements, and they were given appointments in mines, timber and elephant forests, and manufactories.

The qualifications of a minister required by Kauṭilya are exacting, and our present day ideas do not differ much from his views. A minister should belong to a high family, and be influential, well trained in arts, possessed of foresight, wise, of strong memory, bold, eloquent, skilful, intelligent, possessed of enthusiasm, dignity and endurance, pure in character, affable, firm in loyal devotion, endowed with excellent conduct, strength, health and bravery, free from procrastination and ficklemindedness, affectionate and free from such qualities as excite hatred and enmity.

Kauṭilya asks the king to ascertain carefully these qualities through different sources instead of believing in them without proper scrutiny. Family and position are to be ascertained through reliable persons; educational qualifications from those who are equally qualified; knowledge, foresight, memory, etc. should be tested from successful application in works; eloquence, skilfulness, flashing intelligence through conversation; endurance and bravery in troubles; purity of life, etc. by frequent association; conduct, strength, wealth, dignity, etc. through intimate friends; affection and philanthropy by personal experience.

These are in fact, the qualifications of ministers as laid down in Kauṭilya, and in later times also, there was very little to add. The Rājanītiprakāśa of Mitra Miśra cites an elaborate quotation from the Mahābhārata describing the qualifications of a minister, and as far as I know, covers all the qualifications known to the authors of Ancient Hindu Polity. The verses in question are quoted below :—

मन्त्रनिश्चयतत्त्वज्ञः षाड्गुण्यगुणवेदिनः ।
शक्तान् कुलेषितान् भक्तान् अनाधारितपूर्वकान् ॥
नीतिज्ञान् व्यवहारज्ञानितिद्वासार्थवेदिदान् ।
इङ्गितज्ञानुपायज्ञान् शूरान् वीरान् कुलोद्गतान् ॥

सर्वकार्येषु निपुणानिष्वक्षविधिपारगान् ।
वृगैयन्त्रनिधानज्ञान् धर्मशास्त्रार्थपारगान् ॥
अक्षुद्रान् क्षमिषः प्राज्ञाननागतविधायिनः ।
आपत्या प्रतिकारज्ञांस्तदादवे दृढनिश्चयान् ॥
द्विषन्मित्राप्युदासीनभावज्ञान् धीतिमतान् ।
स्वभावगुणानचलनचलानिव भारत ॥
धर्मशीलानकृपणांस्तथा सर्वोपघातिगान् ।
विद्या सर्वान् सम्परीक्ष्य राजा कुर्वीत मन्त्रिणः ।
योऽस्य राज्यधुरं वोढुं समर्थो सदृशावा इव ॥

राजनीति प्रकाश (Chowkhamba edition p. 310.)

"Oh king! Have care thy ministers be men
Well versed in the lore of politics
And the application of the gunas six;
Of noble birth, devoted, quit of faults;
Good politicians, clever lawyers all;
Learned in history, to whom the signs
Read like an open book; knowing full well
What should be done and when, heroic, strong.
Well born, keen witted, that succeed in all
They undertake; well versed in the art
Of warfare and the strengthening of forts,
To make them impregnable; deeply learned
In Dharma Śāstras; broad of mind and swift
To mercy; wise, endowed with foresight and,
The wit to circumvent all future ills
And strength to face the present and subdue it;
Divining well the motives of their foes
Their friends and indifferent kings alike;
That act not without purpose well defined,
Can guard their secrets, and like rocks are firm,
Strictly religious, generous and immune
From all temptations; in a word, are strong
And fit, like patient cows, to bear
The burden of the State upon their backs."

In olden days when there were no colleges and universities conferring degrees, capable men had to be selected with scrupulous care, and responsible work could then be entrusted to them. Even in modern days, degrees do not have much value in the selection of very high officers like Ministers and even heads of departments. Once a person is selected after the tests prescribed in accordance with the precepts of the Nīti Śāstra, they were respected even by the king who rarely disregarded their advice. With reference to the Purohita or the Chief Minister, Kauṭilya says that the king should follow

him "as a student his teacher, a son his father, and a servant his master." The same principle applies to others of high rank.

I mention this fact in order to contrast this position with that obtained in later times, when a complete reversal of relations took place. This will be evident from a passage which is cited from a later work, namely, the Mānasollāsa of the Western Cālukya King Someśvara, who wrote the work in A.D. 1131. There it is said that there are three kinds of kings. The king who is absolute is the best, the king whose kingdom is under the dual control of the king and the minister is of the second variety, and the king who is controlled by his ministers is the worst.

The nature of administration can be understood from the manner in which the Minister talks to persons coming to him on business: The Minister says that the Rāj is entirely in his control and the Rāja follows him; and that there is none who can oppose him in his actions.[1] This at once settles the fact that such a king belongs to the third class.

In a second class State the Minister talks in this strain: "Whatever recommendations I have sent up to the King he is bound to approve."[2] Here dual authority is indicated, and, therefore, it is a second class State.

The Minister talks in an entirely different strain in a first class State. "I am without power, and I cannot do anything without the express order of my Master."[3] The King whose Minister talks in this manner decidedly belongs to the first class.

Many more interesting references on this fascinating subject can be collected but I hope this short article will at least indicate the vicissitudes through which our ancient ministers passed, and maintained their dignified existence. An attempt has also been made to indicate how through the ages the minister who was originally one of the limbs of the State and a genuine helper and well wisher, in the earliest times, passed on to the position of a dignified officer even before the Muhammadans invaded this country.

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1. मदधीनमिदं राज्यं राजा च त्वदगो मम ।
मया यत् क्रियते कार्यं तत्कार्यं केन लङ्घ्यते ॥ ६८८ ॥
Op. cit. p. 91.

2. विज्ञप्ते यन्मया कार्यमवश्यं मन्यते प्रभुः ।
शत्रारोप्य द्वयोः स्वाम्यं सचिवो यद् तु भाषते ॥ ६९० ॥
Op. cit. p. 91.

3. प्रभोराज्ञां विना नाहं समर्थः कार्यसिद्धये ।
इति भीत्वा नृपे भक्त्या सचिवो यत्र वक्त्यलम् ॥ ६९२ ॥
Op. cit. p. 91.

THE PLACE OF THE KRTYAKALPATARU IN DHARMAŚĀSTRA LITERATURE

By

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Śūlapāṇi and Raghunandana are the two nibandhakāras whose works are the guiding authorities in the social and religious life of a modern Bengali Hindu. These two authors have quoted many times in their treatises a work called *Kalpataru*. Śrīkrishna Tarkālaṅkāra, the eighteenth century commentator of Śūlpāṇi's *Śrāddhaviveka*,[1] while interpreting the word "*Kalpataruḥ*," occurring in the second page of the book, was at a loss to find out whether it meant a work or an author, in which latter case he suggested the supply of the word *āha* (has said) to make the meaning clear.[2] Caṇḍeśvara, Vācaspati Miśra and Vardhamāna are the three prominent writers of dharmaśāstra who flourished in Mithilā in the 14th and 15th centuries of the Christian era. The *Kṛtyaratnākara*[3] of Caṇḍeśvara in its 24th[4] and 25th[5] introductory verses explicitly says that this *Kṛtyaratnākara* (lit. 'ocean of duties',) free from defects, holding the *Kalpavṛkṣa* (lit. wish-fulfilling tree), *Kāmadhenu* (lit. wish-fulfilling cow) and *pārijāta* (lit. celestial tree) in appropriate places, teeming with quotations from Viṣṇu, Vyāsa and others, and filled with nectar, has been prepared by Caṇḍeśvara, who is conversant with the Smṛtis and nigamas ; and that the experienced master of Polity (meaning the author Caṇḍeśvara) has considered all the subjects in which nothing has been said by the *Kāmadhenu*, nothing good has been conferred by the *Kalpataru*, and no scent of which has been held by the *Pārijāta*. The body of the work *Kṛtyaratnākara* contains twenty-one quotations from the *Kalpataru* and three from Lakṣmidhara, who, as we shall see later on, is the author of the *Kalpataru*. The

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1. MM. Caṇḍīcaraṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa's ed. in Bengali characters.

2. तत्र श्राद्धलक्षणप्रस्तावे कल्पतरुः अथैतदित्यादिब्राह्मणस्याहवनीयतुल्यतेत्यन्तः कल्पतरुनाम ग्रन्थः । कल्पतरुवदस्य ग्रन्थकारपरत्वे आहवनीयतुल्यतेत्यनन्तरमाहेति क्रियाध्याहारेणान्वयः (Ibid p. 3)

3. Edited by MM. Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha, B. I., 1925.

4. विभ्राणः कल्पवृक्षं क्वचन परिसरे कामधेनुं दधानः
क्वान्यन्तः पारिजातं क्वचिदपि च दधद्दोषपादोविमुक्तः ।
श्रीमच्चण्डेश्वरेण स्मृतिनिगमविदा तन्यते तेन तद्वत्
विष्णुव्यासादिवाक्यस्फुटरसमधुरः कृत्यरत्नाकरोऽयम् ॥

5. यस्मिन्न विश्रिदपि बीसति कामधेनु-
र्यत्रेष्टमल्पमपि कल्पतरुर्न दत्ते ।
धत्ते न गन्धमपि कश्चन पारिजात-
स्तत्सर्वमेव विविनक्ति नयप्रवीणः ॥

quotations from the *Kāmadhenu* and the *Pārijāta* are two and ten in number respectively. In the *Gṛhastharatnākara*,[1] another work of Caṇḍeśvara, *Kalpataru* has been quoted six times, *Kalpatarukāra* (i.e. the author of the *Kalpataru*) twice and Lakṣmīdhara eleven times. In the *Vivādaratnākara*,[2] a third work of Caṇḍeśvara, *Kalpataru* has been quoted eleven times, *Kalpatarukāra* once and Lakṣmīdhara six times. Vācaspati Miśra's *Tīrthacintāmaṇi*,[3] a fifteenth century nibandha of Mithilā, in its second introductory verse,[4] says that having carefully perused the *Kṛtyakalpadruma, Pārijāta, Ratnākara* and other works and after having bowed down to Madhusūdana (i.e. the god Viṣṇu), Vācaspati has prepared his work on Pilgrimages. Vācaspati further says in his introductory verse[5] to *Gayāvidhi* on p. 268 of the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* that after having seen the *Vāyavya* (i.e. *Vāyupurāṇa*), *Gārutmata* (i.e. *Garuḍapurāṇa*) and *Kalpavṛkṣa* (i.e. *Kalpataru*), having discussed in the light of the Shastric reasoning and having bowed down to the Ādigadādhara (a form of Viṣṇu), Vācaspati is laying down the procedure of the holy place of the Fathers (i.e. Gayā). In this *Tīrthacintāmaṇi*, *Kalpataru* has been quoted four times and *Kalpatarukāra* twice. The *Daṇḍaviveka*[6] is the only published work of Vardhamāna, another fifteenth century nibandhakāra of Mithilā. Its third concluding verse[7] says that the author consulted the *Kalpataru, Kāmadhenu, Halāyudha, Dharmakośa, Smṛtisāra, Kṛtyasāgara, Ratnākara, Pārijāta*, the two *Saṁhitās* of *Manu* and *Yājñavalkya* with commentaries, *Vyavahāratilaka, Pradīpikā* and *Pradīpa*. The quotations from the *Kalpataru* in the *Daṇḍaviveka* are forty-one in number and those from Lakṣmīdhara in that very work are two. The four published works of Govindānanda, a sixteenth century nibandhakāra of Bengal, are the *Varṣakriyākaumudī*[8] *Dānakriyākaumudī*,[9] *Śrāddhakriyākaumudī*[10] and *Suddhikaumudī*.[11] The first of these works quotes *Kalpataru* thrice, the second work quotes it once, the third work quotes it eleven times, and the fourth work only once. The *Śrāddhakriyā-*

1. Edited by MM. KAMALAKṚṢṆA Smṛtitīrtha, B. I., 1928.
2. Edited by the same ,B. I., 1931.
3. Edited by the same, B. I., 1912.
4. श्रीकृत्यकल्पद्रुम-पारिजात-रत्नाकरादीनवलोक्य सम्यक् ।
   प्रणम्य मूर्ध्ना मधुसूदनाय वाचस्पतिस्तीर्थविधिं तनोति ॥
5. नामव्य-गारुमत-कल्पवृक्षान् दृष्ट्वा विचार्यापि च शास्त्रयुक्त्या ।
   तनोति गत्वाऽऽदिगदाधराय वाचस्पतिः श्रीपितृतीर्थसेतुम् ॥
6. Edited by MM. KAMALAKṚṢṆA Smṛtitīrtha, G.O.S., 1931.
7. कल्पतरु-कामधेनु-हलायुधांश धर्मकोषे
   स्मृतिसार-कृत्यसागर-रत्नाकर-पारिजातांश ।
   टीकासहिते द्वे संहिते मनुयाज्ञवल्क्योक्ते
   व्यवहारे तिलकं प्रदीपिकांश प्रदीपं च ॥
8. Edited by MM. KAMALAKṚṢṆA Smṛtitīrtha, B. I., 1902.
9. Edited by the same, B. I., 1903.
10. Edited by the same, B. I., 1904.
11. Edited by the same, B. I., 1905.

kaumudī also quotes the *Kalpatarukāṇḍa* five times. The quotations from the *Kalpataru* in the twenty-eight works of Raghunandana are too numerous to be counted here.

A MS. of *Kṛtyakalpataru* of Lakṣmīdhara, consisting of twelve *Kāṇḍas* (or sections), has been noticed in the Udaipur Durbar Library (Peterson's First Report, 1883) and is the most complete MS. at present known. It has 1106 folios. Mr. KANE, the author of the *History of Dharmaśāstra*,[1] consulted some *kāṇḍas* of this MS. in Udaipur and identified[2] it to be nothing but the *Kalpataru*, or the *Kalpavṛkṣa* or the *Kṛtyakalpadruma*, quoted by later nibandhakāras. The work originally consisted of fourteen *kāṇḍas* as can be gathered from the quotations in later authors, of which twelve are now forthcoming. The author, Lakṣmīdhara, was the minister for peace and war of king Govindacandra of Kanouj, who reigned from 1114 to 1156, and so the former must have flourished during that period, i.e. the first half of the twelfth century. But copies of his work became scarce, in Bengal even in the 18th century as is evident from the ludicrous remark of Śrīkṛṣṇa, quoted above, because of the wholesale incorporation of its contents in later works. The Oriental Institute of Baroda has secured the Udaipur MS. in 1934 and entrusted Principal Rangaswami Iyengar of Benares with the editing of this old, rare and important Smṛti work. The copious quotations of Caṇḍeśvara, Vācaspati, Vardhamāna, Śūlapāṇi, Govindānanda and Raghunandana, who flourished in Bengal or Mithilā between the 14th and 16th centuries of the Christian era, amply prove the great influence the *Kṛtyakalpataru* exercised over the Bengal and Mithilā Schools of Hindu Religious Law. But the quality of its importance cannot be properly estimated and the quantity of indebtedness of the later authors cannot be properly verified until this monumental Smṛti work is finally released from the press.

1. Vol. I., Poona, 1930.
2. P. 315, *History of Dharmaśāstra*.

THE SO-CALLED KASHMIR RECENSION OF THE BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ

By
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The traditional extent of the *Bhagavadgītā* as reported by Śaṅkarācārya is just seven hundred ślokas or stanzas,[1] and the orthodox Indian Commentators have attempted to make these seven hundred stanzas (neither more nor less) yield a self-consistent system of Ethics and Metaphysics. The late Professor R. GARBE and his pupil, the late Professor Rudolf OTTO, essayed to prove the inherent impossibility of such an attempt by drawing attention to the composite nature of the present *Bhagavadgītā*. GARBE postulated two disparate strata in the Poem: OTTO was not content with anything less than eight or ten of them; but neither has, in my opinion, succeeded in proving that the *Gītā* in its present form is incapable of being understood as a whole which may allow for the original divergent thought-phrases (when established as such), and yet transcend them all in a higher philosophical synthesis.[2]

2. Another German *savant*, Professor F. OTTO SCHRADER of Kiel, has attempted to attack the authenticity of the traditional extent of the *Bhagavadgītā* from a somewhat different point of view. SCHRADER tries to to show [3] that the text of the Poem to which the *Gītābhāṣya* of Śaṅkarācārya gave currency

1. Introduction to the *Gītābhāṣya*—

तं धर्मं भगवता यथोपदिष्टं वेदव्यासः सर्वज्ञो भगवान् गीताख्यैः सप्तभिः श्लोकशतैरुपनिबबन्ध ।

2. I have examined GARBE's arguments in detail in my *Basu Mallik Lectures*, 1929, Part I, pp. 91-100; and those of R. OTTO in an essay entitled *Miscarriage of Attempted Stratification of the Bhagavadgītā*, 1937.

3. *The Kashmir Recension of the Bhagavadgītā*, Stuttgard, 1930, pp. 1-52.

(and consequently the *Gītābhāṣya* itself) was completely unknown in Kashmir upto about 1,000 A.D., some two hundred years after the time of the great Bhāṣyakāra ; and to the cogent objection that this would imply the improbable assumption that it required two centuries and more for the fame of the great Ācārya to reach Kashmir, the home of Sarasvatī, SCHRADER suggests a reply by questioning the authenticity of the *Gītābhāṣya* as a genuine work of Śaṅkara. We propose to examine here in details the grounds that have led SCHRADER to postulate a Kashmir Recension of the *Bhagavadgītā*.

3. SCHRADER'S thesis is based upon just three authorities : (i) a London Ms. of the *Bhagavadgītā* in *Śāradā* characters reaching upto viii. 18 only; (ii) Abhinavagupta's commentary known as the *Gītārthasaṅgraha* printed by the Nirnaya Sagar Press (First Edition, 1912, Second Edition, 1936) ; and (iii) the Ms. of a Commentary, called *Sarvatobhadra*, by Rājānaka Rāmakavi —SCHRADER names him Rāmakaṇṭha—a probable Kashmirian predecessor of Abhinavagupta. [I have access to Mss. of this commentary from the Mss. Library at the Bhandarkar Institute.] By carefully comparing the text of the *Gītā* given or presupposed by these authorities with the current or the Vulgate text, it has been found out by SCHRADER that in 282 places the "Kashmir Recension" gives readings different from those traditionally accepted. Moreover it contains 14 additional stanzas and four half-stanzas unknown to the Vulgate, besides omitting three current stanzas (viz. ii. 66, ii. 67 and v. 19) and repeating one half-stanza (iii. 35 *cd*) after xviii. 47 *ab*. To persons brought up in the belief that the text of the *Bhagavadgītā* has remained, like the *Vedas*, almost immune from *varietas lectionis* this would come as a great shock, particularly if it is claimed, as SCHRADER in fact claims, that the earlier and hence the authentic *Gītā* is that preserved by the Kashmir Recension, and not the one on which Śaṅkara wrote his *Bhāṣya*. It is of course not claimed that this "Kashmirian" *Bhagavadgītā*, from the purely philosophical view-point, differs vitally from the accepted text ; but once SCHRADER'S thesis is accepted as proved, it raises the possibility of other recensions of the Poem being current at different times in different parts of India. There is, for instance, the *Gītā* as known to Alberuni,[1] another as current in Java,[2] and a third (published by the "Suddha Dharma Mandalam" of Madras) agreeing[3] with the extent (745 stanzas) given in the "*Gītā-praśasti*" verses read by the Vulgate Edition of the *Bhīṣmaparvan* at the beginning of Adhyāya 43, which immediately follows the *Gītā* (25-42). To these we can add, if we choose, the various forms of the *Bhagavadgītā* presupposed by the scores of "imitation"

1. Concerning Alberuni's *Gītā* compare Prof. V. P. LIMAYE'S Marathi booklet, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyāpīṭha Publications, No. 5, Poona, 1929.

2. Cf. *Het Oudjavaansche Bhīṣmaparwa*, uitgegeven door Dr. J. GONDA, Bandoeg, 1936.

3. Concerning this S.D.M. version, first published in 1917, now reissued, 1937, compare SCHRADER : *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 62-68 ; also, S.N. TADPATRIKAR, *Annals, B.O.R.I.*, Vol. xviii, 1937, pp. 357-360. My own paper on the problem of the traditional extent of the *Bhagavadgītā* appears in the B.O.R.I. *Annals*, Vol. xix, pt. iv, pp. 335-348.

Gītās and the Synopses (*Saṁgrahas*) of the *Gītā*, published and unpublished, which offer systems of Ethics and Metaphysics more or less divergent from the one generally current. All this, once admitted, would go to discountenance the view that the *Bhagavadgītā* had a definite philosophical import and so had once constituted an important landmark in the evolution of Indian Philosophy. SCHRADER's thesis is, it follows, of more far-reaching consequence than would appear at first sight, and it has therefore become necessary to submit his theory to a detailed and searching investigation.

4. Being honoured by an invitation to edit the *Bhīṣmaparvan* for the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona, I found that it naturally devolved upon me to consider the whole problem of the text of the *Bhagavadgītā* with the help of newer material. Collations of over 50 Mss. were available for my use, out of which one was a Ms. in *Śāradā* characters belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, while at least three others, though written in Devanāgarī characters, showed clear traces of being derived from Kashmirian originals. Other Mss. utilised for the edition represented, besides the Vulgate, the Bengali, the Telugu, the Grantha, and the Malayalam versions. Except for the rare Nepalese version (which I am trying to secure), the Ms. material available may confidently be said to be of a truly representative character. Even for the Kashmir version I had at my disposal ampler Ms. material than was available to SCHRADER. It is therefore necessary that SCHRADER's data be tested by mine and the results collated together.

5. Now in the first place it is to be noted that in the 282 places where SCHRADER reports Kashmirian *varietas lectionis* it is not always the case that his three Kashmirian authorities agree; and in such cases the discrepancies are explained as due to the influence of the Vulgate reading. One expects that our Kashmirian Mss. would confirm SCHRADER's findings, and in a few cases they no doubt do so. But is it not rather surprising that in as many as 122 places (Vide Appendix 1) the Kashmirian and allied-Kashmirian Mss. used for the Critical Edition should not support the variant readings listed by SCHRADER? None of the *other* Mss. also, even in a single one of these 122 cases, registers SCHRADER's readings, while in 12 other cases, shown in Supplements to Appendix 1, the "Kashmirian" readings find only sporadic support from solitary Mss. As far at any rate as these (122+12=) 134 variants are concerned, we would be justified in putting them down as the idiosyncrasies of the scribe; and knowing as we do the ways in which scribes make mistakes, conscious as well as unconscious, it follows that normally we would not be justified in attaching any exaggerated importance to these cases of solitary variations, individually or cumulatively, and raise them to the dignity of an independent "Recension". We may add that our Śāradā Ms., for instance, records over 130 cases of such individual variations unknown to SCHRADER's sources or in fact practically to any other Mss. These will be found in Appendix 2. Intrinsically they are of the same nature as the variations in Appendix 1. They contain (vide Appendix 6) three extra stanzas, be it

noted in passing, and one additional half-stanza. Nor need it be supposed that such idiosyncrasies are peculiar to Kashmirian Mss. In Appendix 3 we give a select list of some seventy-five similar solitary variations recorded by some of our other Mss. It is easy to see that most of these variations are due to quite normal causes such as the accidental writing of the same letter or letters twice, the accidental omission of intervening group of letters (or words) owing to the wandering of the scribe's eye from a similar looking earlier group of letters (words) to another similar looking later group, the conscious attempt to smooth over an original metrical or grammatical irregularity, the substitution—metre permitting—of a marginal or an interlinear explanatory word for the original word in the text, and in the case of a popular text like the *Bhagavadgītā* (which many scribes might have known by heart), the copying from memory rather than from the original before the eye, the last case being facilitated by the occurrence of the remembered stanza or part of it only a little while ago. In addition there are the longer and more deliberate interpolations due to motives which differ in different cases. Except in very exceptional circumstances, i.e., where a given version is very inadequately represented by Mss. or where the current reading of a specific passage is hopelessly corrupt or impossible, it would be quite safe to ignore such solitary variations altogether.

6. A Provincial Recension[1] of the *Bhagavadgītā* such as SCHRADER claims for Kashmir should imply that all or nearly all Mss. hailing from that Province through direct or indirect line of scribal transmission exhibit a sufficient number of *varietas lectionis* which (a) are generally common to the group and (b) are not to be found, except sporadically, in other groups of Mss. belonging to other Provinces. We have now seven "Kashmirian" sources to deal with[2]: 1. the London Śāradā Ms. used by SCHRADER (Lb); 2. the Commentary of Abhinavagupta (Ca); 3. the Commentary of Rāmakavi (Cr); and 4-7. our Mss. which provisionally[3] are designated Ś, K[1], H, and A[3].

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1. A "Version" should mainly embody modifications happening during the course of scribal transmission from a common codex; and as, ordinarily, the transcripts are in the same script as the original—except in bi-scriptal border-regions—a "Version" tends to be Provincial. A "Recension" should connote more deliberate and far-reaching alterations in the text, often changing its tone and emphasis. Such a "Recension" transcends the limits of a Script or a Province. This difference between these two terms is often ignored.

2. The edition of R. Jivaram KALIDAS, Gondal, 1937, is claimed to have been based on a very old Kashmirian Ms. of the *Bhagavadgītā*, and it adheres to the "Kashmirian Recension." I have not yet examined this Ms. I myself have recently chanced upon a new and valuable commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*, which also follows the same "Recension". These two sources I have purposely ignored here.

3. The symbols under which Mss. are designated in this paper are the symbols used by the collators. The symbol G denotes Mss. in Grantha characters, M, in Malayalam characters, *B* in Bengali characters. In other cases the symbols denote the provenance of the Mss: thus A denotes Adyar Library, T, Tanjore Library, &c. After the Mss. are properly classified they would naturally appear under other symbols in the Critical Edition.

SCHRADER designates the consensus of his three sources by the symbol "K," but that is rather misleading because his Ms. Lb breaks off after viii. 18, and because Abhinavagupta passes over many words of the text in silence, so that not infrequently "K" denotes only one authority. In Appendix 1 we consider cases where "K" is not practically supported by any of our Mss., and we have to conclude that all these cases, like the cases reported in Appendix 2, have no real right to constitute the "Kashmirian Recension". This leaves (282 — 134=) 148 *pāṭhabhedas* to deal with. From these are to be further deducted a total of 41 cases, exhibited in Appendix 4, where the so-called Kashmirian Recension is not peculiar to Kashmirian text-tradition, but is more widely distributed, so much so that in a few cases I have adopted it for the Critical Edition without even the wavy line underneath, and in others with the wavy line; while in quite a number of other cases, although neither of the above two procedures was adopted, the rejected Kashmirian reading received support from such *diverse* sources as to place it beyond "Provincialism" and in a few cases even demand a wavy line below the adopted Vulgate reading. This leaves a remainder of a little over one hundred cases that are capable of registering their weightage on the side of SCHRADER'S thesis, assuming that it can be proved that these "K" readings are intrinsically superior. These a hundred and odd cases are given in Appendix 5, arranged in the ascending order of Mss. support. The attention of the reader is particularly invited to the "Remarks" column in that Appendix, where the intrinsic value of a few readings is discussed.

7. To those that take the trouble to wade through the mass of evidence set forth in the several Appendices to this paper, it will become clear that the grounds for constituting a distinct Kashmirian recension of the *Bhagavadgītā* are not of a very compelling nature, or rather, are not more compelling than those for constituting a Bengali or a Malayalam recension of the Poem. Even in the matter of the additional stanzas and half-stanzas (as also of the omissions), the Kashmirian Recension is not by any means peculiar. This additional (and omitted) material is exhibited in Appendix 6, with indication of the support that it has outside SCHRADER'S sources; and at the end of the same Appendix are shown certain additional stanzas and half-stanzas (as well as omissions) unknown to SCHRADER'S sources that are offered by some of our other Mss. including Ms. Ś. I did not take the trouble to make this list of additions and omissions exhausitive. The fact is that the phenomenon is nothing unusual, although it may well be that for some parts of the Epic there is more added and omitted matter in groups of Mss. constituting one Provincial version than in those constituting another such version. All that that can mean is that the Kashmirian archetype from which our existing Kashmirian codexes have been derived had certain *individual* variations, including occasional omissions and additions. This however should be no less true of the achetype of the other Provincial versions. In this sense we are not interested in denying the existence of a Kashmirian version any more than that of a Bengali or a Malayalam version. What we demur to is the great

antiquity and the exaggerated importance that SCHRADER claims for it by raising it to the status of an authentic recension of the *Bhagavadgītā* unknown to, because earlier than, the text underlying the *Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkarācārya. We are shortly going to examine SCHRADER's proofs for his contention. In the meanwhile we can bring the preceding part of our paper to a head by concluding that—apart from the question of its intrinsic merit—the material to be included under this Kashmir "Recension" is not as ample as SCHRADER seems to have believed. Over 62 per cent. of it has to be eliminated.

8. Now as regards the intrinsic merits of the differentiae of the Kashmirian Recension apart from their extent, let us first consider the omissions and additions. The added material (Vide Appendix 6)—as SCHRADER himself will no doubt concede—is generally weak and repetitious. Of positive reasons in their favour, so far as I have been able to see, SCHRADER gives only four. The first is expressed by the question (p. 10), "What possible motive could there have been for interpolating this solitary Tṛṣṭubh verse (ii. 10α) as the beginning of the Lord's speech," and of the other verses elsewhere?—which could easily be met by the counter-question, "What possible motive could there have been for their omission from the Vulgate?" Secondly, as regards the specific Tṛṣṭubh verse (ii. 10 α), SCHRADER seems to suggest for its retention the reasons that to Arjuna's questions in Tṛṣṭubh (ii. 5-8) the Lord preferred to reply in the same metre by the added verse. This could have been said with some justification of the Tṛṣṭubh verses xi. 32-34 following upon xi. 15-31, or of xi. 47-49 following upon xi. 36-46; but in the case before us Arjuna's speech begins with Anuṣṭubh (ii. 4) and later breaks into Tṛṣṭubh, and the Lord can be supposed, under an involuntary imitative impulse, to have done likewise, thus dispensing with the added Tṛṣṭubh verse right at the opening of the Lord's reply. SCHRADER in fact admits that he is not in a position to explain the intrusion into the even tenor of the Anuṣṭubh verses of the *Gītā* of the occasional Tṛṣṭubh verse as at viii. 9, ix. 20, xv. 2, or xv. 15, which would demand far more cogent reasons than what he seems to be in a position to give. Thirdly, as regards the added half-stanzas, SCHRADER contents himself by quoting with approval the remark of the commentator Rāma (p. 49)—

भारते च तत्र सार्धश्लोकप्रमाणविलाङ्घपाक्षमुनेः ।

which is much too general to include or to exclude a given specific case from its purview. Lastly, as regards five extra stanzas at iii. 37, which seem unnecessarily to lengthen out the *Bhagavadgītā* tirade against Kāma and Krodha, strangely enough SCHRADER reads therein a deliberate attempt on the part of the author of the Poem to throw out a suggestion of the famous Māra-Buddha episode, particularly with the help of the tell-tale epithet *chidraprekṣi*. This is only on a par with the identification of Duryodhana with the Buddha because of the red colour of the chariot-horses, or of Aśvatthāman with Buddhism because both were chased out of Bhāratavarṣa, which we used to read in some of our early European books. I had imagined that we had outlived the era of that kind of scholarship!

9. Turning next to the omissions, we can safely ignore v. 19, because the same stanza is restored after vi. 9. SCHRADER attempts a feeble justification for "K" omitting ii. 66-67. It is, as far as the commentators (Ca, Cr) are concerned, an argument *ex silentio*, and its weakness is not overcome by pointing out that the commentators, as careful writers, would not have failed to explain the words *bhāvanā* and *bhāvayanti*. As a matter of fact they have committed graver sins of omission than that, as the sequel will show. But, apart from that, let us place the omitted lines in their proper context to see if the passage can stand without the omitted lines—

रागद्वेषवियुक्तैस्तु विषयानिन्द्रियैश्चरन् ।
आत्मवश्यैर्विधेयात्मा प्रसादमधिगच्छति ॥ २·६४ ॥
[1]प्रसादे सर्वदुःखानां हानिरस्योपजायते ।
प्रसन्नचेतसो ह्याशु बुद्धिः पर्यवतिष्ठति ॥ २·६५ ॥
[नास्ति बुद्धिरयुक्तस्य न चायुक्तस्य भावना ।
न चाभावयतः शान्तिरशान्तस्य कुतः सुखम् ॥ २·६६ ॥
इन्द्रियाणां हि चरतां यन्मनोऽनुविधीयते ।
तदस्य हरति प्रज्ञां वायुर्नावमिवाम्भसि ॥ २·६७ ॥]
तस्मायस्य महाबाहो निगृहीतानि सर्वशः ।
इन्द्रियाणीन्द्रियार्थेभ्यस्तस्य प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठिता ॥ २·६८ ॥

It is clear that stanza 66 is a negative statement of the proposition in the two preceding stanzas, and conceivably we may do without it. But if stanza 67 is also omitted, how are we to explain the word "*Tasmāt*" at the beginning of stanza 68? The argument is:

Enjoying sense-objects with controlled senses leads to mental serenity, which gets rid of pleasure-pain and stabilizes the intellect. ii. 64-65.

[Without sense-control there can be no stable intellect, without such intellect, no concentration, without concentration, no peace and without peace no bliss. ii. 66.

Should the mind be enslaved while the senses are busy with sense-objects, that (enslaved mind) sweeps away his intellect like the wind a boat in the water. ii. 67]

Therefore, he whose senses are fully restrained from sense-objects, his intellect may be said to be stable. ii. 68.

It seems to me that in the absence of stanzas 66-67, the introductory "Therefore" does not get full significance. It amounts to a fact being adduced as its own reason. This is however an argument where only a reader reading the passage for the first time (which neither SCHRADER nor myself happen to be) can be trusted to form an independent opinion.

10. There is however some objective evidence that can be brought to bear on the issue. A Bengali Ms. (B^1) omits stanzas 59 to 68, both inclusive. Here evidently the scribe's eye has wandered from the word "*pratiṣṭhitā*" at the end of stanza 58 to the same word at the end of stanza 68.

The ten omitted stanzas were probably written on one side of the folio—the numbered side—while the ten preceding stanzas, 49 to 58, were written on the unnumbered side, which in sequence comes before the numbered side. As the ending line of both the sides of the folio was the identical line:

इन्द्रियाणीन्द्रियार्थेभ्यस्तस्य प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठिता,

having copied the unnumbered side from the exemplar, the scribe, through an oversight caused by a fortuitous turning over of the folio, failed to copy the numbered side and went on to copy the next folio. Now it so happens that the ten stanzas omitted by the Bengali Ms. in question are of the nature of a mere amplification of an earlier thought and may safely be omitted without any loss to the argument. In fact the break caused by this omission would be less readily felt than the break caused by the omission of the stanzas 66-67 in the middle.—Next, our Kashmirian Ms. K^1 omits the whole of stanza 67 and the first half of stanza 68. Even SCHRADER would not tolerate the omission of these three lines since line 68*cd* cannot stand by itself. Here too the reason is easy to find. It is again a case of the wandering of the scribe's eye from the initial letters of the line

इन्द्रियाणां हि चरतां.....

to the initial letters of the line

इन्द्रियाणीन्द्रियार्थेभ्यः.....

—a phenomenon by no means uncommon. In the case of birch-bark Mss. an accidental pealing off in the middle of the folio often causes lacuna of a few lines which, in subsequent copies, is ordinarily represented by blank spaces, while in less careful copies there is a closing up of the lines leading to the ignoring of the omitted matter. It may well be that the Ms. used by Abhinavagupta or Rāmakavi was of this nature. It is worth noting however that the Mss. Lb and Ś do both give the full four stanzas; only, in the latter Ms. the order is 68-69-66-67. This should mean that one of the ancestors of our Ms. Ś, perceiving the lacuna caused by the closing up of the lines, had copied out the missing stanzas 66-67 on the margin, indicating by a crow's foot (*kākapada*) where the added portion was to be read. A subsequent copy, from which our Ms. Ś may have been derived, while restoring the marginal matter to the body of the text, may have failed to notice the *kākapada* or made the addition at the wrong line-number. All these are phenomena quite familiar to users of Mss.; and the rule in all such cases is always to find a simpler mechanical reason for omissions and additions, if adequate, in preference to the hypothesis of conscious emendations or interpolations, for which motives have to be postulated.

11. We next pass on to the consideration of the intrinsic value of the "Kashmirian" *varietas lectionis*. For the reasons already given we should have been prepared to consider only the variants given in Appendix 5 as truly Kashmirian variants, and should have liked to hear what SCHRADER had to say on the question of their inherent superiority or claim to authenticity. As

a matter of fact, however, SCHRADER gives a list of 37 *pāṭhabhedas*[1] which, in his judgment, should go to prove his thesis concerning the antiquity of the Kashmirian Recension, and unfortunately of them only 14 belong to Appendix 5. Beyond these 37 cases which SCHRADER specifies, the other two hundred and forty-five *pāṭhabhedas*, (or at any rate a very large number of them), on SCHRADER's own admission, are cases where the Vulgate reading is the original reading, the "Kashmirian" reading being only its accidental corruption or emendation. SCHRADER himself has given some twenty examples of these last, but it is evident that they could easily be piled up five or six times that number. Nevertheless, even in the face of the admitted inferiority of so many of the Kashmirian readings, SCHRADER essays to establish the priority and authenticity of the "Kashmirian Recension." The 37 test cases must therefore be very strong cases. Let us now examine them one by one on the basis of the arguments set forth on pages 12 to 18 of SCHRADER's booklet.

—i. 7*c*: अस्माकं तु विशिष्टा ये तान्निबोध द्विजोत्तम ।
नायकान् मम सैन्यस्य..... FOR नायका मम.....

SCHRADER regards *nāyakāḥ* as wrong syntactically, and it would be so if we must make one sentence of pādas *cd*; but pāda *c* can well stand by itself: "They are the leaders of my army. I mention them to thee &c." What is far more important, the variant has no support outside SCHRADER's sources.

न स्वर्थकामस्तु गुरूनिहत्य भुञ्जीय भोगान्...
FOR हत्वार्थकामांस्तु गुरूनिहैव.....

SCHRADER says that the Vulgate reading *arthakāmān* requires us to supply an *api*: "the elders *even though* influenced by *artha* or self-interest." The particle *tu* marks the opposition of *cd* with *ab* and cannot be taken to mean *api*. Now it will be readily admitted that the *Gītā* was not composed with such minute attention to every particle. Instances are many where words have to be supplied to complete sense. For example in i. 36 *cd*—*Pāpam evāśrayed asmān hatvaitān ātatāyinaḥ*—an *api* has to be supplied after *ātatāyinaḥ*. One would think that to kill an *ātatāyin* involved no sin (cp. *Ātatāyinam āyāntam kanyād evāvicārayan*: Manu vii. 350f.), but No. *Ātatāyins* though they be, killing them would lead to sin alone (*eva*). Of our four Mss. two, ŚK[1], read *arthakāmaḥ* the others, HA[2], follow the Vulgate. The commentator Abhinavagupta has no comment on this word. (So much for his being a careful commentator, see p. 217 above). The other commentator Rāma, according to SCHRADER, indirectly supports the reading *arthakāmaḥ*. I however fail to see how his words—*Na punar ahaṁ dharmalipsuḥ tān vyāpādya* &c.—can be taken to support that reading.

—ii. 6*d*: ते नः स्थिताः प्रमुखे धार्तराष्ट्राः FOR तेऽवस्थिताः.....

1. Or 38, by considering vi, 21*a* and vi. 21*d* as two cases.

SCHRADER gives no reason for his preference. The word *naḥ* is not essential and can be readily supplied. The letters *na* and *va* are easily misread, the one for the other. Abhinavagupta gives no indication as to what his text was. None of our Kashmir Mss. read *naḥ*.

—ii. 10 : सेनयोरुभयोर्मध्ये सीदमानमिदं वचः FOR विषीदन्तमिदं वचः

SCHRADER gives no reason for his preference. *Sīdamānam*, in view of i. 29 *a*, is perhaps more forceful (= in a state of distress) than *viṣīdantam* (= in a state of dejection). There is no commentary of Śaṅkarācārya on the passage—the *Bhāṣya* begins only with ii. 11—and the Vulgate reading, apart from Śaṅkara's support, signifies very little. What is to be noted however is that the variant is not restricted to Kashmir. Several South Indian and Bengali Mss. read *sīdamānam*.

—ii. 11*ab* : अशोच्यानन्वशोचस्त्वं प्रज्ञावादांश्च भाषसे । FOR
अशोच्यानन्वशोचस्त्वं प्रज्ञावादांश्च भाषसे ।

This is the great passage for SCHRADER and presumably the best argument in his armoury. So it is no doubt very unfortunate for his case that the reading finds absolutely no support outside SCHRADER's sources; and there too Abhinavagupta gives him no support at all. SPEYER in 1902 (*ZDMG*, LVI, 123-25), and SCHRADER now after him, object to the Vulgate reading on the following grounds : (i) Arjuna's words hitherto showed no *prajñā*, no utterance of any profound truth. That one goes to Hell by committing sin and that the manes fall down if no *piṇḍas* are offered to them are articles of belief familiar to the man on the street. (ii) The compound *prajñā-vādāḥ* cannot be dissolved as *prajñāyāḥ vādāḥ* (unless *Prajñā* = Goddess of Learning), but as *prajñātmakāḥ vādāḥ*, words containing wisdom, or, with Rāmānuja, *prajñānanimittāḥ vādāḥ*, words resulting from wisdom, and such a Madhyamapadalopī Samāsa is always a questionable procedure. In compounds like *Śāstra-vāda*, *Śruti-smṛti-vāda*, *Itihāsa-vāda*, *Sāṃkhya-Vedānta-vāda* &c., which BÖHTLINGK cited against SPEYER (*ZDMG*, LVI, 209), the first member of the compound is more or less a Proper Noun, and so it would be even in compounds like *apauruṣeyavāda*, *avacchedo-vāda* and the like, to be understood as "the so-called view about the Vedas having no human author," &c. (i.e., *apauruṣeyatvaviṣayakavāda*). Finally (iii) Kṛṣṇa really wants to say that the words of Arjuna are *not* words of wisdom, but of folly. Why should not the Lord have said so directly? Why should he have this recourse to irony? — The arguments are not very difficult to meet. Throughout his speech Arjuna, in any case, poses an attitude of superior wisdom, as when he says, i. 38f.—*Yadyapy ete na paśyanti*.....*Katham na jñeyam asmābhiḥ* &c. : The foolish Kauravas may go wrong, but how can *we* be pardoned if we do the same? Such an attitude deserves an ironical rebuff. SPEYER'S and SCHRADER'S prejudice against a Madhyamapadalopī Samāsa is not shared by Indian Grammarians : *prajñāvādāḥ* can therefore mean words indicative of, or calculated to exhibit, your "wisdom", such as you understand it to be.

—ii. 12 : न त्वेवाहं जातु नासं न त्वं नासी जनाधिपाः।
न चैव न भविष्यामः सर्वे वयमितः परम् ॥ FOR
न त्वेवाहं.....नेमे.....मतः.....

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. The last two variants, *ami* and *itaḥ* for *ime* and *ataḥ*, are supported by no authorities outside SCHRADER's. There is, as a matter of fact, much loose use of pronouns and particles in the Epic.

—ii. 21*d* : कथं स पुरुषः पार्थ हन्यते हन्ति वा कथम्। FOR
.....पार्थ कं घातयति हन्ति कम्।

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. The variant has no support beyond our Ms. S, and it appears to have been influenced by ii. 19 *d*—*nāyaṃ hanti na hanyate*. Having established the proposition that A cannot kill B and B cannot kill A, because both are the Eternal Self, it would be sufficient, during the further amplification of the argument, to limit the argument to one of the two alternatives. The word *ghātayati* of the Vulgate introduces the additional argument that the self cannot kill even mediately.

—ii. 35*c* : एषां च त्वं बहुमतो भूत्वा यास्यसि लाघवम्। FOR
येषां च त्वं.....

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. This is nothing more, when Mss. are copied to dictation, but an ordinary case of defective hearing or defective pronunciation. The inability to differentiate *ye* from *e* is peculiar to some peoples' articulation. Thus we at times hear even educated persons pronounce the English word "yes" as "ées" and there is actually a magazine entitled "Yekāntin" instead of "Ekāntin". The present "Kashmirian" reading is supported only by our Mss. H, G^1, G^2—the last two hailing from South India. There is nothing intrinsically Kashmiriam about the reading.

—ii. 60*a* : यतो हि कौन्तेय पुरुषस्य विपश्चितः। FOR
यततो ह्यपि.....

SCHRADER is not very positive here. He suggests that this stanza may be better understood as giving the reason (*yat*=*yasmāt*) for the statement in the following stanza—

तानि सर्वाणि संयम्य युक्त आसीत मत्परः।

It is however obvious that the variant primarily owes its existence to an attempt to improve the bad grammar (*yatataḥ* for *yatamānasya*) of the original. Under the circumstances the *lectio difficilior*, if adequately supported by Mss., —as is the case here—has to be given the preference. Further, a deficiency in sense is felt by the omission of the word *yatataḥ*, and Abhinavagupta takes it upon himself to supply it by paraphrasing *tasya* by *sayatnasyāpi*, *mokṣe prayatamānasyāpi*. Does this mean that Abhinavagupta, while giving and explaining the "Kashmirian" reading, was aware of the existence of the Vul-

gate reading? It would be a curious commentary on SCHRADER's main thesis if this were so!

—iii. 2*a*: व्यामिश्रेणैव वाक्येन बुद्धिं मोहयसीव मे। FOR
व्यामिश्रेणेन वाक्येन.....

The reading is not peculiar to Kashmir. It is given by 43 of our Mss. besides SCHRADER's sources, and I have unhesitatingly accepted it for the Critical Edition. Śaṅkara in his *Bhāṣya* argues for the need of an *iva* both after *vyāmiśreṇa* and after *mohayasi*. Rāmānuja reads *Vyāmiśreṇaiva*. The case is useless for proving SCHRADER's thesis.

—iii. 23*a*, *c*: यदि ह्यहं न वर्तेयं जातु कर्मण्यतन्द्रितः।
मम वर्त्मानुवर्तन्ते मनुष्याः पार्थ सर्वशः॥ FOR
...न वर्तेयं.....वर्त्मानुवर्तन्ते.....

SCHRADER gives no grounds for his preference. The first variant is supported by our Mss. S and F only, the last by not even a single manuscript. Abhinavagupta gives no indication as to what he read. The second line of ii. 23—*Mama vartma* &c.—recurs as the second line of iv. 11. The Present Tense *anuvartante* is in place at iv. 11; at ii. 23, following the Potential *varteya* (*ṁ*) in the protasis, one expects the Potential; and the "Kashmirian" reading supplies it. With the Present-Tense Vulgate reading in iii. 23, and in view of the fact that the *anuvartana* at iv. 11 has a different connotation from the *anuvartana* at iii. 23, GARBE,[1] following BÖHTLINGK, regarded iv. 11 as the pattern and iii. 23 as the copy: in other words, iii. 23 as a later interpolation. It must be said that the change from the Present *anuvartante* to the Potential *anuvarteran* as well as, in the first half, the change from the abnormal Parasmaipada *varteyaṁ* to the normal Atmanepada *varteya*, is an easily suggested emendation of the original defective forms. Scribes and students would change consciously the incorrect into the correct and not the correct into the incorrect, which last, accordingly, has to be presumed as the original reading.

—iii. 31*d*: मुच्यन्ते सर्वकिल्बिषैः FOR मुच्यन्ते तेऽपि कर्मभिः।

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. Only one of our Mss., and that a southern one (G^1), gives this variant. Abhinavagupta also is silent. Since *karmāṇi* occurs in the immediately preceding stanza iii. 30*a*—*Mayi sarvāṇi karmāṇi* &c.—it is release from the *karmans* that must be stated in iii. 31*d*, following the Vulgate. To me this seems to be a case of copying from memory. The moment the word *mucyante* was copied down, the scribe seems to have been put in mind of the words *mucyante sarvakilbiṣaiḥ* (iii. 13*d*) that he had copied down a few moments ago, and straightway wrote the latter word down. Such cases are by no means rare. In any case, on the evidence of the Mss., this cannot be a "Kashmirian" variant.

1. *Bhagavadgītā*, 2nd edition, p. 168.

—iii. 38*d*: यथोल्बेनावृतो गर्भस्तथा तेनेदमावृतः । FOR
.....तेनेदमावृतम् ।

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. *Ayam* can refer to the *pūruṣa* of stanza 36. Is it the *pūruṣa* as a whole that is overspread by kāma-krodha or is it only the better part of him? In iii. 39*a*—*Āvṛtam jñānam etena*—we are distinctly told what the Vulgate *idam* in stanza 38 is meant to refer to. The variant is not supported by any of our Mss.

—iv. 18*d*: स बुद्धिमान् मनुष्येषु स चोक्तः कृत्स्नकर्मकृत् । FOR
.....स युक्तः.....

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. Since the *upakrama* of the Chapter is with Yoga—*Imaṁ Vivasvate Yogam*.....*Yogaḥ proktaḥ purātanaḥ* (iv. 1-3)—as also its *upasaṁhāra*—*Yogaṁ āliṣṭha Bhārata* (42)—there should be nothing unusual in the introduction of Yoga (implied by *yuktaḥ*) in the middle. *Uktaḥ* is flat: *yuktaḥ* conveys richer meaning. Only Ś reads *uktaḥ*.

—v. 21*b*: बाह्यस्पर्शेष्वसक्तात्मा विन्दत्यात्मनि यः सुखम् ।
स ब्रह्मयोगयुक्तात्मा..... FOR .....यत् सुखम् ।

The relative *yaḥ* in the variant goes with *saḥ* in the next line most naturally. With the Vulgate reading we have not only to supply *yaḥ* to go with *saḥ*, but to supply also *tat* to correspond with *yat* and expand the sentence—(*yaḥ*) *aśktātmā yat ātmani sukham* (*asti tat*) *vindati, saḥ*...*sukham*...*aśnute*. This is no doubt a very roundabout way. SCHRADER explains that the original *yaḥ* was changed into *yat* by case-attraction with the following word *sukham*. Now the phenomenon of case-attraction is no doubt very familiar from the Rgveda downwards; at the same time that peculiar, archaic—almost stylish—use of the relative as in Rv x. 90. 8—

पशून्तांश्चक्रे वायव्यानारण्यान् ग्राम्याश्च ये ।

where we have to expand the last clause into *ye grāmyāḥ* (*santi tān*), is also quite wide-spread in earlier writing. Such a roundabout construction is useful in focussing attention. To say, "who obtains the bliss within, he obtains the bliss imperishable" is less forceful than, "the bliss that is within one's self, (who) obtains (*that*), he obtains the bliss imperishable." But, apart from the above consideration, we have to point out that the simplification of syntax by reading *yaḥ* is not peculiar to Kashmirian Mss. Nine other Mss. give it, of which at least five come from the South. Thus the case loses all probative value for SCHRADER's thesis.

—vi. 7*b*: जितात्मनः प्रशान्तस्य परमात्मा समाहितः । FOR
.....परमात्मा समाहितः ।

Understanding *paramātmā* = Highest Self leads to difficulty, because the context evidently demands the individual self. It is true that xiii. 22 distinctly

says that *paramātmā* is used as a synonym for *jīvātmā*, but this may amount to "*Sthitasya gatiś cintanīyā*." Another way out is to read *param ātmā* as two separate words: cp. xii. 31—*paramātmāyam avyayaḥ śarīrastho'pi*. The ultimate view of the Advaitic interpreters of the *Gītā* makes no difference between the individual and the supreme self, and commentators from Śaṅkara downwards find little difficulty in explaining things away. (The commentators can always be trusted to do that.) The "Kashmirian" variant is supported only by our Ms. Ś.

There is however an interesting problem connected with this variant. The commentator Jayatīrtha tells us that the reading *parātmasu samā matiḥ* was a deliberate emendation due to the ingenuity of one Bhāskara. He says:

> अत्र भास्करोऽन्वयमपश्यन् 'परमात्मा समाहितः' इति संप्रदायागतं पाठं विसृज्य, 'परात्मसु समा मतिः' इति पाठान्तरं प्रकल्प्य, समा मतिः इति तु लाघवात्, (शीतोष्णसुख-दुःखेष्विति) सप्तम्याः अन्वयमुक्त्वा, पूर्वपाठेऽन्वयाभाव इत्यवादीत्।
>
> *Guj. Press Ed.*, 1938, p. 539.

Now there is a Bhāskara of the Śaiva school who is a Kashmirian predecessor of Abhinavagupta. There is another Bhāskara of the Bhedābheda school and a very early opponent of Śaṅkarācārya. Jayatīrtha is probably referring to the latter. In any case we have no reason to doubt such a clear and explicit statement of his. The commentary of a Bhāskara—probably the same person to whom Jayatīrtha refers—is mentioned in the *Tātparyacandrikā* on Rāmānuja's *Gītābhāṣya* at iii. 42, xiii. 3, and xviii. 66. It is also very unlikely that two ingenuous persons could have chanced upon the same emendation. Since Abhinavagupta knows the emendation and explains it, he must, be a successor of Bhāskara, knowing and utilising his words. As a matter of fact, in the course of his commentary on xviii. 2, Abhinava says—

> अत्र चाध्याये यदवशिष्टमवलग्नं वक्तव्यमस्ति तदप्राक्तनैरेव तत्रभवद्भट्टभास्करादिभि-र्विवृतत्वं विस्मृतमिति किमस्माकं तद्भाष्यैरतिश्रमावगाहनिर्वाहगसाराणां पुनरुक्तप्रदर्शनप्रयासेन।

This shows that Abhinava based his commentary on that of Bhāskara, and he would therefore, in the normal course of things, accept the latter's textual emendation without demur. Now the main burden of the writings of this Bhāskara is a bitter criticism of Śaṅkara's Māyāvāda. It is therefore very unlikely that Abhinavagupta was unacquainted with the works of Śaṅkara.[1] It is also interesting to note that SCHRADER admits that "in this one case (vi. 7*b*) Abhinavagupta too appears to have known both readings. ... There seems to have been early dispute on this stanza". Even assuming then, for the sake of argument, that this Bhāskara is some earlier writer, it can still be maintained that (i) Śaṅkara who cites and refutes several earlier and opposing interpreters of the *Bhagavadgītā* could not have passed such

1. Abhinavagupta quotes views of earlier commentators in about a dozen places. His references *apud* iii. 14, iv. 24, v. 35, vi. 25, vii. 11 and xiv. 14 may very possibly be to Śaṅkara. In two or three of these passages there is even verbal agreement.

an important and disputed issue in silence; and (ii) that the Vulgate reading which occasioned the controversy must be taken to be the original reading.

—vi. 16*a*, *c*: योगोऽस्ति नैवात्यश्नतो.....नातिजागरतोऽर्जुन । FOR
नात्यश्नतस्तु योगोऽस्ति.....ह्यश्नतो नैव चार्जुन ।

Here it is true that the "Kashmirian" variants are incorrect, or at least archaic, and have in that regard a claim for being considered as original readings. Only they have no support except from our Ms. Ś, which however gives the second variant slightly differently. A *lectio difficilior*, before it can receive full credit on that account, must have sufficient Ms. support. Else, every chance error of a modern copyist will have to be raised to that status.

—vi. 21*a*, *d*: सुखमात्यन्तिकं यत्र.....वेत्ति यत्र.....स्थित-
स्यति तत्त्वतः । FOR .....यत्तत्र.....चलति...

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. I assume that he wants to take pādas *abc* as constituting one relative clause. If so, we do not want the word *yatra* twice. A special kind of *sukha* is here intended, and we are told that even that remains unperceived in samādhi. So the *yat-tat* clause would be preferable. Cp. p. 223 above. The variant in the last pāda is not supported by even a single Ms., and Abhinavagupta too is silent.

—vi. 28*cd*: सुखेन ब्रह्मसंयोगमत्यन्तमधिगच्छति । FOR
.....ब्रह्मसंस्पर्शमत्यन्तं सुखमश्नुते ।

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. No other Ms. supports the variant, and even Abhinavagupta gives no clear indication. The Vulgate reading is more technically worded, and it is not a new technicality either. It may well be doubted whether any philosopher would say—*Brahmasaṁyogam adhigacchati*, unless *saṁyogam* = *yogam*.

—vi. 37*a*: अतः श्रद्धयोपेतो..... FOR अगतिः श्रद्धयोपेतो.....

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. The variant is not supported by a single Ms. Even SCHRADER'S sources are not unanimous, and Abhinavagupta is made to confirm by a conjectural emendation. The Nirnaya Sagara Edition of 1936, which has undergone thorough revision in the light of SCHRADER'S thesis, does not bear out SCHRADER'S conjecture.

—vii. 18*b*: ज्ञानी त्वात्मैव मे मतः FOR .....मे मतम् ।

SCHLEGEL long ago had conjectured that the original must have been *mataḥ* to agree with *jñānī*, and this conjecture was accepted by BÖHTLINGK. SCHRADER reports that this conjecture of the European scholars is confirmed by his "Kashmir Recension". I am not however sure that Abhinavagupta read *mataḥ*. Nevertheless the emendation was so obvious that our Mss. ŚAA¹B¹M⁴ record it. The fact however that several good Mss. do not do so, and the circumstance that the commentators prefer to explain the passage in a slightly roundabout construction—which in itself is not very rare—would go to establish the authenticity of the current reading.

—viii. 17*b*: सहस्रयुगपर्यन्तमहर्यद् ब्रह्मणो विदुः ।

.....तेऽहोरात्रविदो जनाः ॥ FOR .....यत्.....

SCHRADER explains the Vulgate *yat* as a phenomenon of case-attraction: see above under v. 21. Our Mss. ŚK[1] alone read *ye*. The others follow the Vulgate. Here a particular kind of day is intended, and the periphrastic construction *yat*.....*tat* serves to direct attention to it.

—x. 42*ab* बहूनोक्तेन किं ह्यनेन तवार्जुन । FOR

.....बहूनैतेन किं ज्ञातेन.....

SCHRADER'S sources are not here unanimous, and he gives no reasons for his preference. Abhinavagupta reads *etena*, and the text preceding the Cr reads *jñātena*. Of our Mss. only D[1]G (which are not connected with Kashmirian text-tradition) read *uktena*, while *jñānena* for *jñātena* is given by 18 Mss. This is to be explained as due to the usual confusion between *na* and *ta*. The case has no probative value for SCHRADER'S thesis.

—xi. 8*a*: न तु मां शक्यसे द्रष्टुं (Vulgate)

On this SCHRADER observes: The original seems to have had neither *śakyase* (Vulgate), nor *śakyasi* ("K"), but *śakṣyase*, which is the reading preserved in Rāmānuja's school. Be the case as it may, it proves nothing for SCHRADER'S thesis.

—xi. 40*d*: सर्वं समाप्नोषि ततोऽसि सर्वः । FOR

सर्वं समाप्नोषि.....

The so-called Kashmirian variant is not supported by Abhinavagupta and is not recorded by any of our Mss. It does disturb the metre slightly, and it is strange to find SCHRADER arguing that because the Vulgate reading *samāpnoṣi*, in the only meaning it can have here, viz. *samyag vyāpnoṣi* (so all commentators), is entirely unsupported, therefore it is almost certainly corrupted from *saṁvyāpnoṣi* ("K"). If *samāpnoṣi* be an unusual use, then that must have been the original word, while the variant *saṁvyāpnoṣi* would seem to be of the nature of an interlinear gloss ousting the real text.

—xi. 42*b*: पितासि लोकस्य चराचरस्य त्वमस्य पूज्यश्च गुरुर्गरीयान् । FOR

.....त्वमस्य पूज्यश्च.....

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. None of our Mss. supports the variant and Abhinavagupta is also silent. No noun is really wanted to go with *asya* because there is already *lokasya* in the first pāda. *Viśvasya* seems to be an interlinear gloss for *asya*, which has ousted *pūjyaś ca*.

—ix. 44*d*: पितेव पुत्रस्य सखेव सख्युः प्रियः प्रियायार्हसि देव सोढुम् ।

FOR.....प्रियः प्रियायार्हसि.....

Of SCHRADER'S sources Abhinavagupta is silent, and only our Ms. Ś agrees with the variant. It seems to me that, immediately following upon the pair *sakheva sakhyuḥ*, we must have a different pair, and that can only be lover

and lady-love. The Kashmirian variant is too facile an emendation calculated to obviate the double Saṁdhi *priyāyāḥ + arhasi = priyāyā + arhasi = priyā-yārhasi*. Instances of such double Saṁdhis are not rare in the older parts of the Epic. Hence we cannot accept SCHRADER's view that the Vulgate is a corruption of the Kashmirian reading.

—xiii. 4*d*: ऋषिभिर्बहुधा गीतं छन्दोभिर्.....।
ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैश्चैव, ...विनिश्चितम् ॥ FOR
.....विनिश्चितैः ।

SCHRADER here endorses BÖHTLINGK's earlier objection that we cannot construe *Brahmasūtrapadaiḥ* with *gītam* because while *chhandōbhiḥ* could be sung, the *Brahmasūtras* could not be. I was under the impression that the meaning of the root *gai* as the formal enunciation of a truth, apart from its prose or verse character, was already accepted by scholars. Cp. *Mālatī-Mādhava*, Act ii, Kāmandakī's speech immediately preceding Stanza 3:

गीतश्चायमर्थोऽभिज्ञस्या—यस्यां मनश्चक्षुषोर्निर्विशेषस्तत्स्वामृद्धिरिति ।

Surprising also is SCHRADER's construing of stanzas 3 and 4 as one long sentence: *Tat kṣetram yat.....sa ca yaḥ.....tat.....ṛṣibhir gītam, Brahmasūtrapadaiḥ.....viniścitam*. SCHRADER evidently has lost sight of the intervening *tat samāsena me śṛṇu* (xiii. 3*d*), which leaves no *tat* for being connected with *gītam* and *viniścitam*. The commentator Abhinavagupta, who is certified to be a careful commentator (cp. p. 217 above), has no commentary on the stanza and gives us no indication about his reading. The remaining sources of SCHRADER are confirmed only by our Ms. Ś. In the Vulgate reading it is easy to see that *hetumadbhiḥ* and *viniścitaiḥ* contrast with *bahudhā* and *pṛthak*.

—xvi. 3*b*: अद्रोहो नाभिमानिता FOR नातिमानिता ।

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. The word used in xvi. 3*d* and xvi. 4*a* should naturally be the same. Abhinavagupta has no comment on the word in both places. Śaṅkara explains the word in the earlier passage as—*ātyarthaṁ mānaḥ* &c., and in the later passage he refers to his earlier explanation by the word *pūrvokta*. Śaṅkara thus read *atimāna* in both places, and here he is supported by 18 Mss. mostly Grantha and Malayalam but including also Mss. A^3 and E which show traces of Northern (Kashmirian) influence. The reading *abhimānitā* (xvi. 3) is supported by Mss. $D^4P^2T^4H$, which, except the last, are not very reliable. For the Critical Edition, in both places, I have accepted *atimāna*.

—xvi. 8: अकिंचित्कमहैतुकम् FOR किमन्यत्कामहैतुकम् ।

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. The reading *akiṁcitkam* is supported only by Mss. HK^1, while *ahetukam* is given by Mss. $K^3DHG^2G^3G^4$. For the same word *ahe(hai)tukam* cp. xviii. 22*b*. Both forms can be, and have been, explained. The variant *akiṁcitkam* is, on the face of it, an attempt to simplify and can be legitimately suspected of being a later emendation.

—xvi. 19*c*: क्षिपाम्यजस्रमशुभानासुरीष्वेव योनिषु । FOR

.....अशुभान्.....

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. The variant *aśubhāsu* is supported only by Mss. HK[1]. Abhinavagupta is silent. The Vulgate *aśubhān* is widely supported. It is in a case like this that the hypothesis of case-attraction can be legitimately evoked to explain how the variant *aśubhāsu* has cropped up.

—xvii. 13*a*: विधिहीनमसृष्टान्नं..... FOR .....असृष्टान्नं

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. The variant is not supported by even a single Ms. outside SCHRADER'S sources, while Abhinavagupta in any case seems to go with the Vulgate. The commentator Rāma explains:

असृष्टं पाकादिविरहाद्विरसमन्नादि यत्र,

deriving the word from *sṛj* to clean or purify. In a "Tāmasa" sacrifice, the text tells us, there is absence of *vidhi*, absence of *mantra*, absence of *dakṣiṇā* and absence of *śraddhā*; *not* imperfect *vidhi*, improperly uttered *mantra*, inadequate *dakṣiṇā* and halting *śraddhā*. Parity would require that the *anna* in such a sacrifice be totally absent. That is the Vulgate sense.

—xvii. 23*c*: ॐ तत्सदिति निर्देशो ब्रह्मणस्.....।
ब्रह्मणा तेन वेदाश्च यज्ञाश्च.....॥ FOR
.....ब्राह्मणास्तेन.....

Abhinavagupta does not seem to support the "Kashmirian" variant, and of our Mss. only K[1] gives a dubious support. It actually reads *brahmaṇās tena*. As *Brahman* already occurs in the immediately preceding *pāda*, it was not quite necessary to repeat the word. The pronoun *tena* would tell indubitably what it stood for. What is more important, the Vedas and Yajñas cannot by themselves complete the round of creation unless there are the agents to recite and to perform them. Cp. St. 24*cd*—

प्रवर्तन्ते विधानोक्ताः सततं ब्रह्मवादिनाम्,

where the agents are distinctly mentioned. We cannot therefore be justified in concluding with SCHRADER that the reading *brāhmaṇāḥ* "is obviously wrong." The word need not signify the caste but can mean more or less the same as the *Brahmavādins* referred to in the very next stanza.

—xvii. 26*d*: सच्छब्दः पार्थ युज्यते FOR .....युज्यते।

SCHRADER gives no reasons for his preference. The variant is not supported by a single Ms., and Abhinavagupta is silent.

—xviii. 8*a*: दुःखमित्येव यः कर्म..... FOR .....यत् कर्म.....

As in v. 21 and viii. 17, SCHRADER explains the Vulgate reading as due to case-attraction. The Kashmirian variant is not however supported by any of our Mss., and Abhinavagupta is also silent. In view of the lack of Mss. support we cannot make too much of the phenomenon of case-attraction. The variant

yaḥ, which has no Ms. backing behind it, can more legitimately be explained as due to case-attraction for *saḥ* in the next line. Compare also the analogous passage xviii. 9. The variant simplifies the syntax, and that by itself would normally prove its unoriginality.

—xviii. 50*b*: सिद्धिं प्राप्तो यथा ब्रह्म प्राप्नोति तन्निबोध मे । FOR
.....यथा ब्रह्म तथाप्नोति निबोध मे ।

SCHRADER observes: "The position of *tathā* (belonging to *nibodha me*) in this śloka is simply impossible. The author of the *Gītā* was not so bad a poet as to be accredited with such a monstrosity." On the point at issue a reference may be suggested to Prof. V. K. RAJWADE's paper on "The Bhagavadgītā from grammatical and literary points of view" in the *R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Vol.*, p. 325ff. In the Kashmirian variant the metre is somewhat limping. It has no support from any of our Mss., and of SCHRADER's sources Abhinavagupta is silent. Cases of difficult syntax like the one before us have to be regarded as original, unless there is some very simple and at the same time very brilliant way out, which does not seem to be the case here.

—xviii. 78*d*: तत्र श्रीर्विजयो भूतिर्ध्रुवा इति मतिर्मम । FOR
.....ध्रुवा नीतिर्मतिर्मम ।

Unfortunately not a single Ms. used by us supports this variant. SCHRADER himself admits that the omission of *iti* in the Vulgate need not be regarded as a very serious blemish. In favour of that reading we can also say this that it is in the fitness of things that the *Bhagavadgītā*, which essayed to teach correct *nīti* to Arjuna in every case of *kāryākāryasaṁdeha*, should end with that important word. It need not be put down as a mere attempt to find another two-syllable feminine word to rhyme with *bhūti* and *mati*.

12. Thus far we have considered every one of the thirty-seven cases where SCHRADER claimed intrinsic superiority for the so-called Kashmirian readings. Unfortunately more than half the number he has left to speak for themselves without offering any defence. Not one of them however, including those that have received the benefit of SCHRADER's defence, is entitled to that claim except iii. 2, where the reading is authentic and superior, but not peculiar to Kashmirian text-tradition. The Kashmir reading, according to the recognised laws of textual criticism, can unhesitatingly be pronounced later than the Vulgate or Śāṅkara reading, not only in the cases admitted by SCHRADER himself, but in almost every one of the other cases.

13. We may once more refer to the variant in vi. 7 where, by SCHRADER's own admission, Abhinavagupta seems to show knowledge of a textual emendation introduced by Bhāskara, an early successor and opponent of Śaṅkarācārya. This materially weakens the case for SCHRADER's thesis. One additional passage may here be taken up at this stage. In v. 5—

यत् साङ्ख्यैः प्राप्यते स्थानं तद्योगैरपि गम्यते ।

it is well known that Śaṅkara introduces in his *Bhāṣya* a long discussion calculated to discountenance the parity between Sāṁkhya and Yoga as regards their ultimate goal, which is so unambiguously asserted in that stanza. To quote the *Bhāṣya* :

यत्सांख्यैर्हीयतिर्हैः संन्यासिभिः स्थानं मोक्षाख्यं प्राप्यते, तथोगैरपि **परमार्थज्ञान-संन्यासप्राप्तिद्वारा** गम्यते ।

It is as if one were to say : "B.A. and Matriculation are one. B.A. can become M.A. and so too the Matriculate. Only the Matriculate must be B.A. first." Śaṅkara is here evidently unable to understand the passage in a direct and straightforward manner. Now Śaṅkara in his *Bhāṣya* has mentioned a few variant readings : occasionally (e. g. under xi. 41, xviii. 54) even "Kashmirian" variants. If therefore there had been current a variant like the Kashmirian—

तथोगैरनु गम्यते FOR तथोगैरपि गम्यते

Śaṅkara would certainly have jumped at it, because that is just what Śaṅkara wants the passage to say, but what it cannot honestly say, reading *api* (= also) for *anu*-(= in due course or subsequently). "Does not this prove that the Kashmirian reading was unknown to Śaṅkara ?"—SCHRADER may ask. We reply : "Unknown", Yes ; but that does not mean "earlier". For, when it is claimed that the Kashmirian *Gītā* is the authentic *Gītā*, it certainly cannot have been meant that the knowledge of this authentic text was limited to Kashmir. The *Gītā* certainly was not unknown outside Kashmir. In Śaṅkara's days—before he wrote the *Gītābhāṣya*—there must have been current a form of the Poem approximating the "authentic" *Gītā*, which became fixed and standardized only after the *Bhāṣya*. If the variant *anu gamyate* had therefore been *existing* before Śaṅkara, he certainly would have adopted that, or at any rate mentioned it. His not having done so would go to almost prove that *anu gamyate* is a post-Śaṅkara emendation, suggested by some partisan of the ācārya who did not like the very great *tour de force* that Śaṅkara was compelled to have recourse to in his *Bhāṣya* on the passage. The emendator might accordingly have been a post-Śaṅkara predecessor of Abhinavagupta. I do not however wish to stretch this point too far.

14. At the end of this rather detailed and elaborate survey of SCHRADER's thesis we may briefly sum up the results arrived at as follows. If by recension is to be meant merely a version long current and recognised as authoritative in a given province, then the existence of such a recension of the *Bhagavad-gītā* as being current in Kashmir we are not interested in denying ; only we are unable to accept the view that the Recension was current prior to the 8th century of the Christian era, or that it is more authentic than the recension known to Śaṅkara. For this no sufficient proofs have been adduced by SCHRADER. In the first place the *varietas lectionis* supposed to be peculiar to Kashmir are not as many as SCHRADER has recorded. A large number of his cases are merely solitary variations of individual Mss., while quite a few

of the others are not peculiar to Kashmir, and have no probative value in establishing a "Kashmirian recension". About a little over thirty per cent. of the cases adduced can be regarded as Kashmirian *Pāṭhabhedas* of the *Gītā*, but intrinsically they can almost all be proved to be secondary and posterior to the text of the Poem as known to Śaṅkarācārya. In two or three cases particularly, positive grounds can be put forth for such a conclusion, while in the case of the others the conclusion rests on probability as grounded upon the recognised canons of textual criticism. What applies to the variants also holds good of the "Kashmirian" additions and omissions; and it is to be particularly noted that the thirty-odd test cases on which SCHRADER has thrown the brunt of his proof have, upon actual investigation, refused to sustain SCHRADER'S contention. We can accordingly conclude that, except for about a dozen minor variants, the form of the *Bhagavadgītā* as preserved in the *Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkarācārya is still the earliest and the most authentic form of the Poem that we can reach on the basis of the available manuscript evidence.

15. Where we had to carefully sift the evidence of some sixty Mss. on nearly 400 passages it is inevitable that, in spite of the care taken to avoid them, a few mistakes of omission or commission have crept into this paper. These can be readily corrected if kindly pointed out. It is hoped however that these will not affect the main conclusion which is an unhesitating pronouncement against the claim to authenticity of the "Kashmirian recension" of the *Bhagavadgītā*, and against its priority to the *Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara in the eighth century.

Om Tat sat : Brahmārpaṇam astu.

Gītājayantī : 3-12-38). S. K. BELVALKAR

APPENDIX 1: Cases where the "Kashmirian" Variants are not supported by even a single Ms.
(With two Supplements)

Adhyāya Śloka	Kashmirian variant	Vulgate reading	Remarks
i. 1	sarvakṣatrasamāgame	samavetā yuyutsavaḥ	
i. 7	nāyakān mama saiṇyasya	nāyakā mama.....	See p. 219
i. 29	sarvagātrāṇi	mama gātrāṇi	
ii. 6	te naḥ sthitāḥ	te 'vasthitāḥ	See p. 220
ii. 8	yaḥ śokam ucchoṣaṇam	yac chokam.....	
ii. 11	Aśocyān anuśocaḥs tvam prājñavan nābhibhāṣase	Aśocyān anvaśocas tvam prajñāvādāṅś ca bhāṣase	See p. 220
ii. 12	nāmī janādhipāḥ	neme janādhipāḥ	See p. 221
ii. 12	itaḥ param	ataḥ param	do
ii. 27	dhruvam mṛtyuḥ	dhruvo mṛtyuḥ	
ii. 30	nātra śocitum arhasi	na tvaṁ śocitum arhasi	
ii. 40	Nehātikramanāśo'sti pratyavāyo na dṛśyate	Nehābhikramanāśo'sti pratyavāyo na vidyate	
ii. 45	Traiguṇyavicayā Vedāḥ	Traiguṇyaviṣayā Vedāḥ	
ii. 51	Karmabandhavinirmuktāḥ	Janmabandha.....	
iii. 12	Iṣṭān kāmān hi	Iṣṭān bhogān hi	
iii. 23	Mama vartmānuvarteran	Mama vartmānuvartante	See p. 222
iii. 28	Guṇā guṇārthe vartante	Guṇā guṇeṣu vartante	
iii. 32	vinaṣṭān viddhy acetasaḥ	viddhi naṣṭān acetasaḥ	
iii. 36	Anicchamāno 'pi balād ākramyeva niyojitaḥ	Anichann api Vārṣṇeya balādiva.....	
iii. 38	tathā tenāyam āvṛtaḥ	tathā tenedam āvṛtam	
iii. 39	duṣpūraṇānalena ca	duṣpūreṇānalena ca	K disturbs metre
iv. 1	Evaṁ Vivasvate yogam	Imaṁ Vivasvate yogam	
iv. 2	Evam paramparālabdhyātam	Evam paramparāprāptam	
iv. 10	manmayā madvyapāśrayāḥ	manmayā mām upāśritāḥ	
iv. 14	na me kāmaḥ phaleṣv api	na me karmaphale spṛhā	
iv. 25	yoginaḥ samupāsate	yoginaḥ paryupāsate	
iv. 42	chittvainaṁ saṁśayam	chittvainam saṁśayam	
v. 11	saṅgaṁ tyaktvātmasiddhaye	saṅgaṁ tyaktvātmaśuddhaye	Śuddhi = search
v. 22	saṁsargajāḥ	saṁsparśajāḥ	
v. 28	Vigatecchābhayadveṣo	Vigatecchābhayakrodho	
vi. 15	madbhakto'nanyamānasaḥ	yogī niyatamānasaḥ	
vi. 20	yogasevanāt	yogasevayā	
vi. 28	Sukhena brahmasaṁyogam atyantam adhigacchati	Sukhena brahmasaṁsparśam atyantaṁ sukham aśnute	See p. 225
vi. 29	Paśyati yogayuktātmā	Īkṣate yogayuktātmā	Metre?
vi. 37	Ayataḥ śraddhayopeto	Ayatiḥ.....	See p. 225
vi. 42	jāyate dhīmatāṁ kule	kule bhavati dhīmatām	
vi. 46	jñānibhyaś ca	jñānibhyo 'pi	
vii. 1	yogaṁ yuñjan madāśritaḥ	yogaṁ yuñjan madāśrayaḥ	
vii. 6	pralayaḥ prabhavas tathā	prabhavaḥ pralayas tathā	Order?
vii. 11	Balam balavatāṁ cāham	Balam balavatām asmi	
vii. 12	Matta eveha	Matta eveti	
viii. 2	Prayāṇakāle 'pi katham	Prayāṇakāle ca katham	

Adhyāya Śloka	Kashmirian variant	Vulgate reading	Remarks
viii. 20	vyaktāvyaktaḥ	vyakto 'vyaktāt	
viii. 25	Anayor yāty anāvṛttim ekayāvartate 'nyayā	Ekayā yāty anāvṛttim anyayāvartate punaḥ	
ix. 11	mamāvyayam anuttamam	mama bhūtamaheśvaram	Influence of vii. 24
ix. 12	Āsurīm rākṣasīm caiva	Rākṣasīm āsurīm caiva	
ix. 14	yatamānā dṛḍhavratāḥ	yatantaś ca dṛḍhavratāḥ	To mend grammar
ix. 22	Ananyāś ca viraktā mām	Ananyāś cintayanto mām	
x. 8	Ayaṁ sarvasya prabhava itaḥ sarvam pravartate	Ahaṁ sarvasya prabhavo mattaḥ sarvam pravartate	
x. 14	yan me vadasi Keśava	yan māṁ vadasi Keśava	
x. 14	vidur devā maharṣayaḥ	vidur devā na dānavāḥ	
x. 16	vibhūtīr ātmanaḥ śubhāḥ	divyā hy ātmavibhūtayaḥ	
x. 17	tvāṁ aham paricintayan	tvāṁ sadā paricintayan	
x. 24	Senānyām apy aham	Senānīnām aham	To mend grammar
x. 25	girām apy ekam akṣaram	girām asmy ekam akṣaram	
x. 39	tad bījam aham Arjuna	bījaṁ tad aham Arjuna	
xi. 18	Tvam avyayaḥ Sātvata-dharma-goptā	Tvam avyayaḥ śāśvata-dharma-goptā	
xi. 34	tathānyān api vīrayodhān	tathānyān api yodhavīrān	
xi. 37	Kasmāc ca te na nameyur	Kasmāc ca te na nameran	To mend grammar?
xi. 38	vedyaṁ paramaṁ ca dhāma	vedyaṁ ca paraṁ ca dhāma	
xi. 43	asya viśvasya gurur	asya pūjyaś ca gurur	See p. 226
xii. 3	avyaktam māṁ upāsate	avyaktaṁ paryupāsate	
xii. 5	sarvatrāvyaktacetasām	avyaktāsaktacetasām	
xii. 12	tyāgāc chāntir anantarā	tyāgāc.....anantaram	
xii. 16	Sarvārambhaphalatyāgī	Sarvārambhaparityāgī	
xiii. 11	adhyātmajñānaniṣṭhatvam	.....nityatvam*	
xiii. 17	hṛdi sarvasya veṣṭitam	.....dhiṣṭhitam	
xiii. 22	Upadeṣṭā 'numantā ca	Upadraṣṭā 'numantā ca	
xiii. 31	Anāditvān nirmalatvāt	Anāditvān nirguṇatvāt	
xiv. 12	vivṛddhe Kurunandana	vivṛddhe Bharatarṣabha	
xiv. 15	Tathā tamasi līnas tu	Tathā pralīnas tamasi	
xiv. 18	Ūrdhvaṁ gacchanti sattvena	.....sattvasthāḥ	
xiv. 23	yo 'jīvas tiṣṭhati	yo 'vatiṣṭhati†	
xiv. 24	Samaduḥkhasukhasvapnaḥ	Samaduḥkhasukhaḥ svasthaḥ	
xv. 2	prasṛtā yasya śākhāḥ	prasṛtās tasya śākhāḥ	
xv. 4	Tataḥ paraṁ tat padam	Tataḥ padaṁ tat parī-	
xv. 4	yasmin gate na nivartanti	yasmin gatā na nivartanti	
xv. 5	Adhyātmaniṣṭhāḥ	Adhyātmanityāḥ*	Cp. xiii. 11
xv. 8	Gṛhītvā tāni	Gṛhītvaitāni	
xv. 15	Vedāntakṛd Vedakṛd eva	Vedāntakṛd Vedavid eva	
xv. 20	mayā proktaṁ tavānagha	idam uktam mayānagha	
xvi. 2	dayā bhūteṣv alaulyaṁ ca	.....aloluptvam	

* "Nitya" used in the older sense: Cp. "Indriyanityaṁ vacanam" in the *Nirukta*.
† Attempt to improve grammar. Cp. *Śāṅkara-Bhāṣya* on the passage.

Adhyāya Śloka	Kashmirian variant	Vulgate reading	Remarks
xvi. 3	Tejaḥ kṣamā dhṛtis tuṣṭiḥ	.....śaucam	
xvi. 10	Asadgṛhāśritāḥ krūrāḥ pracaranty aśucivratāḥ	Mohād gṛhītvāsadgrāhān pravartante 'śucivratāḥ	
xvi. 12	Ihante kāmalobhārtham	Ihante kāmabhogārtham	
xvi. 16	mohasyaiva vaśaṁ gatāḥ	mohajālasamāvṛtāḥ	
xvii. 1	vartante śraddhayānvitāḥ	yajante.....	
xvii. 4	Bhūtapretapiśācāṁś ca	Pretān bhūtagaṇāṁś cānye	
xvii. 6	bhūtagrāmam acetasam	bhūtagrāmam acetasaḥ	
xvii. 12	Ijyante viddhi taṁ yajñaṁ rājasaṁ calam adhruvam	Ijyate Bharataśreṣṭha taṁ yajñaṁ viddhi rājasam	
xvii. 13	Vidhihīnam amṛṣṭānnam	Vidhihīnam asṛṣṭānnam	See p. 228
xvii. 21	tad rājasam iti smṛtam	tad dānaṁ rājasaṁ smṛtam	
xvii. 26	sacchabdaḥ Pārtha ǵyate	..... yujyate	See p. 228
xviii. 7	Niyatasya ca saṁnyāsaḥ	Niyatasya tu saṁnyāsaḥ	
xviii. 8	Duḥkham ity eva yaḥ karma	.....yat karma	See p. 228f.
xviii. 15	Śarīravāṅmanobhir hi yat karmārabhate 'rjuna	.....bhir yat karma prārabhate naraḥ	
xviii. 20	bhāvam avyayaṁ vīkṣate *or* aśnute	bhāvam avyayam īkṣate	Variants admitted impossible
xviii. 21	tad rājasam iti smṛtam	taj jñānaṁ rājasaṁ viddhi	
xviii. 22	Yad alṛtsnavid ekasmin	Yat tu kṛtsnavad ekasmin	
xviii. 30	buddhiḥ sā sattvikī matā	buddhiḥ sā Pārtha sattvikī	
xviii. 32	manyate tāmasānvitā	..... tamasāvṛtā	
xviii. 32	buddhiḥ sā tāmasī matā	buddhiḥ sā Pārtha tāmasī	
xviii. 35	dhṛtiḥ sā tāmasī matā	dhṛtiḥ sā Pārtha tāmasī	
xviii. 36	Sukhaṁ tv idānīṁ śṛṇu me tridham	Sukham tv idānīṁ tridhaṁ śṛṇu me	
xviii. 37	Yat tadātve viṣam iva	Yat tad agre.....	
xviii. 37	tat sukhaṁ sāttvikaṁ vidyāt	tat sukhaṁ sāttvikam proktam	
xviii. 38	yat tadātve 'mṛtopamam	yat tad agre 'mṛtopamam	
xviii. 38	tad rājasam iti smṛtam	tat sukhaṁ rājasaṁ smṛtam	
xviii. 42	Śamo damas tathā śaucam	Śamo damas tapaḥ śaucam	
xviii. 44	Paryutthānātmakaṁ karma	Paricaryātmakaṁ karma	
xviii. 46	yena viśvaṁ idaṁ tatam	yena sarvam idaṁ tatam	
xviii. 46	Svakarmaṇā tam evārcya	Svakarmaṇā tam abhyarcya	
xviii. 50	.....yathā Brahma prāpnoti tan nibodha me	..... yathā Brahma tathāpnoti nibodha me	See p. 229
xviii. 50	Samāsena tu Kaunteya	Samasenaiva Kaunteya	
xviii. 54	na śocati na hṛṣyati	na śocati na kāṅkṣati	
xviii. 55	Yo 'haṁ yaś cāsmi	Yāvān yaś cāsmi	
xviii. 57	mayi saṁnyasya Bhārata	mayi.....matparaḥ	
xviii. 57	Buddhiyogaṁ samāśritya	..... upāśritya	
xviii. 59	Mithyaivādhyavasāyas te	Mithyaiṣa vyavasāyas te	
xviii. 68	sa mām eṣyaty asaṁśayam	mām evaiṣyaty asaṁśayam	
xviii. 75	etad guhyataram mahat	etad guhyam aham param	
xviii. 77	prahṛṣye ca	hṛṣyāmi ca	
xviii. 78	dhruvā iti matir mama	dhruvā nītir matir mama	See p. 229

Supplement to Appendix 1, being Cases of Solitary & Sporadic Support to "K" Reading by a non-Kashmirian Ms.

Adhyāya Śloka	Kashmirian variant (supporting Ms.)	Vulgate reading	Remarks
ii. 56	sthiradhīḥ (E)	sthitadhīḥ	See ii. 54
ii. 64	Rāgadveṣavimuktais tu (F)	.....viyuktais tu	
iii. 31	sarvakilbiṣaiḥ (G^F)	te 'pi karmabhiḥ	Reminiscent of iii. 13
iv. 37	Pādas *b* and *d* transposed owing to identical opening (D)	———	
xvi. 8	apratiṣṭhaṁ ca (A^1)	apratiṣṭhaṁ te	
xvii. 12	api caiva yaḥ (A^1)	api caiva yat	
xviii. 21	pṛthaktvena ca (E)	pṛthaktvena tu	
xviii. 63	yad icchasi tathā (E)	yathecchasi tathā	

Second Supplement to Appendix 1, being Cases of Sporadic Support to "K" Reading by two Mss. not Kashmirian or allied-Kashmirian

Adhyāya Śloka	Kashmirian variant (supporting Mss.)	Vulgate reading	Remarks
ii. 54	Sthiradhīḥ (D^1E)	Sthitadhīḥ	Cp. ii. 56
x. 42	bahunoktena (D^1G^3)	bahunaitena	
xvii. 7	bhedam idam (G^2G^4)	bhedam imam	
xviii. 60	avaśo 'pi san (MD)	avaśo 'pi tat	

APPENDIX 2: Cases where the Calcutta Ms. (Ś) gives Readings not found in any other Ms.

(For Omissions and Additional Stanzas in Ś see App. 6)

Adhyāya Śloka	Reading of Ms. Ś	Vulgate reading	Remarks
ii. 24	satatagaḥ	sarvagataḥ	
ii. 30	nānuśocitum	na tvaṁ śocitum	
ii. 31	na tvaṁ kampitum	na vikampitum	
ii. 32	copanatam	copapannam	
ii. 43	gatīḥ	gatim	
ii. 44	tathāpahṛtacetasām	tayāpahṛtacetasām	
ii. 51	buddhiyuktātmā	buddhiyuktā hi	
ii. 53	niścitā	niścalā	
ii. 62	krodho 'pi jāyate	krodho 'bhijāyate	
ii. 71	śāntam	śāntim	
ii. 72	vimuhyasi	vimuhyati	
ii. 72	ṛcchasi	ṛcchati	
iii. 3	karmiṇām	yoginām	
iii. 17	yaś cātmaratir	yas tvātmaratir	
iii. 21	ācarate	ācarati	
iii. 22	nānuvāptam	nānavāptam	
iii. 31	Śraddhāvanto 'nasūyanto nānutiṣṭhanti me matam	*	
iv. 3	cāsi	ceti	
iv. 4	katham evam	katham etat	
iv. 23	jñānāyārabhataḥ	yajñāyācaratah	
iv. 32	etaj jñātvā	evaṁ jñātvā	
iv. 38	yogasaṁsiddham	yogasaṁsiddhaḥ	
v. 14	Nākartṛtvaṁ na kartṛtvam	Na kartṛtvaṁ na karmāṇi	
v. 23	śarīravimocanāt	śarīravimokṣaṇāt	
v. 25	Chinnadvaitā	Chinnadvaidhā	
vi. 2	saṁnyāsa iti	saṁnyāsam iti	
vi. 2	yogo bhavati duḥkhahā	yogī bhavati kaścana	Cp. vi. 17
vi. 4	sarvakarmasu sajjate	na karmasv anuṣajjate	
vi. 9	Sādhuṣv atha ca	Sādhuṣv api ca	
vi. 9	samadṛṣṭiḥ	samabuddhiḥ	
vi. 10	Nirāśīr	Ekākī	
vi. 10	caikākī niṣparigrahaḥ	nirāśīr aparigrahaḥ	
vi. 16	na ca jāgarato 'rjuna	jāgrato naiva cārjuna	
vi. 20	tiṣṭhati	tuṣyati	
vi. 22	cādhikam	cāparam	
vi. 22	nāparam	nādhikam	
vi. 27	Abhyeti	Upaiti	
vi. 42	nirmale	dhīmatām	
vii. 6	sarvāṇi bhūtānity	bhūtāni sarvāṇity	
vii. 8	prakāśaḥ	prabhāsmi	
vii. 12	tāmasā rājasāś ca	rājasā tāmasāś ca	

* Blending of 31cd and 32ab due to eye-wandering from one "nyanto" to another. One half-stanza lost in consequence.

Adhyāya Śloka	Reading of Ms. Ś	Vulgate reading	Remarks
vii. 14	atitaranti	etāṁ taranti	
vii. 17	ekabhaktaḥ	nityayuktaḥ	
vii. 21	tasyāṁ tasyāṁ dadāmy aham	tām eva vidadhāmy aham	
vii. 25	Loko 'yaṁ nābhijānāti mūḍho	Mūḍho 'yaṁ nābhijānāti loko	
vii. 29	bhajanti	yatanti	Grammar
viii. 5	Antakāle 'pi	Antakāle ca	
viii. 11	yad yātayo	yad yatayo	
viii. 13	Yaḥ prayāti sa madbhāvaṁ yāti nāsty atra saṁśayaḥ	Yaḥ prayāti tyajan dehaṁ sa yāti paramāṁ gatim	
viii. 20	Parāt tasmāt tu	Paras tasmāt tu	
viii. 20	vyakto 'vyaktaḥ	vyakto 'vyaktāt	
viii. 21	Avyaktaḥ kṣara ity uktaḥ	Avyakto 'kṣara ity uktaḥ	
viii. 21	Yat prāpya	Yaṁ prāpya	
viii. 23	prayāntā	prayātā	
viii. 26	same	mate	
viii. 27	gati	sṛti	
ix. 6	vāyur nityam	nityaṁ vāyuḥ	
ix. 8	adhiṣṭhāya	avaṣṭabhya	
ix. 12	mohinīṁ sthitāḥ	mohinīṁ śritāḥ	
ix. 13	āsthitāḥ	āśritāḥ	
ix. 21	puṇye kṣīṇe	kṣīṇe puṇye	
ix. 22	dadāmy aham	vahāmy aham	
ix. 34	satyaṁ te pratijāne priyo 'si me	yuktvaivam ātmānam matparāyaṇaḥ	Influence of xviii. 65
x. 4	śamo damaḥ	damaś śamaḥ	
x. 9	stoṣyanti ramayanti ca	tuṣyanti ca ramanti ca	Mend grammar
x. 14	yan mā	yan mām	
x. 14	vidur devamaharṣayaḥ	vidur devā na dānavāḥ	
x. 16	divyā ātmavibhūtayaḥ	divyā hy ātmavibhūtayaḥ	
x. 21	aham aṁśumān	ravir aṁśumān	
x. 28	vajraḥ	vajram	
xi. 2	bhavāpyayau	bhavāpyayau	
xi. 8	śakyasi	śakyase	
xi. 8	dadāni	dadāmi	
xi. 14	Viṣṇum	devam	
xi. 20	vyāptāḥ	vyāptam	
xi. 24	anekavaktram	anekavarṇam	
xi. 27	daśanāntarāle	daśanāntareṣu	
xi. 28	viśanti	dravanti	
xi. 28	naradevalokāḥ	naralokavirāḥ	
xi. 29	samiddhavegāḥ	samṛddhavegāḥ	
xi. 32	pravṛddhān	pravṛddho	
xi. 32	ṛte tvad ete	ṛte 'pi tvāṁ	
xi. 38	viśvam idam samastam	viśvam anantarūpa	
xi. 40	anantavīryo 'mita-	anantavīryāmita-	
xi. 41	yad uktaḥ	yad uktam	

Adhyāya Śloka	Reading of Ms. Ś	Vulgate reading	Remarks
xi. 41	he sakheti ca	he sakheti	
xi. 43	kuto nu	kuto 'nyo	
xi. 48	yajñādhigamaiḥ	yajñādhyayanaiḥ	
xi. 49	mā ca vimuḍhatā bhūt	mā ca vimuḍhabhāvo	
xii. 5	dehabhṛdbhiḥ	dehavadbhiḥ	
xii. 6	karmāṇi sarvāṇi	sarvāṇi karmāṇi	
xii. 8	nivatsyasi tvam	nivasiṣyasi	
xii. 9	Athāveśayituṁ cittam	Atha cittaṁ samādhātum	
xii. 10	asamarthaḥ san	asamartho 'si	
xii. 10	muktim	siddhim	
xii. 11	yatātmavāk	yatātmavān	
xii. 15	lokān nodvijate hi saḥ	lokān nodvijate ca yaḥ	
xiii. 1	veda tam	vetti tam	
xiii. 2	kṣetrajñam api	kṣetrajñaṁ cāpi	
xiii. 3	yatsvabhāvaś ca	yatprabhāvaś ca	
xiii. 4	bahubhir gītam	bahudhā gītam	
xiii. 14	sarvataś caiva	sarvabhṛc caiva	
xiii. 16	Avibhaktaṁ vibhakteṣu	Avibhaktaṁ ca bhūteṣu	
xiii. 17	hṛdi sarvasya madhyagam	.....dhiṣṭhitam	
xiii. 21	guṇasaṅgasya	guṇasaṅgo 'sya	
xiii. 22	kartā	bhartā	
xiii. 25	caivam ajānantaḥ	tvevam ajānantaḥ	
xiii. 26	kiñcit sambhavati	saṁjāyate kiñcit	
xiv. 12	karmaṇo manasaḥ	karmaṇām aśamaḥ	
xiv. 16	nirmalaṁ sāttvikam	sāttvikaṁ nirmalam	
xiv. 17	jāyetāṁ tamaso	tamaso bhavataḥ	
xv. 1	tasya	yasya	
xv. 4	gato na nivarteta	gatā na nivartanti	Grammar
xv. 6	yad bhāsayate	tad bhāsayate	
xv. 10	Tiṣṭhantam utkrāmantaṁ vā	Utkrāmantaṁ sthitaṁ vāpi	
xv. 11	yoginaś caiva	yoginaś cainam	
xvi. 7	Nāśaucaṁ vāpi	Na śaucaṁ nāpi	
xvi. 10	prabhavanto 'śucivratāḥ	pravartante 'śucivratāḥ	
xvi. 15	dāsyāmi madiṣye	dāsyāmi modiṣye	
xvi. 15	ityājñāna-	ityajñāna-	
xvi. 19	āsureṣveva	āsurīṣveva	
xvii. 13	Śraddhāvivarjitam	Śraddhāvirahitam	
xviii. 3	Tyāgaṁ doṣavad	Tyājyaṁ doṣavad	
xviii. 5	Yaśo dānaṁ	Yajño dānaṁ	
xviii. 18	karmavedanā	karmacodanā	
xviii. 28	dīrghasūtraś ca	dīrghasūtrī ca	
xviii. 40	no punaḥ	vā punaḥ	
xviii. 49	Niṣkarma-	Naiṣkarmya-	
xviii. 57	śuddhiyogam	buddhiyogam	
xviii. 59	yāhaṁkāram upāśritya	yad ahaṁkāram āśritya	
xviii. 72	Kvacid	Kaccid	

APPENDIX 3: Select List of Individual Variants from Some of the Mss. collated at Poona

Adhyāya Śloka	Variant given	Ms. giving it	Vulgate reading
i. 20	śastrasaṁghāte	G	.....sampāte
i. 43	kuladharmāḥ sanātanāḥ	F	.....ca śāśvatāḥ
ii. 2	ayaśaskaram	C	akīrtikaram
ii. 22	gṛhāti navāni	A	saṁyāti navāni
ii. 34	kīrtayiṣyanti	C	kathayiṣyanti
ii. 37	bhokṣyase bhuvam	A^1	.....mahīm
ii. 46	bhūteṣu	H	Vedeṣu
ii. 53	niṣphalā	B^1	niścalā
ii. 55	sthiraprajñaḥ	E	sthitaprajñaḥ
ii. 72	paraṁ nirvāṇam	G	Brahmanirvāṇam
iii. 6	āste ca	A	ya āste
iii. 7	ārabhate naraḥ	A^4	ārabhate 'rjuna
iii. 14	Dharmād bhavati parjanyo	G^1	Annād bhavati.....
iii. 16	pravartitaṁ karma	G^1	.....cakram
iii. 26	sevayet sarvakarmāṇi	G	joṣayet .....
iii. 26	vidvān muktaḥ	H	vidvān yuktaḥ
iii. 29	Tān a-Kṛtsnavido....Kṛtsnavin	A^3	.....akṛtsnavido.....kṛtsnavin
iii. 43	saṁtyajya	G^3	saṁstabhya
iv. 4	proktavān asi	A	proktavān iti
iv. 20	nirāmayaḥ	A^4	nirāśrayaḥ
v. 5	jñānam	M^4	sthānam
v. 21	Brahmalokayuktātmā	M^2	Brahmayoga.....
vi. 3	Ārurukṣor muner yogaṁ vindatyātmani yat sukham ‖ (= v. 21*b*) Sa Brahmayogayuktātmā (= v. 21*c*) karma kāraṇam ucyate ‖	G^2	..... karma kāraṇam ucyate ‖ Yogārūḍhasya tasyaiva śamaḥ kāraṇam ucyate ‖
vi. 28	madbhakto nānyamānasaḥ (cf. vi. 15 in App. 1)	B^6	yogī vigatakalmaṣaḥ
vii. 2	Jñānaṁ jñeyaṁ	C	Jñānaṁ te 'haṁ
vii. 8	prabhāsaḥ	Java	prabhāsmi
vii. 20	niścayaṁ āsthāya	F	niyamaṁ āsthāya
vii. 29	yajanti ye	E	yatanti ye
viii. 11	Brahmavido	C	Vedavido
viii. 22	Puruṣaḥ paramaḥ	B^1	Puruṣaḥ sa paraḥ
ix. 1	Yac chrutvā	P^2	Yaj jñātvā
ix. 4	avyayamūrtinā	A^1	avyaktamūrtinā
ix. 11	sarvamaheśvaram	H	bhūtamaheśvaram
ix. 17	Viśvam pavitram	G	Vedyam pavitram
ix. 32	te yānti paramām	A^4	te 'pi yānti parām
ix. 33	rājarṣisattamāḥ	A^2	rājarṣayas tathā
x. 6	Madbhāvā mānuṣā	M^3	Madbhāvā mānasā
x. 7	So 'vikalpena yogena	K^1	So 'vikampena.....
x. 24	Purodhānām	G^1	Purodhasām

Adhyāya Śloka	Variant given	Mss. giving it	Vulgate reading
x. 28	Prajaneṣu ca	M^6	Prajanaś cāsmi
xi. 3	Parameśvara	B^1	Puruṣottama
xi. 16	viśveśvara viśvamūrte	A^2	.....viśvarūpa
xi. 17	sarvato dīptimantam	T^e	durnirīkṣyaṁ samantāt
xi. 48	śakyas tv aham	B^3	śakya aham
xii. 8	Dhanaṁjaya	A^1	na saṁśayaḥ
xii. 13	karuṇa ātmavān	F	karuṇa eva ca
xii. 16	dṛḍhavyathaḥ	M^2	gatavyathaḥ
xii. 20	bhaktyā te	K^1	bhaktās te
xiii. 1	tad viduḥ	D	tadvidaḥ
xiii. 4	viniścitaḥ	D^1	viniścitaiḥ
xiii. 7	Adānitvam	A^4	Amānitvam
xiii. 17	tad yonis	D	taj jyotis
xiii. 24	Jñānenātmani	A^1	Dhyānenātmani
xiii. 25	mṛtyusaṁsārasāgarāt	G	mṛtyuṁ śrutiparāyaṇāḥ
xiii. 30	Tata eva ca kartāram	T^a	.....vistāram
xiv. 4	jīvapradaḥ	E	bījapradaḥ
xiv. 12	pravṛddhe	A^4	vivṛddhe
xiv. 20	dehaṁ dehasamudbhavān	T^c	dehī .....
xiv. 24	tulyanindātmasaṁstutiḥ	E	..... saṁstutiḥ
xv. 7	jīvalokaḥ	D	jīvabhūtaḥ
xv. 15	amohanaṁ ca	A^4	apohanaṁ ca
xvi. 6	bhūtasaṁghau	H	bhūtasargau
xvi. 14	ahaṁ yogī	F	aham bhogī
xvi. 16	kāmalobheṣu	B^3	kāmabhogeṣu
xvii. 2	svabhāvataḥ	F	svabhāvajā
xvii. 9	duḥkhaśokābhaya-	C	duḥkhaśokāmaya-
xvii. 13	asṛṣṭhārtham	B^2	asṛṣṭānnam
xviii. 6	vratam uttamam	N	matam uttamam
xviii. 18	karmanodanā	E	karmacodanā
xviii. 42	śāntir ārjavam	F	kṣāntir ārjavam
xviii. 56	padam ātmanaḥ	T^c	padam avyayam
xviii. 78	Pārtho Dhanaṁjayaḥ	F	..... dhanurdharaḥ

APPENDIX 4 (ABCD): Cases where "Kashmirian" Readings are Current widely Outside Kashmir

A—Kashmirian Readings adopted for the Critical Edition

Adhyāya Śloka	"Kashmirian variant"	Mss. giving the variant (Vulgate reading if different)
i. 11	Ayaneṣu tu	ŚK[1]AT[2]HM[1]M[2]M[4]M[3]M[8]*B*[1] —Vulgate: Ayaneṣu ca
ii. 7	Pṛochāmi tvā	ŚK[1]DD[m]M[5]T[6]G[1]G[3]G[4]A[2]P[1]M[1]M[4] M[3]M[8] —Vulgate: Pṛochāmi tvām
iii. 2	Vyāmiśreṇaiva	K[1]ABB[3]CH[1]DD[1]EFM[2]G[3]D[m]T[6] GHMG[1]G[2]P[1]P[3]M[1]M[4]A[1]A[3]A[3] ŚT[4]T[5]*B*[1]*B*[2]*B*[3]*B*[4]*B*[5]M[7]T[d]T[e]T/T[g] T[2]T[7]M[3]M[8] —Vulgate: Vyāmiśreṇeva
xi. 21*a*	tvā sura-	This is Śaṅkara's text supported by several Mss. from South —Vulgate: tvām sura- (*i*)
xi. 32*c*	Ṛte 'pi tvā	Śaṅkara reads tvā, and the Vulgate seems to have been the same, though it often appears as tvām
xvi. 13*b*	idam prāpsye manoratham	ŚK[1]ABCDED[a]D[m]M[1]G[2]A[1]A[2]A[4]P[1] T[2]G[4]M[1]M[4]M[5]M[8]T[a]T[b]T[c]T[d]T[e]T[f] Śaṅkara reads idam, but the Vulgate has imam
xviii. 28	Śaṭho naikṛtiko	ŚK[1]DEA[1]A[2]A[4]BB[3]B[5]D[1]D[m]FM[2] D[a]GG[3]HMNM[1]G[2]T[6]G[4]. Nīlakaṇṭha explains naikṛtika, and that may be Śaṅkara's reading. The Vulgate has naiṣkṛtiko

B—Kashmirian Reading hesitatingly Adopted for the Critical Edition

Adhyāya Śloka	"Kashmirian reading"	Mss. giving "K" reading (Vulgate text, if different)
i. 28*b*	sīdamāno 'bravīd idam	ŚK^{1}HT^a*B*^{1}*B*^{2}*B*^{3}*B*^{4}*B*^{6} —Vul.: viṣīdann idam abravīt
i. 28*d*	Dṛṣṭvemān svajanān Kṛṣṇa yuyutsūn samupasthitān	ŚK^{1}EH*B*^{1}*B*^{2}*B*^{3}*B*^{4}*B*^{6}ΛΛ^4 —Vul.: .....iman.....svajanaṁ... yuyutsuṁ..... samupasthitam
ii. 3	Mā klaibyaṁ gaccha Kaunteya	ŚAT^{2}Λ^{3}A^{4}T^{a}T^{b}T^c/*B*^{1}*B*^{2}*B*^{3}*B*^{4}*B*^{6} —Vul.: Klaibyam mā sma gamaḥ Pārtha
xi. 24*c*	Dṛṣṭvā hi tvā	BB^{3}DB^{3}D^{a_1}M^{2}D^{5}G^{2}ŚD^{a}T^{2}G^{2}HM^5 NGG^{2}P^{1}P^{2}G^{3}M^{1}M^{5}A^{2}A^{3}A^{4}T^{5}T^a T^{b}T^{c}T^{d}T/M^{3}M^6 —Vulgate & Śaṅkara:.....tvāṁ

C—Vulgate Reading hesitatingly Retained in the Critical Edition

Adhyāya Śloka	"Kashmirian reading" Mss. in support	Vulgate reading Mss. in support
i. 8*b*	Kṛpaḥ Śalyo Jayadrathaḥ ŚK^{1}AFHA^4	Kṛpaś ca samitiṁjayaḥ All the rest
i. 8*d*	Saumadattiś ca vīryavān ŚK^{1}AFHA^4	Saumadattir Jayadrathaḥ All the rest
ii. 1	Sīdamānam idaṁ vākyam ŚCFA^2*B*^{5}*B*^{2}*B*^{3}*B*^{4}	Viṣīdantam idaṁ vākyam All the rest
x. 42*b*	jñānena ŚK^{2}D^{1}ED^{a_2}FD^{a}D^{b}G^{1}G^{2}P^1 A^{1}A^{4}T^{a}T^{b}T/M^4	jñātena All the rest
xi. 19*c*	Paśyāmi tvā ŚG^{2}T^{a}G^{1}G^{2}G^{3}M^{2}M^{5}T^{a}T/. T^{a}T^{b}T/M^{3}M^{4}M^5	Paśyāmi tvāṁ All the rest; also Śaṅkara
xi. 22*d*	vīkṣante tvāṁ	vīkṣante tvā*
xii. 18	Mānāvamānayoḥ ŚD^{1}M^{2}G^{1}G^{2}G^{3}G^{4}M^{1}M^{5}M^{3}M^4. M^{5}T^{a}T/T^{a}T^{b}T/	Mānāpamānayoḥ All the rest

* Śaṅkara reads tvā and is supported by Mss. CM^{a}T^{b}G^{2}M^{a}T^{a}T^{b}D/M^{2}M^4.

D—" Kashmir Reading " Supported widely by non-Kashmir Mss.

Adhyāya Śloka	"Kashmirian reading" (Vulgate reading)	Mss. supporting " K "
ii. 10	*śīdamānam* idam vacaḥ (viṣīdantam.....vākyam)	ŚAT^{0}A^{1}T/$B^{1}B^{2}B^{4}B^{6}$ (See p. 220 above)
v. 21	vindaty ātmani *yaḥ* sukham (..... yat .....)	ŚAFG^{3}M^{6}A^{1}A^{2}M^{2}M^{4}M^{5} (See p. 223 above)
v. 26	Kāmakrodhavi*mu*ktānām (...viyuktānām)	ŚAA^{2}A^{4}T^{6}T^{d}T/
vi. 7	Mānāvamānayoḥ (cp. xii. 18 in App. 4C) (Mānāpa.....)	ŚD^{1}G^{1}G^{3}G^{4}M^{1}M^{5}A^{5}T^{c}T^{7}T^{e}T^{f}T^{7} M^{2}M^{4}M^{5}
vi. 21	Sukham ātyantikaṁ *yatra* (.....yat tat)	ŚK^{1}H; $B^{3}B^{1}B^{4}B^{6}$ read yat tu; see p. 225 above
vi. 44	avaśo 'pi *sa*n; (.....saḥ)	K^{1}ACFHM^{6}M^{2}
vii. 18	me *mataḥ* (see p. 225 above) (me matam)	ŚAM^{1}A$^{1}B^{1}$M^{4}M^{5}
xi. 17	*tvā* durnirīkṣyam; (tvām.....)	D^{1}T^{0}G^{2}G^{4}M^{1}M^{6}T^{c}T^{7}T^{e}T^{f}M^{2}M^{4}M^{5}
xi. 28	abhito *jvalanti*; (abhivijvalanti)	ŚA$^{5}B^{1}B^{2}B^{3}B^{4}B^{6}$
xi. 30	pratapanti *Viṣṇoḥ*; (...Viṣṇo)	BD^{1}M^{3}HNG^{4}M^{6}M^{1}M^{2}M^{4}
xi. 48	*Śakyaṁ ahaṁ* nṛloke (Śakya ahaṁ.....)	DD^{1}FM^{5}G^{3}T^{0}G^{4}A^{6}M^{5}
xiii. *1 "Ca"	Prakṛtim puruṣaṁ caiva &c. (The extra stanza); puts this in Kṛṣṇa's mouth, and he is alone there	K^{1}ABB^{2}CEF^{3}M^{3}D^{6}G^{2}D^{6}GT^{5}HN G^{5}P^{1}A^{1}A^{6}Ś$B^{2}B^{3}B^{4}B^{5}$T^{0}T^{c}T^{d} T^{f}T^{6}T^{7}
xiii. 1	kṣetra*jñam* iti; (kṣetrajña iti)	ŚABB^{3}CM^{3}A
xiii. 13	pāṇipā*dāntam*; (pāṇipādaṁ tam)	ŚBCDHNP^{5}A^{4}T^{6}
xiv. 25	mānāvamānayoḥ (see vi. 7 above)	ŚD^{1}G^{3}G^{4}T^{0}G^{3}T/T^{c}T^{e}T^{f}M^{3}M^{4}G^{4}
xvi. 8	*a*hetukam (see p. 227 above)	K^{1}DHG^{1}G^{3}G^{4}
xvi. 16	*nī*raye; (narake)	AGEA$^{2}B^{3}B^{6}$
xviii. 6	etāny api *ca*; (.....,tu)	HA^{4}P^{3}G^{3}T^{0}M^{5}
xviii. 22	*a*hetukam (see p. 227 above)	K^{1}B^{4}ŚG^{4}HT^{b}
xviii. 25	anavekṣya; (anapekṣya)	ABEFK^{1}B^{1}D^{1}D^{e}T^{0}G^{4}M^{2}M^{4}
xviii. 68	asaṁśa*yam*; (asaṁśayaḥ)	ADMA^{1}A^{3}T^{0}T^{c}M^{5}
xviii. 77	mahā*rāja*; (mahān rājan)	FD^{e}TM^{2}; DHA^{4}Ś read mahā*rājan* (!)

APPENDIX 5 (A-B-C-D-E): List of Variants that can be regarded as Peculiar to Kashmirian Version

A—Cases where SCHRADER's "K" is supported by Ś alone

Adhyāya Śloka	Reading of "K" and Ś (Vulgate reading)	Remarks
i. 35	kim u mahīkṛte (kiṁ nu mahīkṛte)	
ii. 21	hanyate hanti vā katham (kaṁ ghātayati hanti kam)	See p. 221 above
ii. 42	Vedavādaparāḥ (Vedavādaratāḥ)	
ii. 43	janmakarmaphalapsavaḥ (janmakarmaphalapradām)	The use of *prati* (43 end) is peculiar: the construction is: Bhogeśvaryagatim prati yāṁ vācaṁ vadanti tayā &c. Prati = concerning. Gatim prati specifies vācam. The variant was due to misunderstanding
ii. 47	Karmaṇy astv adhikāras te (Karmany evādhikāras te)	
ii. 50	jahātīme; (jahātīha)	
ii. 54	vrajec'ca kim; (vrajeta kim)	"ca" can easily be supplied
ii. 58	sthita(Ś., sthira) prajñas tadôcyate (tasya prajñā pratiṣṭhitā)	Influence of 55*d*? Deliberate repetition of tasya prajñā &c. four times in the Vulgate
ii. 60	Yat tasykpi hi; (Yatato hy api)	See p. 221 above
ii. 61	saṁyamya manasā; (sarvāṇi saṁyamya)	
ii. 63	tatparuḥ; (matparaḥ)	The variant may appear justified because here, without any preparation, Kṛṣṇa identifies himself with the Divinity. Cp. vi. 14*d*, where the ground is prepared. But Chap. ii already envisages the ultimate view-point
ii. 64	Rāgadveṣavīyuktas tu (Cr) (Rāgadveṣaviyuktais tu)	The repeated word has force
ii. 69*d*	sā rātriḥ; (sā niśā)	
iii. 22	pravarte 'tha ca (varta eva ca)	"varte" goes better with the following varteyam
iii. 27.	guṇaiḥ karmāṇi bhāgaśaḥ (guṇaiḥ karmāṇi sarvaśaḥ)	It is doubtful if the guṇas can work bhāgaśaḥ. Action results from their togetherness.
iii. 35	paradharmodayād api (paradharmo bhayāvahaḥ)	"Paradharmodaya" can mean udaya of paradharma, not one's udaya in paradharma
v. 1	viniścitam; (suniścitam)	
v. 3	bandhād vimucyate (..... pramucyate)	

Adhyāya Śloka	Reading of "K" and Ś (Vulgate reading)	Remarks
v. 17	jñānanirdhantakalmaṣāḥ (jñānanirdhūtakalmaṣāḥ)	
v. 24	Antaḥsukhaḥ ; (Yo'ntaḥsukhaḥ)	
v. 26	Sa Pārtha paramaṁ yogam (Sa yogī Brahmanirvāṇam)	Cp. variant to ii. 72 in App. 3; gloss ousting text in both cases
vi. 7	parātmasu samā matiḥ (paramātmā samāhitaḥ)	See pp. 223–225 above
vi. 16a	Yogo 'sti naivātyaśataḥ (Nātyaśnatas tu yogo 'sti)	See p. 225 above
vi. 16b	nātijāgarato 'rjuna (jāgrato naiva cārjuna)	" " "
vi. 19	yogam ātmani ; (yogam ātmanaḥ)	
vi. 28	yogī niyatamānasaḥ (yogī vigatakalmaṣaḥ)	Obviously reminiscent of vi. 15b above
vi. 40	jātu ; (tāta)	
vi. 43	Tato bhūyo 'pi yatate (Yatate ca tato bhūyaḥ)	
vii. 2	na punaḥ kiñcit (neha bhūyo 'nyat)	
vii. 9	Punyaḥ pṛthivyāṁ gandho 'smi (Punyo gandhaḥ pṛthivyāṁ ca)	
vii. 18	mamaivānuttamāṁ ; (mām evānuttamām)	The sense intended is that he reaches not my goal, but me who am the goal
vii. 26	bhaviṣyanti ; (bhaviṣyāṇi)	
vii. 28	antaṁ gatam ; (antagatam)	
viii. 11	-ābhidhāsye ; (pravakṣye)	
viii. 26	śuklakṛṣṇagatī ; (śuklakṛṣṇe gatī)	
ix. 14	kīrtayantaś ca ; (kīrtayanto mām)	The object mām is wanted
x. 19	vibhūtīr ātmanaḥ śubhāḥ (divyā hy ātmavibhūtayaḥ)	
x. 22	Sāmavedo 'ham ; (Sāmavedo 'smi)	
x. 25	japayajño 'ham ; (japayajño 'smi)	
x. 27	Airāvaṇam ; (Airāvatam)	Java version has Airāvaṇo
x. 41	avagacchaḥ ; (avagaccha)	Potential weaker than Imperative
xi. 6	Pāṇḍava ; (Bhārata)	
xi. 26	Amī sarve ; (Amī ca tvām)	
xi. 44	priyasyārhasi ; (priyāyārhasi)	See p. 226–227 above
xi. 54	śakyo hy aham ; (śakya aham)	Attempt to avoid awkward Saṁdhi.
xii. 15	-bhayakrodhaiḥ ; (-bhayodvegaiḥ)	
xii. 17	śubhāśubhaphalatyāgī (śubhāśubhaparityāgī)	See xiv. 25 below
xiii. 4	viniścitam ; (viniścitaiḥ)	See p. 227 above
xiii. 29	Prakṛtyaiva hi ; (Prakṛtyaiva ca)	Ś however reads jāyetāṁ
xiv. 17	jāyete tamaso ; (tamaso bhavato)	See xii. 17 above
xiv. 25	Sarvārambhaphalatyāgī (Sarvārambhaparityāgī)	
xv. 4	nivarteta ; (nivartanti)	Attempt to mend grammar

B—Cases where "K" is Supported by only One allied-Kashmirian Ms. (K^1 or A)

Adhyāya Śloka	Reading of "K" and one allied-Kashmirian Ms. (Vulgate reading)	Remarks
i. 32	na rājyaṁ na sukhāni ca (K^1) (na ca rājyaṁ sukhāni ca)	
iii. 31	anuvartanti (A); (anutiṣṭhanti)	
x. 13	bravīṣi mām (A); (bravīṣi me)	
xiv. 10	Bhārata vardhate (A) (bhavati Bhārata)	
xv. 14	āsthitaḥ (A); (āśritaḥ)	
xvii. 2	tāṁ śṛṇu (A); (tāṁ śṛṇu)	Attempt of a grammatical purist
xviii. 24	kleśabahulaṁ (A); (bahulāyāsaṁ)	
xviii. 24	iti saṁtaṁ (A); (udāhṛtaṁ)	
xviii. 61	hṛdy eṣa vasate 'rjuna (A) (hṛddeśe 'rjuna tiṣṭhati)	

C—Cases where "K" is Supported by Two Mss., at least one of them Kashmirian or allied-Kashmirian

Adhyāya Śloka	Reading of "K", and supporting Mss. (Vulgate reading)	Remarks
i. 21	ubhayoḥ senayor (ŚK); (senayor ubhayor)	
i. 39	sampaśyadbhiḥ (ŚK¹); (prapaśyadbhiḥ)	
i. 47	utsṛjya (ŚK¹); (visṛjya)	
ii. 5b	cartum (ŚA²); (bhoktum)	
ii. 5cd	Na tv arthakāmas tu gurūn nihatya (ŚK¹) (Hatvārthakāmās tu gurūn ihaiva	See p. 219 above
ii. 41	buddhir ekaiva (ŚE); (.....ekeha)	"iha" is wanted
iii. 23	na varteya (ŚF); (na varteyam)	See p. 222
iii. 41	prajahihy enam (ŚF); (prajahihy enam)	
iv. 13	gunakarmavibhāgataḥ (ŚB); (...vibhāgaśaḥ)	
iv. 23	Yajñāyārabhataḥ (ŚK¹); (Yajñāyācarataḥ)	Ś reads ābharataḥ
v. 23	sa yogī sa sukhī mataḥ (ŚA) (sa yuktas.....naraḥ)	ŚA however give paramo for sa sukhī
viii. 14	nityayuktasya dehinaḥ (ŚM⁵) (.....yoginaḥ)	"dehinaḥ" is flat
ix. 7	yānti māmakīm (ŚF); (.....māmikām)	
ix. 31	madbhaktaḥ (ŚA¹); (me bhaktaḥ)	
x. 29	saṁyamināṁ (ŚA); (saṁyamatāṁ)	V. is *lectio difficilior*
xi. 4	Yogeśvara (ŚG⁶); (Yogeśvara)	
xii. 8	yogam uttamam āsthitaḥ (ŚA) (ata ūrdhvaṁ na saṁśayaḥ)	"K" avoids hiatus mayyeva + ataḥ
xii. 9	athāveśayituṁ cittam (ŚA) (atha cittaṁ samādhātum)	Ś gives it on the margin
xv. 3	asaṅgaśastreṇa śitena (ŚA) (.....dṛḍhena)	"K" probably a gloss; cp. Śaṅkara on it
xvi. 8	*abhicitkam* abetukam (HK¹) (kimanyatkāmahaitukam)	See p. 227 above
xvi. 19	aśubhāsu (HK²); (aśubhān)	See p. 228 above
xviii. 28	dīrghasūtraś ca (ŚG⁴); (dīrghasūtrī ca)	

D—Cases where "K" is Supported by Three Mss. with at least one Kashmirian or allied-Kashmirian Ms.

Adhyāya Śloka	Reading of "K", and supporting Mss. (Vulgate reading)	Remarks
i. 24	ubhayoḥ senayor ; (ŚK¹H) ; (senayor ubhayor)	See i. 21 (App. 5C)
i. 30	Śrutvā tu Gāṇḍivaṁ hastāt (ŚK²H) ∴ (Gāṇḍivaṁ śrutvā tu hastāt)	
i. 33	Ta eva me sthitā yoddhum (ŚK²H) (Ta ime 'vasthitā yoddhum)	
ii. 12	na hy evāham (ŚA³A⁴) ; (na tv evāham)	See p. 221 above
v. 5	tad yogair anugamyate (ŚK²H) (tad yogair api gamyate)	See discussion on pp. 229–230 above
viii. 17	ye Brahmaṇaḥ viduḥ (ŚK¹H) (yad Brahmaṇaḥ viduḥ)	See p. 226 above
ix. 8	Bhūtagrāmam idam (ADA⁵) ; (.....imam)	
xi. 9	mahāyogeśvaro (ŚK¹T¹) ; (mahāyogeśvaro)	See xi. 4 (App. 5C)
xi. 21	Svastīti coktvaiva maharṣisaṁghāḥ (ŚK¹H) (Svastity uktvā maharṣisiddhasaṁghāḥ)	Metre slightly improved by "K"
xi. 41	mahimānaṁ tavemam (SAB⁵) ; (....tavedam)	"K" regularises grammar
xii. 11	madyogam āsthitaḥ (ŚAD⁵) (madyogam āśritaḥ)	Noteworthy is the variant udyogam āśritaḥ of M² & others
xv. 4	Tataḥ paraṁ tat (ŚDT⁵) ; (..... padaṁ .....)	

E—Cases where "K" is Supported by Four Mss. with at least one Kashmirian or allied-Kashmirian Ms.

Adhyāya Śloka	Reading of "K", and supporting Mss. (Vulgate reading)	Remarks
i. 9	nānāyuddhaviśāradāḥ (ŚK¹HA⁴) (sarve yuddhaviśāradāḥ)	
i. 18	Pāñcālaś ca maheṣvāso Draupadeyāś ca pañca ye (ŚAFH) (Drupado Draupadeyāś ca sarvaśaḥ pṛthivīpate)	
ii. 26	Athavainaṁ (ŚM⁵M⁴M⁸) ; (Atha cainaṁ)	
ii. 35	Eṣāṁ ca tvaṁ (HG¹G²M⁴) ; (Yeṣāṁ ca tvaṁ)	See p. 221 above
iv. 35	bhūtāny aśeṣāṇi (ŚAEM⁵) ; (.....aśeṣeṇa)	"Case-attraction"?
vi. 13	acalaḥ sthitaḥ (ŚM²M⁵G³) (acalaṁ sthiraḥ)	
xi. 11	-mālāmbara- (ŚK¹HG) ; (-mālyāmbara-)	
xi. 26	sarvaiḥ sahaivāvanipālasaṁghaiḥ (ŚG⁵P²M⁸) (sarve .....)	

APPENDIX 6 A–B–C : Additional Stanzas and Half-stanzas and Omissions in the Bhagavadgītā

A—Additions and Omissions in the "Kashmirian Recension"

Reference in Adhyāya & St.	Additions and Omissions	Remarks
	(i) *Additions*	
After ii. 10	त्वं मानुष्येणोपहतान्तरात्मा विषादमोहाभिभवाद्विसंज्ञः । कृपागृहीतः समवेक्ष्य बन्धून् अभिप्रपन्नान्सुखमन्तकस्य ॥ (Given also by Ś)	See p. 216 above
After ii. 48	यस्य सर्वे समारम्भा निराशीर्बन्धनास्त्विह । त्यागे यस्य हुतं सर्वं स त्यागी स च बुद्धिमान् ॥ (Given also by Ś)	weak imitation of iv. 19
After iii. 37	भवत्येष कथं कृष्ण कथं चैव विवर्तते । किमात्मकः किमाचारस्तन्ममाचक्ष्व पृच्छतः ॥ श्रीभगवानुवाच । एष सूक्ष्मः परः शत्रुर्देहिनामिन्द्रियैः सह । सुखतन्त्र इवासीनो मोहयन् पार्थ तिष्ठति ॥ कामक्रोधमयो घोरः स्तम्भहर्षसमुद्भवः । अहंकारोऽभिमानात्मा दुस्तरः पापकर्मभिः ॥ हर्षमस्य निवर्तैष शोकमस्य ददाति च । भयं चास्य करोत्येष मोहयंस्तु मुहुर्मुहुः ॥ स एष कलुषः क्षुद्रश्छिद्रप्रेक्षी धनंजय । रजःप्रवृत्तो मोहात्मा मनुष्याणामुपद्रवः ॥	*N. B.*—The variants given by SCHRADER or by our own Kashmirian & allied-"K" Mss. are not repeated here —On the nature of this addition see p. 216 above —The stanzas are given also by our Mss. ŚA
After v. 17	स्मरन्तोऽपि सुहृत्खेतत्स्पृशन्तोऽपि स्वकर्मणि । शक्ता अपि न तन्वन्ते पङ्के रविकरा इव ॥ (Not given by any other Mss.)	—SCHRADER (p. 10) concedes that this may be a later addition
After vi. 9	Same as Vulgate v. 19	—Not in any other Ms.
After vi. 37	छिन्नमानः सतां मार्गं प्रमूढो नष्टगः पथि । अनेकचित्तो विभ्रान्तो मोहस्यैव वशं गतः ॥	—Given by ŚK[1]E
After vii. 23*ab*	देवान् देवयजो यान्ति [सिद्धान् यान्ति सिद्धव्रताः । भूतान् भूतयजो यान्ति] मद्भक्ता यान्ति मामपि ॥ (Not in any other Ms.)	—Added half-stanza is shown within square brackets

Reference in Adhyāya & St.	Additions and Omissions	Remarks
After viii. 22*ab*	यं प्राप्य न पुनर्जन्म लभन्ते योगिनोऽर्जुन । (Not in any other Ms.)	
After ix. 6	एवं हि सर्वभूतेषु चराचरेष्वनिलक्षितः । भूतप्रकृतिमास्थाय सह चैव विनैव च ॥	–Given by A
After xi. 27	नानारूपैः पुरुषैर्योधमाना विशन्ति ते वक्त्रमचिन्त्यरूपम् । वीथिहिरा धार्तराष्ट्राश्च योधाः शस्त्रैः कृता विविधैः सर्व एव ॥ त्वत्तेजसा विहता नूनमेव तथा हीने त्वच्छरीरप्रविष्टाः ॥ Given by Ś and A also	–It is a six-line Triṣṭubh verse
After xi. 39*ab*	अनादिमानप्रतिमप्रभावः सर्वेश्वरः सर्वमहाविभूते । (Given by ŚA)	–Half-Triṣṭubh verse
After xi. 40*ab*	न हि त्वदन्यः कश्चिदस्तीह देव लोकत्रये ह्यप्रतिमप्रभावः । (Given by ŚA)	– do –
After xi. 44	दिव्यानि कर्माणि तवाद्भुतानि पूर्वाणि पूर्वा(sic.) ऋषयः स्मरन्ति । नान्योऽस्ति कर्ता जगतस्त्वमेको धाता विधाता च विभुर्भवश्च ॥ तवाद्भुतं किं नु भवेदसाध्यं किं वाशक्यं परतः कीर्तयिष्ये । कर्तासि सर्वस्य यतः स्वयं वै विभो ततः सर्वमिदं त्वमेव ॥ अत्यद्भुतं कर्म न दुष्करं ते कर्मोपमानं न हि विद्यते ते । न ते गुणानां परिमाणमस्ति न तेजसो नापि बलस्य नर्द्धेः ॥	
After xviii. 47*ab*	स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मोदकादपि । (Vulgate iii. 35 *cd* with a variant)	–Given also by A
	(ii) *Omissions.*	
Stanzas ii. 66 and ii. 67 v. 19 vii. 24	Omitted Omitted in proper place, but restored after vi. 9 Conceded as accidental omission in Cr, as Ca comments upon it	–See p. 217 above

B—Additions and Omissions in Ms. Ś alone

Adhyāya & St.	Additions and Omissions	Remarks
	(i) *Additions*	
After vi. 47	भगवन्नामसंज्ञाक्षिमात्रात् सर्वमवाप्यते । फलन्ति शास्त्रः सम्यग्दृष्टिमात्रेऽवलोकिते ॥ (Found in Abhinavagupta's com.)	–Seems to be of the nature of a concluding summary
After vii. 30	स्फुटं भगवतो भक्तिर्विहिता कल्पनञ्जरौ । साध्वेच्छासमुचितां येनाशां परेपूरयेत् ॥ (Found in Ca)	— do —
After viii. 28	सर्वतत्त्वगतत्वेन विद्यते परमेश्वरे । अन्तर्बहिर्न सावस्था न यस्यां भासते विभुः ॥ (Found in Ca)	— do —
After xi. 27	सहस्रसूर्यो(प)संनिभानि तथा जघट्टासकृतस्फणानि ।	Apparently to complete six-line Triṣṭubh (See p. 250)
	(ii) *Omissions*	
iii. 31*d* & iii. 32*a*	Omitted owing to eye-wandering from the three syllables (sūyanto) at the end of iii. 31*c* to the same syllables at the end of iii. 32 *a*	

C—Additions and Omissions in other Mss.
(Not an exhaustive list)

Adhyāya and Stanza	Additions and Omissions (Mss. giving them)	Remarks
	(i) *Additions*	
After viii. 11	सर्वे वेदा यत्पदमामनन्ति तपांसि सर्वाणि च वदन्ति । यदिच्छन्तो ब्रह्मचर्यं चरन्ति तत्ते पदं संग्रहेण ब्रवीमि ॥ (Given by A^1 alone)	–It is Kaṭha Up. I. ii. 15
After ix. 5	सर्वगः सर्वविद्यः सर्वज्ञः सर्वदर्शनः । सर्वतः सर्वदर्शी च सर्वात्मा सर्वतोमुखः ॥ (Given by A alone)	
After x. 38	ओषधीनां यवश्चास्मि धान्यानामस्मि काञ्चनम् । सर्वासां तृणजातीनां दर्भोऽहं पाण्डुनन्दन ॥ (Given by the Javanese version)	
	(ii) *Omissions*	
xi. 26	Stanza omitted by H alone	
xvii. 27	„ „ „ N „	
xvii. 24*cd*	The half-stanza omitted by H	

OLD-TAMIL *PARI*

By

PIERRE MEILE, Paris.

The Tamil word *pari* as a noun is no more used in the common language; it belongs to Old-Tamil. The verb *pari-dal* itself is not very common; practically it appears only in one expression : *pariudu* with an adverbial meaning : "with partiality, with a prejudice in favour of a person".

For *pari* as a noun, the *Tamil Lexicon* gives the following meanings : (1) Motion, gait; (2) Speed, rapidity, quickness; (3) Pace of a horse; (4) Horse; (5) The first *naḵṣatra*; (6) Wooden horse used as a contrivance for directing the course of water; (7) Height, elevation; (8) Greatness; (9) Blackness, darkness; (10) Delusion, deception; (11) Cotton plant.

As it is often the case in Tamil dictionaries, we can hardly conceive how a single word can have so many different meanings. Those various meanings are either derived from one fundamental notion or quoted by ancient dictionaries without being backed by proper references.

* * * * * *

The verb *pari-dal* means "to move, to run, to run about". Ta. *ōḍudal* : *māvē, parandoruṅgu maleinda maḷavar polambeindār keḍap-paridalin. Puṟanāṉūṟu*, 97, 11-12 "the horses,—because they ran about, so that the beautiful and green garlands be spoiled, (the garlands) of the gallant men who gathered in a large number and fought.."

"In Kannada, the verbs *pari* and *hari* also mean "to run", sometimes "to flow" or "to move about, to creep", speaking of a snake, of an ant (cf. KITTEL, *ad. VV. cit.*) A Sanskrit etymology of this word has been recently proposed by Professor Jules BLOCH. (*F. W. Thomas Commemoration Volume*, p. 34).

Ta. *pari* as a noun is the corresponding name of action; it means "motion". It can be translated by "pace, gait, gallop": *alaṅguloḷp pari-i yiyalī* (*Puṟa.* 4, 13) "the horses with the shaken mane (or plume) and the gallop"—or "the horses shaking their plume, as they are galloping".

We observe that this word, in most of the instances, is more particularly applied to the pace of a horse. Not only is the horse described in the above quotations, but it occurs also in all the instances we have been able to collect from the *Puṟanāṉūṟu* and the Ten Idylls. The word *pari* as a noun is generally preceded by an epithet which describes the motion : *vaṉṟeri neḍundēr pūṇṇa niṉ māvē* (*Puṟa.* 146, 11) : comm. "*vaḷaviya seluveiyuḍaiya..*" "may your horse be attached to the great chariot which has a great speed." Also *pāyparip puravi* (*Maduraikk.* 689) "the horses with leaping steps" *pāyparik kaliṅā* (*Neḍunalv.* 179) ; *kaḍaṭpariya kaliṅāvum* (*Puṟa.* 55, 7)

"the proud animal with impetuous steps". Compare *kavarparip puravi̯ar* (Silap. 5, 159).

A special mention must be made of the word *nimir* used in connection with *pari*. "*Nimirparip puravi* (*Paṭṭiṉap.* 185, etc.), is generally understood as "the horses with increased speed". I would rather suggest: "the horses walking with a straightened head." Still *parinimirndu* (*Maduraikk.* 387) does not seem to support my suggestion.

We come to the conclusion that *pari* is: "the way, the manner in which a horse walks or runs", that is "the gait". We can sometimes translate by "the gallop".

* * * * * *

One controversial point is: how *pari* has been given the meaning of "horse"? In some commentaries and lexicographical works, *pari* is considered as the equivalent of *kudirei*.

At first sight this meaning seems to be attested in a few ancient texts; but it appears more than doubtful when we examine those texts carefully. In *tuneiyari, turakkuṅ celavinar* (*Mullaip.* 102) the commentary understands "the one who is hurrying, driving his fast running horse". We suggest that *pari* should not be isolated from *tuneiyari*; it is not *pari*, but the complete word *tuneiyari* which can be considered as an equivalent of *kudirei*.

Tuneiyari "with a rapid gait" is a compound similar to *nimirpari, pāypari, vaṇpari*. This epithet can be used as a noun, Tamil grammarians would say "as *ammoṭṭittogei*." In this *pari* retains its original meaning "*gait*." *Tuneiyari* is "the one with a rapid gait," that is "the horse."

I have not been able to find in *Puṟanāṉūṟu* or *Paṭṭuppāṭṭu* a single instance of *pari* having by itself the meaning of "horse."

Still this meaning has developed later: in *Sūḍāmaṇi Nigaṇḍu* (3, 10) *pari* heads the stanza where the equivalents of *kudirei* are enumerated; we find a clear instance in *Tiruvāsagam* 8, 3; *paṇḍambaḍiyap parimēl* "on a horse that has run away." Also *vīḻāḍi parittōṉei* (*Puṟapporuḷ Veṇbā*, 4, 22). I have not been able to find many instances of this use of *pari*, but I think it is quite common in mediaeval and poetical literature.

We can easily imagine how *pari* has come to mean "horse": the intermediate stage must have been the use of *ammoṭṭittogei*-words like *tuneiyari*. Only the beginning of this evolution belongs to the earliest literature, where *pari* always retains the meaning of "motion, gait." The final stage—"horse"—has not been reached earlier than in Middle-Tamil.

Let us finally mention that in the ancient works the usual names of the horse are: *kudirei, iṇuḷi, puravi, mā*. *Kudirei* has survived in Modern Tamil. *Mā* does not mean properly "horse"; it is a common designation for a four-footed animal (a deer, an elephant). The names of the horse which belong specifically to Old-Tamil are *iṇuḷi* and *puravi*.

NOTES OF THE MONTH

At a time when the discoveries about the Indus Valley civilization and the problems arising from these discoveries are agitating the minds of the antiquarians in India, Europe and America the account of the *Progress of Archæology in India During the Last Twenty-five Years*, published by Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A., the present Director-General of Archæology in India, makes delightful reading. Since its beginning a century ago Indian Archæology has gradually assumed a status and a stature unrivalled in its achievements but much more so in its possibilities. "In the name Mohenjodaro is epitomized the entire progress of Indian Archæology during the last decade and a half" observes Rao Bahadur DIKSHIT. Though the pictographic seals discovered at Mohenjodaro have been baffling the continuous efforts of ingenuous scholars at their dicipherment, we have reason to believe in the views entertained by some scholars that the East alone was the cradle of early human civilization. At any rate the finds at Mohenjodaro have become the cynosure of all eyes in the East and West alike. If the determined energy and love of antiquity of Lord CURZON put the Archæological Survey of India on a sound administrative and financial footing the credit of making Indian Archæology what it is at present must go to archæologists of the type of Sir John MARSHALL, Mr. R. D. BANERJI, Dr. SPOONER, Dr. D. R. BHANDARKAR, Rao Bahadur DIKSHIT and many other indefatigable archæologists whose work has been properly assessed and recorded in the brochure published by Rao Bahadur DIKSHIT. It is desirable that the contents of this brochure should be made more widely known to the educated public in India owing to their growing interest in historical and cultural matters which is developing side by side with increasing political consciousness engendered by the Congress government now shaping the destinies of the masses.

The Report of the Watson Museum, Rajkot, for 1938-39, which has just been published, bears testimony to its increasing popularity and usefulness as will be seen from the number of 79,189 persons who visited it during the year under report. Among interesting exhibits added to the Museum mention may be made of the special show case in which Coats-of-Arms of the Kathiawar States and the Royal Arms have been displayed with the history of their origin and significance. Numerous coins were also added to the coin cabinet of the Museum during the year. We are also happy to note the construction of a special gallery for housing antique sculptures of the Museum. These are all useful features of the Museum but the expenditure of Rs. 120 and odd on the purchase of books and periodicals during the year is rather discouraging, if the authorities desire to make their Museum really attractive to scholars. Even for the Curator and his staff who are trying their best to keep this museum as efficient as possible this paltry amount spent on their tools is hardly sufficient to keep themselves in touch with what is passing on in the special field of their knowledge and activity. A Museum maintained by the numerous States of Kathiawar ought to spend more on the library of their Museum to make it really worthy of their benefaction. We agree in toto with the Markham Report on Indian Museums when it states : "Finance is indeed the key to India's museum development ; it is hopeless to expect a great movement on fantastically low budgets."

SULTANS OF MYSORE AND THE SRṄGERI MUTT

By

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, Madras.

That toleration was the keynote of the religious policy of the Sultans of Mysore is evident from several records which have been happily preserved and handed down to us. The Sultans of Mysore with whom we are concerned are Hyder Ali and Tippu. It was in 1761 that Hyder became *de facto* ruler of Mysore and continued to rule until his death in December 1782 in camp in the Carnatic. His officers who were loyal to him did not make a public announcement of the death of the Nawab until his son Tippu Sultan who was then in Malabar was sent for and placed on the throne. Hyder enjoined upon his son Tippu Sultan to follow in his own footsteps and attach the affection of the people to himself as much as he could.

The administration of both Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan was marked by activities of a healthy kind. Though Mussalmans by faith, they respected the feelings of their Hindu subjects and their institutions. The *inam* lands, villages, and *agrahāras* which had been granted in former times by previous Hindu rulers were left untouched. Hyder allowed those who had been enjoying them undisturbed.[1] In the same way Tippu Sultan is said to have restored a grant of twenty villages given to the Dattātreya Pīṭha by the Kings of Anegoṇḍi.[2]

But if one examines the records now in the possession of the Śṛṅgeri Mutt, and traces the relations which existed between these Nawabs and the authorities of the Mutt, one is struck by the tolerant spirit which imbued the two rulers. The records demonstrate that their relations were something more than mere toleration. They actively helped the heads of the Mutt in pursuing their old traditional modes of religious worship and conduct. There are many records in the Śṛṅgeri Mutt which are in the form of sanads, *nirūpas* or letters addressed to the Heads of the Mutt by the Kings of Mysore from time to time, ranging in date from 1737 to 1878. Of these records which number more than 150, three are by Hyder Ali, and about 30 by Tippu Sultan. Taking the three records which relate to Hyder, one which is dated in 1769 reads thus: 'You are a great and holy personage. It is nothing but natural for everyone to cherish a desire to pay respect to you.' The letter which is a request to the Svāmiji to undertake an embassy to Sahib Raghunatha Rao, the Peshwa, informs us that for this trip, the Nawab sent an elephant, one palankeen, five horses and five camels besides cash of Rupees ten and a half thousand for expenses. The Nawab also pre-

1. *An. R. Arch. Survey of Mysore* 1930, p. 101.
2. *Ibid.* 1931, p. 21.

sented on this occasion gold cloth for the goddess, five pieces of silk cloth for the standard (*nisani*), and a pair of shawls for the use of the Śvāmijī. In the second letter the Nawab assures the Svāmiji of the continuance of the *inams* etc., due to the Mutt and this letter is accompanied by presents by Hyder Ali to the *maṭha*. As the letter insists on the Svāmiji returning to Śṛṅgeri and living happily as before, it appears that due to some disturbance, the Śṛṅgerisvāmigal had to abandon his residence and live outside. Under what circumstances that event happened we are not in a position to know. But it is definite that Hyder assured him of the safety of both person and property. A third letter of Hyder is a *nirupa* of date 1780 addressed to all his officers concerned. They were ordered to see that the contributions to the Mutt were properly realised. The contributions mentioned are among others two *Śricarana kānike* and *dipārādhana kānike*. The tax-collectors of the Mutt were helped by the officers of the Nawab in realising the amounts due to the Mutt.[1]

An examination of Tippu's records shows how he esteemed the Śṛṅgeri svāmi, and was anxious to ensure his welfare. These records of which there are twenty-nine in the Mutt range in date from 1791 to 1798 bearing the years of the Mauludi era, commencing from the birth of Muhammad. The letters addressed to the svāmis generally begin thus : 'To Sachchidānanda-Bhārati svāmi of Śṛṅgeri, possessed of the usual titles Śrimat-paramahamsa and so forth, the *salām* of Tippu Sultan Badshah.' The Mysore Archæologist who has taken pains to investigate these records tells us that of the records of Tippu at Śṛṅgeri, 17 are dated in 1791, five in 1792, one in 1795, one in 1796, and two in 1798. The general contents of these letters betray the fact that Tippu who was harassed by three enemies—the Mahrattas, the English and the Nizam wanted the Śṛṅgeri svāmi to perform religious ceremonies with a view to the destruction of the enemies and for the welfare of their country. The names of some such religious ceremonies are mentioned—*Śatacaṇḍi japa* and *Sahasracaṇḍi japa*. The first was a rite in honour of Caṇḍi to be repeated one hundred times and the second, the same to be repeated one thousand times. The belief was that the more a mantra was meditated upon and repeated, the more efficacious it was. When the Svāmiji wrote to the Sultan that he had decided to perform the ceremony known as *Sahasracaṇḍi japa*, Tippu was overjoyed and he offered to meet all the expenses incurred in that connection. He seems to have been anxious that the ceremoney should be conducted on proper lines, according to the prescribed rules. One item of the ceremony was to feed a thousand Brahmans every day. Adequate provision was made by the Sultan to see that disturbance of any sort should not attend the rite when it was being performed, extending over a maṇḍala or forty-eight days. The records which relate to the performance of the rite of *Sahasracaṇḍi japa* bear out the keen and absorbing interest of the Nawab in the matter.

1. *An. R. Arch. Survey of Mysore*, 1916, pp. 71 and 73.

Another letter records the Nawab sending to the Mutt two palankeens, one for the goddess and the other for the personal use by the Svāmiji, together with a pair of *chauris* with silver handles. Still more interesting is the letter of 1793 which says 'you are the Jagadguru. You are always performing penance in order that the whole world may prosper and that the people may be happy. Please pray to God for the increase of our prosperity. In whatever country holy personages like yourself may reside, that country will flourish with good showers and crops. Why should you live so long in a foreign country? Please finish your work soon and return.' The letter speaks for itself and requires no comments. This one letter is enough to indicate Tippu Sultan's regard for the occupant of the pontifical chair at the Śṛṅgeri Maṭha, and his solicitous care for Hindu religion and its accredited institutions. The Sultan is so much all veneration when he expresses his desire that the Svāmiji must as far as possible reside in his own country. The reference to the Svāmiji outside his own place may be to the occasional tours taken by the Maṭhādhipatis for the welfare of the people at large.

That Tippu Sultan believed in the blessings of a holy personage of the status of the Maṭhādhipati at Śṛṅgeri, and wrote to him to send his blessings is evident from another letter dated 1791 which says: "you are a holy personage and an ascetic. As it is your duty to be solicitous about the welfare of the many, we request you to pray to God along with the other Brahmans of the *Maṭha*, so that all the enemies may suffer defeat and take to flight and all the people of our country live happily, and to send us your blessings." Again, when the Svāmiji wrote that consequent on the raid by Maratha horsemen on Śṛṅgeri, a reconsecration of the Śāradā was necessary, the Nawab generously sanctioned 200 *rahati* in cash and 200 *rahati* worth of grain for the consecration ceremony.[1] These all point out to the solicitude on the part of the two Muhammadan rulers of Mysore towards the Hindu religious head of Śṛṅgeri.

1. *Ins R. Arch, Survey of Mysore*, pp. 73-76.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF AN UNPUBLISHED ROMANTIC MAṢNAVĪ OF AMIR HASAN DIHLAVĪ

By

M. I. BORAH, Dacca.

Amīr Najm u'd-Dīn Ḥasan Dihlavī son of Khwāja 'Alā u'd-Dīn Sistānī was one of the most important Indo-Persian poets who flourished during the late seventh and early eighth centuries of the Muslim era. His works were read and admired even beyond the confines of India and high compliments were paid to his genius by the poets and biographers of Iran. He was a contemporary of Amīr Khusru and a disciple of Shaykh Nizam u'd-Dīn Awlia. He was the author of several Dīvāns and a number of Maṣnavīs and other prose works. But all his writings have not come down to us. His Dīvān which is available to us consists of a little over ten thousand couplets containing Qasidas, Ghazals, Qiṭ'as, Rubā'īs and Maṣnavīs. These poems have not yet been published and are to be found only in manuscripts preserved in European libraries. The Bodleian Library possesses two of the earliest copies of his Dīvān yet discovered. One of these manuscripts contains a romantic Maṣnavī called Ḥikāyat-i-'Āshiq-i-Nāgūrī, a very interesting love poem which is not found in any other existing copies of his Dīvāns. I shall try to give an account of this poem in the following pages:

This romantic Maṣnavī known also as the 'Ishq-Nāma deals with the love episode of a handsome youth and a young virgin belonging to the city of Nāgūr of Eastern Rājputana, which now forms a part of Jodhpur State. The whole poem consisting of six hundred and six couplets, according to the statement of the Poet, was composed during a single night on Monday the first of Żū'l-Ḥijja, A.H. 700/A.D. 1301.

The poem is modelled on the romance of Laylá and Majnún of Niẓámí of Ganja, which is one of the most popular love-stories in the East, and particularly in India. Khusraw the contemporary of our poet had also written on the same theme of romance, and he had composed five Maṣnavīs of this type, collectively known as Panj-Ganj (Five Treasures), dealing with the same legends as those of Niẓámí. But our poet did not follow his predecessors blindly. There is no doubt that he is indebted to Niẓámí for the main idea of his poem, but he has selected a theme of his own. The old Persian legends, which had been worn threadbare by other writers, did not afford sufficient scope for his imagination. He wanted to discover a new field for his poetic interpretation, and he found it in the Hindu tales. So he selected one of the love stories of his homeland and struck out a new

departure. The episode, he says, is not an invention of his imagination but a story well known in the country.[1]

نه از خود کردم این افسانه منظوم
که مشهورست این قصه در آن بوم

"This story was not weaved out of my own fancy.
It is a story well known in that country."

This was rather a bold step on his part to depict the ideal nature of love from the life-story of a young Hindu couple, which was not likely to be well received by the orthodox opinion of the time. The poet anticipated this danger before he began the book, so he replies to this possible charge of heresy in the concluding verses of his poem in the following way :—[2]

شعار عاشقی کاریست جانی
ز کفر و دین برون ست این معانی

"The feeling of love is a theme of the soul
It soars beyond faith and infidelity."

The poem opens in praise of God and the prophet and there follows a short eulogy addressed to Hasan's patron, Sultan 'Alá'u'd-Dín Khalji. Then begins the actual story, which runs thus :—

"During the reign of a certain king there lived a governor in the city of Nágúr. He had built a magnificent palace in the city, surrounded by beautiful gardens, springs and wells. This place was often visited by young damsels of exceptional beauty who used to draw water from the wells.

One day a youth happened to pass by it and he became enraptured by the beauty of a damsel who was drawing water. He fell so violently in love with her that he lost control of his senses. His condition gradually became wretched and the whole story became known to the people. Then some of the learned Brahmins came to him and urged upon him to abandon this desire. They proved from their knowledge of astronomy that this union was impossible. But the youth did not pay heed to their counsel and his love for the damsel became more intense than before.

At last when this affair became talked of as a social scandal, one of the relatives of the girl went to the Proctor of the city and complained against the youth, accusing him of bringing disgrace and infamy upon their family, and demanded justice. The Proctor then arrested the youth and sent him to prison. Thus he passed his days in lamentation and confinement for a period of one year.

1. D. H., Bodl f. 282.
2. D. H. Bodl (Ouseley) 122, f. 282.

The youth then obtained his release from prison on the occasion of the accession of Sultan Ghiyásu'd-Dín-Balban to the throne of Delhi, when he issued a *Farmán* (decree) proclaiming a general amnesty to all the prisoners in his kingdom.[1] The youth, as soon as he received his freedom, ran towards the well where he first saw his beloved. There he met her again and told her in a touching manner of his pitiable sufferings on her account. The damsel gave him a few words of consolation, and asked him to be patient for some time more. The youth thus patiently passed a period of fourteen years in great misery, always expecting to have his desire fulfilled. At last the girl took pity on his condition; she came and met him and promised to be united with him within a short time. The youth was overjoyed and waited eagerly. But a few days after, the damsel became seriously ill and died. Her body was then taken to be cremated by the Brahmins. When the youth heard the news of the death of his beloved he went mad and ran to the funeral place. He uttered the words "If union with you is denied to me in this world, I shall attain it in the next." Then to the amazement of all, he jumped on to the funeral pyre and was burnt along with his beloved, and thus their ashes were mixed together.

As examples of the manner of this poem, I give below a translation of a few passages, where the poet describes the youth's falling in love with the damsel and his soliloquy after this event :—

I.

There lived a youth of the caste of the scribe
A youth of vigilant heart, praised by the wise.
Steward-like, Saturn stands in front of him,
Held by the Indians in great esteem.
One day he strolled towards that spot
Where his heart an enchanting mistress found.
Like one circling round the spring of Hút[2]
He fell a victim to the well of Hárút and Márút.[3]

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1. D. H., Bodl. f. 270.

چو نو شد سال سلطان سلاطین × مغیث الحق غیاث الدنیا و الدین
بتخت ملک دهلی بادشاه شد × بسی محتاج را حاجت روا شد
اشارت داد آن گیتی خداوند × که بردارند از هر بندگی بند
چه در شهر و چه در اطراف و(اکناف)× همه محبوس را فرمود اطلاق

This fact of Balban's general amnesty to all the prisoners of the state has been curiously overlooked by the historians of this period.

2. Chashma-i-Hút = Chasma-i-Máhí, name of a spring coming near which any living thing drops dead. (Burhán-i-qáṭi'.)

3. Names of two angels, who having severely censured mankind before the throne of God, were sent down to earth in human shapes to judge of the temptations to which man is subject. They could not withstand them; they were seduced by women, and committed every kind of iniquity; for which they were suspended by the

A damsel standing brisk and gay he saw
Water from the well and blood from him did draw.
An idol of Hindu stock, cruel as a Turk,
Sweet with her lips but cruel with her gaze.
The rope she cast into the bottom of the well,
Served for a ring of love round his neck.
The pail she drew out of the well
From the stream of his eyes brought pails full of blood.
The youth heaved a sigh from his distressed heart
Hard as a fire sprung from a stony bed.
The cruel beauty saw the heart-sick one
Bewildered, with his feet stuck in the mire.
The stranger a captive she found to be
A prey to the noose of the strings of her locks.
She summoned her courage and looked around
A certain fear passed in her innocent mind,
The risk of scandal flashed in her thought,
She left the place and soon did depart.
Remained at the well that wounded-heart forlorn
Trembling like a fish at the departure of that moon.
In grief for that moon for three days and nights
Stars on earth he cast from his eyes.
He would talk his secret to the stars at night
And tell them the tale of his sorrowful plight.[1]
.....

II.

Soliloquy of the youth.[2]

Thou hast killed me but did not tell me thy creed
What creed is there that sanctions the slaying of the helpless one?
You saw me lying senseless on the ground
Waves of blood surging the breast around.
I was swimming in blood, thou a friend
Passed by me quite unconcerned.
What sweetheart art thou O, moon
That sheds the blood of people in the well?
Why dost thou shed the blood of the poor by the charm
Whether you want to draw blood or water from the well?

---

feet in a well in Babylon, where they are to remain in great torment till the day of judgment. The well of Hárút and Márút is here compared to the chin-dimple of the damsel.

1. D. H., Bodl. (Ouseley 122), f. 261.
2. *Ibid.*, f. 261.

Why dost thou shed the blood, like this in the well
When thou hast another bloodthirsty dimple?
Dig a well and call it a tomb
Ask not whether its water be bitter or sweet.
Throw me down into it with thy hand
Abject dust am I; unto the dust I return.
Make that resting place a pilgrim's house
Convert that brakish water to the fountain of life.
What shall I say? What relation have I with thee?
The pearl is dishonoured in mixing with the dust.
.....

SANSKRIT LITERATURE UNDER THE PALA KINGS OF BENGAL

By

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Apart from the prolific and peculiar Buddhist Tantric literature in the cultivation of which Bengal signalised itself in the 10th and 11th centuries, and which, both on account of its extent and importance, should form the subject-matter of a separate study[1], Bengal's contribution to Sanskrit literature and culture in the regime of the Pāla kings is neither sufficiently extensive nor outstanding. Nevertheless, it has an interest and importance of its own, and deserves a detailed investigation in its varied aspects. In the following pages an attempt is made to present a systematic outline of the subject and of the main problems, which still await further study.

The literary remains of the period immediately preceding are, unfortunately, extremely scanty and uncertain. We have nothing but the shadowy personality of Gauḍācārya or Gaudapādācārya, the anonymous author of the well known Vedāntic Kārikās, and of Pālakāpya the mythical propounder of elephant-lore, whose works, however, exist and have been claimed, with some justification, for Bengal. There is also the Buddhist Candra-gomin[2], of whom much that is legendary has been related but of whose approximate date, authorship and place of origin we are perhaps on firmer ground. From the 5th to the 7th century A.D., we have indeed the testimony of the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hien, Yuang Chwang and Yi-tsing, regarding Sanskrit culture and learning in the eastern provinces, but there is no mention of any definite literary activity. On the other hand, the reference to the literary diction of the Gauḍas[3], which won for itself the distinctive designation of the Gauḍī Rīti, furnishes a good ground for the inference of a lost Gauḍa literature, which received recognition, as early as the 8th century A.D., from the theorists but over the merits of which they entertained a frank difference of opinion. But nothing of this literature has come down to us. Nor do the meagre inscriptional records of the Pre-Pāla period, which give us the only definite evidence of actual Sanskrit composition, bear out these indications of literary culture. The three lines of the lithic record of Candravarman, discovered on the Susunia hill in West Bengal, or the five short Damodarpur Copper plates, issued under the local government of Puṇḍravardhanabhukti during the times of Kumāragupta I, Budhagupta and Bhānugupta (roughly between 443-543 A.D.) are but brief

1. For an account of this literature by the present writer see *New Indian Antiquary*, vol. i, (1938), pp. 1-23.

2. On this writer see S. K. De in *IHQ*, 1938, pp. 56-60. On Pālakāpya see S. K. De in *Indian Culture* (D. R. Bhandarkar number) 1939.

3. See a note by the present writer on this question in *New Indian Antiquary*, vol. i. (1938), pp. 74-76.

and matter-of-fact prose documents which have hardly any literary value. It is not until we come to the 7th century that we find the high-flown Kāvya-style in prose and verse employed in epigraphic records, such, for instance, as is displayed in the Tipperah Copper-plate of Lokanātha or the Nidhanpur Copper plate of Bhāskaravarman.

When we come to the 10th and 11th centuries, the evidence becomes more definite that not only Sanskrit culture but also Sanskrit literature, both Brahmanical and Buddhistic, flourished in Bengal, although its contribution is still not sufficiently extensive nor outstanding. We have a larger number of more elaborate inscriptional panegyrics in Sanskrit, which are indeed creditable compositions; but since they display the ordinary characteristics of North Indian Praśastis of a similar nature, they do not call for special remarks as literary productions. Some of these epigraphic records, however, give us interesting glimpses into the assiduous culture of Sanskrit by persons who were not professional scholars nor men of letters but highly placed officials and politicians. The Garuḍa pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla[1], for instance, gives us a vivid account of the scholarly attainments of one of the minister families of the Pāla kings, which receives special commendation for its knowledge of Vedic literature. In this family Darbhapāṇi, who was the minister of Devapāla, and his grandson Kedāramiśra, who also held the same position, are said to have mastered the four Vidyās; while Kedāra's son Guravamiśra acquired proficiency in the Vedas, Āgamas, Nīti, and Jyotiṣa, and distinguished himself by his exposition of the Vedic works. The Bangad Copper-plate grant[2] of Mahīpāla I mentions the study of *Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā*, Mīmāṃsā, Vyākaraṇa and Tarka, while proficiency in the Śruti and Smṛti, and in the Kauthuma recension of the *Sāmaveda*, is respectively referred to in Kamauli Copper-plate[3] of Vaidyadeva and the Manhali Copper-plate of Madanapāla.[4] The colophon to the *Hari-carita* kāvya of Caturbhuja states that the Varendra Brahmans of the time of Dharmapāla were experts in Śruti, Smṛti, Vyākaraṇa and Kāvya. That even the veterinary science was not neglected can be inferred from the statement of the author of the Janārdana Temple inscription[5] of the time of Nayapāla that he was a Vāji-vaidya. The most interesting record, however, of the political, literary and scholarly attainments of a striking personality of this period is to be found in the Praśasti[6] of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva of Bālavalabhī, who flourished under Harivarma-deva and of whom more will be said in the following pages.

1. *EI*, ii, p. 160: *Gauḍa-lekha-mālā*, p. 71.
2. *JASB*, lxi, p. 77; *Gauḍa-lekha*," p. 91.
3. *EI* ii, p. 350; *Gauḍa-lekha*," p. 134.
4. *Gauḍa-lekha*," p. 148.
5. *JASB*, 1900, p. 190.
6. In the Bhuvanesvar Inscription, *EI*, iv, p. 203; N. G. Majumdar, *Inscription of Bengal*, iii, p. 32. For other inscriptional references to Sanskrit Studies in Bengal, see *Haraprasāda-saṃvardhana-lekhamālā* (Calcutta, B. E. 1339=1932 A.D.), ii, pp. 207-14.

These indications of cultural activity, however, are not fully borne out by the actual literary remains of this period; for, apart from Buddhistic Tantric writings, the literature which has survived is scanty and inadequate. In the sphere of poetical and dramatic literature, some of the well-known classical works have been claimed for Bengal, but the proofs adduced in support of such claims are slender and uncertain[1]. The assumption[2], for instance, that the *Mudrā-rākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta is a Bengal work is purely gratuitous and hypothetical. A Bengal tradition of doubtful value, again, would credit Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, author of the *Veṇī-saṃhāra*, to Bengal; for he is alleged to be one of the five Kanauj Brahmans brought to Bengal by Ādiśūra! Unless corroborated by independent evidence these traditions of Bengal match-makers and panegyrists of big families are hardly of much value for historical purposes, particularly for events of comparatively early times. There is no satisfactory evidence, again, to identify Murāri, son of Vardhamānāṅka of the Maudgalya-gotra and Tantumatī and author of the *Anargha-rāghava*[3], with the Murāri who is given as one of the progenitors of the Bengal Vaidika Brahmans. Equally uncertain is the similar tradition which connects Śrīharṣa, son of Hīra and Māmalla-devī[4] and author of the Naiṣadhīya-carita[5], with Bengal; for Śrīharṣa of the Bengal genealogists is described as the son of Medhātithi or Tīthimedhā. This last claim has been argued[6] at some length, but the

1. Those who put forward such theories, without much justification, often forget that the onus of proof lies on them who make these assumptions and that the considerations of personal bias or local patriotism should not prompt or control the evidence.

2. *JASB*, 1930, pp. 241-45.

3. Of Murāri's place of origin and activity nothing is known; but he mentions Māhiṣmatī as the seat of the Kalacuris. See A. B. KEITH, *Sanskrit Drama*, pp. 225-26.

4. These are hardly Bengali names.

5. There are numerous editions with the different commentaries: (1) with the Prakāśa of Nārāyaṇa, Nir. Sag. Press, Bombay 1928. (2) With the Jīvātu of Mallinātha, ed. J. VIDYĀSĀGARA, 2 vols., Calcutta 1875, 1876; also ed. in parts, pts. i-ii (Cantos i-xii), Mangalodaya Press, Trichur 1924, 1926. (3) With the commentaries of Nārāyaṇa, Bharatamallika and Vaṃśīvadana (Cantos i-iii), ed. NITYA-SVARUP BRAHMACHARI Calcutta, B. E. 1326 (=1920 A.D.). (4) The Bibl. Ind. ed. (Calcutta 1836, 1855)[1] is in two parts; the first part contains Cantos i-xi with Premacandra Tarkavāgīśa's modern commentary, and the second part, edited by E. RÖER, contains cantos XII-XXII with Nārāyaṇa's commentary. The English translation by K. K. HANDIQUI (Lahore 1934) gives notes and extracts from several unpublished commentaries.

6. *The Sarasvati Bhavan Studies*, Benares 1924, iii, pp. 159-94. See also *IC* ii, pp. 576-78. Śrīharṣa's Bengal origin need not follow, as Nārāyaṇa in his commentary thinks, from his use (xiv. 51) of the word *ulūla* as an auspicious sound made by women on festive occasions. Apart from the fact that the word appears to be as old as the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (iii. 19.3), K. K. HANDIQUI (*op. cit.*, pp. 541-42) has shown that it is not an exclusively Bengali custom, being found in writers who had no connexion with Bengal, especially in some Jaina writers of Western India. Murāri uses the word in connexion with Sītā's marriage (iii. 55), but his Maithili commentator, Rucipati Upādhyāya, explains it as a South Indian custom. The

evidence is not conclusive. Some plausibility is afforded by the reference (vii. 110) to a Praśasti which the poet is said to have composed for some unnamed king of Gauḍa, but we also learn that he was patronised by the king of kānyakubja (xxii. 26) and that his work received the approval of the Kashmirian scholars (xvi. 131)[1]. The king of Kānyakubja has been identified with Jayacandra of Kanauj, who flourished in the second half of the 12th century.[2] Śrīharṣa claims originality for his work (viii. 109) as that of "a traveller on a path unseen by the race of poets"; but as a poem his work displays more learning than real poetry. An elaborate and pedantic production of 22 cantos, it spins[3] out and embellishes only a part of the simple and attractive epic story of Nala and Damayantī out of all recognition; but the concern of the undoubtedly talented master of diction and metre is not so much with the poetic possibilities of the theme, as with the display of his own

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Southerner Mallinātha, on the other hand, believes it to be a Northern custom! Similar remarks apply to the reference (xv. 45) to the custom of wearing conch-bangle, which is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (Virāṭa xi 1) and *Kādambarī*. The argument based on the Gauḍī Rīti does not carry much weight, but more relevant, if not definitely conclusive, is the indiscriminate use, in alliteration and chiming, of the three sibilants, the two nasals, *b* and *v*, *y* and *j* as sounds of equivalent value. This, however, is sanctioned by rhetoricians and is, therefore, an evidence of somewhat uncertain character.

1. It is curious that this reference to the appreciation by Kashmirian scholars is found, not in its proper place at the end of the work but at the end of Canto xvi. It is also puzzling that both the poem *Naiṣadhīya-carita* and the philosophical treatise *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādya* appear to refer to each other, leading to the curious conclusion of their simultaneous production by the same author. The genuineness of the brief autobiographical verses, which contain these references and which are placed, in a scattered way, at the end of each canto, is therefore, open to considerable doubt; but it is possible that they embody a tradition the value of which need not be entirely rejected on account of their being spurious. We learn from these verses that Śrīharṣa was also the author of a Campū called Nava-sāhasāṅka-carita (xxii. 22), a Sthairya-vicāra-prakaraṇa (iv. 123), an Arṇava-varṇana (ix. 160), a Śiva-śakti-siddhi (xviii. 154), a Chinda-praśasti (xvii. 222) and a Śrīvijayapraśasti (v. 138). The punning reference to the *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādya* is apparently justified by the express declaration (x. 137) of unrivalled labours in the science of logic, as well as by the philosophical digression in canto xvii. A late (and probably Bengal) commentator, Gopīnātha Ācārya, believes (MITRA, *Notices*, iv, p. 212) in his *Harṣa-hṛdaya* commentary on the *Naiṣadhīya* that the Vijaya-praśasti mentioned above is in praise of king Vijayasena of Bengal; but Caṇḍu Paṇḍita and other commentators, as well as Rājaśekhara Sūri in his *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* (1348 A.D.), make Śrīharṣa a protege of Jayacandra of Kanauj.

2. G. BÜHLER in *JBRAS*, x, p. 31f, pp. 279-87. This date has been questioned, see R. P. CHANDA in *IA*, xlii, pp. 83f, 286f.

3. The contents of cantos vi, vii, xv, xix-xxii, as well as the greater portion of xvii, are matters not to be found in the epic. A whole canto of 109 verses is devoted to a description of the heroine's entire bodily charms, beginning from the top of the head and ending with the toe of the feet. The panegyric of the Vaitāḷīya occupies the whole of canto xix (67 verses), while Damayantī's Svayaṃvara extends over five cantos. The poem ends with the married bliss of Nala and Damayantī. Poetic merits apart, the work is written for a learned audience, and its chief interest lies in the fact that it is in many ways a repository of traditional learning.

skill and learning so characteristic of later decadent poets. It is no wonder, therefore, that, judged by modern standards, an impatient Western critic should stigmatise the work as a perfect masterpiece of bad taste and bad style. The work, however, has been regarded as one of the five traditional Mahākāvyas and has been favoured by a section of learned Indian opinion,[1] but it would be an acquisition of dubious value to Bengal if its Bengal origin were finally proved.

The problem is more difficult with regard to the *Caṇḍa-kauśika*[2] of Kṣemīśvara on account of the meagreness and uncertainty of the data for a definite conclusion regarding its place of origin. The drama deals in five acts with the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa legend of Hariścandra and Viśvāmitra, but there is hardly anything distinctive in its style and treatment. The story lacks dramatic quality and improves very little by the poor execution and mediocre poetry of Kṣemīśvara. A verse in the Prologue states that the work was composed and produced at the court of Mahīpāla. H. P. SHASTRI[3] is inclined to identify the dramatist's patron with Mahīpāla of Bengāl, chiefly on the ground that the king is said in the drama to have driven away the Karṇāṭakas, who, in SHASTRI's opinion, were the invading armies of Rājendra Cola I in 1023,[4] or the Karṇāṭas who came in the train of the Cedi kings at a later time. If this were so, then Kṣemīśvara's place of activity would be Bengal; and it is noteworthy in this connexion that the two oldest complete palm leaf manuscripts of the drama, dated respectively in A.D. 1250 and 1387, are preserved in Nepal.[5] On the other hand, PISCHEL believes[6] Kṣemīśvara's patron to

1. Making allowance for artificiality and dubious literary taste, there are, however, forceful passages, e.g., the description of the personified vices in canto xvii, of the moon-rise in canto xxii, of the five Nalas in canto xiii, and the treatment of Nala's character in its emotional conflict in canto ix.

2. Ed. Jagannmohana, TARKĀLAṂKĀRA, Calcutta 1867; also ed. J. VIDYĀSĀGARA, Calcutta 1884; ed. in Litho MS form, Krishna Shastri, Gurjara Press, Bombay 1860. Translated into German verse under the title *Kauśika's Zorn* by Ludwig FRITZE, Leipzig 1883. The name of the author is sometimes confused with the Kashmirian Kṣemendra. Kṣemīśvara, who designates himself as Ārya, does not mention the name of his father, but his grandfather is named Vijayapeṅkoṭṭha.

3. *Descriptive Cat. of Skt. Mss in the ASB*, vii, Calcutta 1934, no. 5315; R. D. BANERJEE *The Pālas of Bengal*, p. 73 and *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, i, pp. 251-52; J. C. GHOSH in *IC* ii, pp. 364-66; but see K. A. NILKANTHA SHASTRI in *JORM*, vi, pp. 191-98 and *IC*, ii, pp. 797-99.

4. This has been contested by S. K. AIYANGAR in *Sir Asutosh Jubilee Volume*, Orientalia, Pt. 2, pp. 559f, to which R. D. BANERJI replies in *JBORS*, xiv, p. 512f. See NILKANTHA SHASTRI in the articles cited above.

5. Now in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (H. P. SHASTRI, *op. cit.*, nos. 5315 and 5316). Other known, but comparatively modern, Mss are noticed in the same Catalogue as well as in the *Descriptive Cat.* of the Mss in the Calcutta Sanskrit College, vi, nos. 222-23, pp. 134-5 (three Mss in Devanāgarī); in P. P. S. SASTRI's *Tanjore Catalogue*, viii, Srirangam 1930, pp. 3390-93, Burnell's *Classified Index*, iii, p. 169 (three Mss); and in *Descriptive Catalogue of Govt. collections* in the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, xiv, pp. 77-82 (five Mss in Devanāgarī).

6. *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1883, pp. 1217f.

be the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Mahīpāla I of Mahodaya (=Kānyakubja) under whom Rājaśekhara wrote his *Bāla-bhārata* (i. 7) and whom FLEET[1] identifies with the Mahīpāla of the Asni inscription, dated in 917 A.D. Kṣemīśvara's assertion of his patron's victory over the Karṇāṭas is explained as the courtier's version of the contest with the Rāṣṭrakūta Indra III, who for his part claims victory over Mahodaya.[2] Kṣemīśvara was also the author of another drama, *Naiṣadhānanda*,[3] which deals in seven acts with the story of Nala.

A similar uncertainty attaches to the *Kīcaka-vadha*[4] of Nītivarman which may have been composed in Bengal or in the adjoining territory of Kaliṅga.[5] It is a short artificial poem in five cantos (177 verses) which deals with the well known episode of the Viṭāṭa-parvan of the *Mahābhārata*; but the simple and vigorous story of the epic is transformed into a pedantic means for the display of the author's skill and learning in the manipulation of the language, for the ingenious use of double meanings (Śleṣa) and clever chimings (Yamaka). The work, however, is singular in the attempt it makes to include both Śleṣa (canto iii) and Yamaka (cantos i-ii, iv-v) in its scope; and it is the only Kāvya, so far known, which fulfils the rhetorician's dictum about the Āśīḥ-prelude. As an early example of this type of Sanskrit composition it shows considerable talent; and it is no wonder that it is quoted by a large number of grammarians, rhetoricians and lexicographers. One of the earliest of such quotations is made by Nami-sādhu who wrote his commentary on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṃkāra* in 1069 A.D.[6] Nothing is known of the author, Nītivarman, except that he lived in the court of an obscurely mentioned prince who might have ruled in Bengal or in Kaliṅga.

The only writer whom we can reasonably claim for Bengal from his descriptive designation is Gauḍa Abhinanda, who is known to us from stray

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1. *IA*, xxvi, pp. 175-78.

2. See Sten KONOW, *Indische Drama*, p. 87; P. PETERSON, *Second Report*, p. 63; R. G. BHANDARKAR, *Report 1887*, p. xi; A. B. KEITH, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 239. The only Alaṃkāra work which cites the *Caṇḍa-kauśika* is the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, which belongs probably to Orissa in the first half of the 15th century (See S. K. DE, *Sanskrit Poetics*, i, p. 233f.).

3. Ms. dated in 1611 A.D. noticed in PETERSON, *Third Report*, pp. 340-42, with extracts; but no personal account of the author is found in the work.

4. Ed. S. K. DE, with the commentary of Janārdanasena and with extracts from the commentary of Sarvānanda-nāga, Dacca University Oriental Series 1929.

5. In two verses of doubtful interpretation (i. 21; i. 7) the author refers to his patron, in connexion with Kaliṅga, either as a ruler or as a conqueror. A covert allusion appears to be made to this patron's name or designation in the word *vigraha* employed in the Yamaka, but considering the date of the work, an allusion to the Vigrahapālas of Bengal does not seem likely. For a discussion of this question see S. K. DE's edition, pp. xii-xiv and 93-94, 98-99. The poem has been preserved in Bengali Mss only, and all the known commentaries are of Bengal origin and indicate the currency of the poem in Bengal; and there is nothing, excepting the verse i. 21 mentioned above, which connects it with Kaliṅga.

6. For other early writers who quote this work see S. K. DE, introd. to the above edition.

quotation of his verses in the Sanskrit anthology of Śārṅgadhara[1]; but the question of his date and identity is not free from difficulty. He has been identified with Abhinanda, son of Jayanta and author of the *Kādambarī-kathā-sāra*[2] on the ground chiefly that the author of this metrical summary of Bāṇa's prose romance describes one of his ancestors as a Gauḍa; but the evidence is obviously not conclusive, and none of the anthology verses ascribed to Abhinanda or Gauḍa Abhinanda is traceable in this work.[3] There is, however, no chronological obstacle in the way of the proposed identification. The author of the **Kathā-sāra* informs us that his fifth ancestor, Śaktisvāmin, flourished under Muktāpīḍa of the Karkoṭa dynasty of Kashmir towards the end of the 7th and the first half of the 8th century; and as the poet Abhinanda, son of Jayanta, is mentioned and quoted by the Kashmirian Abhinavagupta[4] towards the end of 10th century, his date may be fixed at about the first half of the 9th century. The Abhinanda of the anthologies could not have been of a much later date, having been quoted in the *Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya*[5] which cannot be assigned to a period later than the 11th century[6]; but it is not clear if this Abhinanda is identical with Gauḍa Abhinanda, who is cited (along with Abhinanda without the descriptive term Gauḍa) in the *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati*.[7]

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1. The *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati* (dated about 1363 A.D.) quotes twice (nos. 1090, 3485; the first verse assigned to Subhāṅga in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* iv. 53) Gauḍa Abhinanda, but it also quotes an Abhinanda (nos. 3763, 3917) without the descriptive title. An Abhinanda, and not Gauḍa Abhinanda, is quoted five times (nos. 75, 130, 313, 319, 457) in the *Kavīndra-vacana*[*] twenty-two times in the *Sadukti*[*] twice in the *Sūkti-muktāvalī* of Jahlaṇa and once in the *Padyāvalī* (no. 149). Fragments of Abhinanda's verses are also quoted by Ujjvaladatta (on Uṇādi-sūtra i. 2, 48; ii. 103; iv. 117), who refers to Abhinanda's description of the Vindhya hills, and by Rāyamukuṭa (on Amara i. 1. 7; ii. 5. 4, 10). For a resume of these passages see F. W. THOMAS, *Kavīndra-vacana*[*], pp. 20-22.

2. Ed. Kāvyamālā 11, NSP, Bombay 1899. (Also ed. in the *Pandit*, Old Series 1866-68; ed. Acintyarāma Śarman, Lahore 1900).

3. For a discussion of the question see S. K. DE, *Padyāvalī*, pp. 182-84.

4. In the printed text (Kāvyamālā 25, Bombay 1911, p. 142) of Abhinavagupta's *Locana*, the work is ascribed to Bhaṭṭa Jayantaka, but the India Office Ms (no. 1008 E 1135), which we consulted, assigns it to Abhinanda, son of Bhaṭṭa Jayanta. The Kashmirian Kṣemendra in the 11th century also quotes Abhinanda and his **Kathā-sāra* (in his *Suvṛtta-tilaka* iii. 6 = **Kathā-sāra* i. 16). Kṣemendra informs us (iii. 29) that Abhinanda was fond of the Anuṣṭubh metre, in which, for the most part, the **Kathā-sāra* is composed.

5. F. W. THOMAS, *loc. cit.*, would identify this Abhinanda with the author of the **Kathā-sāra*, as well as with Gauḍa Abhinanda; but no evidence is adduced.

6. On Abhinanda see AUFRECHT, *ZDMG*, xxvii, pp. 6, 27; G. BÜHLER, *IA* ii, pp. 102-6; PETERSON, *Fourth Report*, p. vii.

7. These Abhinandas are certainly to be distinguished from Abhinanda, author of *Rāma-carita* (ed. GOS, no. xlvi, 1930) who describes himself as the son of Śatānanda, and probably also from Abhinavapaṇḍita, also a Gauḍa whose *Yoga-vāsiṣṭha-saṃkṣepa* in six Prakaraṇas and forty-six Sargas is noticed by Weber (Berlin Catalogue, no. 643) and who is described in the colophon to the work as *tarka-vāgīśvara-sākhityācārya-gauḍamaṇḍalālaṃkāra-śrīmat*.

Perhaps the only Kāvya of this period, the Bengal origin of which is known with certainty, is the *Rāma-carita*[1] of Saṃdhyākara Nandin, a curious but important work which belongs to the class of the so-called historical Kāvya. By means of constant play upon words (Śleṣa), sustained throughout in its 195 Āryā verses, it gives in four chapters, after the manner of Kavirāja's *Rāghava-pāṇḍaviya*, the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, on the one hand, and the history of Rāmapāla of the Pāla dynasty, on the other. Each verse of the text has, therefore, a twofold application; but while the epic application is not difficult to make out, the local and contemporary allusions to Rāmapāla's exploits require elucidation. The Sanskrit commentary, which accompanies the text and which may or may not have been composed by the author himself, explains the historical details, but unfortunately it ends abruptly with ii. 35. There is a Kavi-praśasti in 20 verses at the end of the work, which informs us that the author was the son of Prajāpatinandin and grandson of Pināikanandin and belonged to Puṇḍra-vardhana in Varendra. Prajāpati was a Sāṃdhi-vigrahika of the royal court, and from the last verse of the text it is probable that the work was composed in the reign of Madanapāla. As a chronicle of almost contemporary events, of which the author must have possessed a direct knowledge, the work is of considerable importance for reconstructing the lost history of this period. The author tells us that he is not only a poet well versed in the art of rhetoric but also a great linguist. The skill he shows in the manipulation of words in a difficult metre, which, however, is possible only in an accommodating language like Sanskrit, is characteristic of later Sanskrit poets; but it certainly makes his work a marvel of verbal jugglery, especially as the author has to crowd within the limits of less than two hundred verses a great deal of matter concerning simultaneously Raghupati Rāma and Gauḍādhipa Rāmapāla. The author claims that his Śleṣa is not distressing (*akleśama*); it might not have been so to his contemporaries to whom the events narrated were probably familiar; but on account of this very limited and local interest it must have failed in its appeal to posterity and became forgotten. As an interesting example of the Śleṣa Kāvya, which includes both mythical and historical themes in its scope, it may be accepted as a singular *tour de force*, but the very purposive character of the work and its necessarily artificial form of expression make it a poetical curiosity rather than a real poem.

In the sphere of the technical Śāstras, on the other hand, we possess a fair amount of literature; but its total achievement cannot be rated too highly. The epigraphic records tell us a great deal about Vedic[2] and philoso-

1. The unique Palmleaf Ms of the text was acquired by Haraprasad Shastri in 1897, and an edition of the text with its incomplete commentary was published by him in *Memoirs of ASB*, Calcutta 1910. A new edition is now published under the joint editorship of R. C. Majumdar, R. G. Basak and N. G. Banerjee, by the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi. Our references are to Shastri's edition.

2. On Vedic Studies in Bengal, see *Haraprasād-saṃvardhana-lekhamālā*, ii, pp. 202-226. From the inscriptional references it appears that all the four Vedas were studied, but the Vājasaneyi recension of the Yajurveda prevailed.

phical studies in Bengal in this period, but no early work on Vedic literature has survived; and of the early philosophical speculations of Bengal we know nothing. The only philosophical work of this period, of which however, Bengal may feel justly proud, is the well known *Nyāya-kandalī* commentary[1] of Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa on Praśastapāda's *Padārtha-dharma-saṃgraha* Bhāṣya on the *Vaiśeṣikasūtra*. From the concluding verses of this sub-commentary we learn that Śrīdhara was the son of Baladeva and Abboka (*v. l.* Abhroka, Ambhoka, Acchoka) and belonged to Bhūriśreṣṭi in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha,[2] which has been identified with the village of Bhursut, Dt. Burdwan. The work was written at the instance of one Pāṇḍudāsa, and is dated in Śaka 913 (or 910)[3] which is equivalent to 991 (or 988) A.D. From references in the work itself it appears that Śrīdhara also wrote *Advaya-siddhi* (p. 5), *Tattva-saṃvādinī* (p. 82), *Tattva-prabodha* (pp. 82, 146) and a *Saṃgraha-ṭīkā*[4] (p. 159); but none of these works, which are concerned apparently with Vedānta, Vaiśeṣika and Mīmāṃsā, has come down to us. It falls outside our scope to enter into the philosophical views of Śrīdhara, but the work is important for having placed for the first time a theistic interpretation on the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika.[5] It

1. Ed. Vindhyeśvarīprasāda Dvivedin, Vizianagram Sanskrit Series, nos. 6, Benares 1895. Translated into English by Gangānāth Jha in the *Pandit*, 1903-15, reprinted E. J. Lazarus: Benares 1916. Large sections of Śrīdhara's works have been translated by B. Faddegon in his *Vaiśeṣika-system*, Amsterdam 1918.

2. The verse states that in addition to pious and learned Brahmans many Śreṣṭhis lived there (*bhūri-śreṣṭhi* [v. l. *śreṣṭi*]-*janāśrayaḥ*). It is probably the same as Bhūriśreṣṭhika in Rāḍha mentioned by Kṛṣṇamiśra in his *Prabodha-candrodaya* (ii. 7) as the seat of proud Brahmans.

3. The printed text reads: *tryadhika-dasottara-nava-śata-śakābde*, which is also the reading of Bühler's MS. (*Kashmir Report*, p. 76, and appendix p. cxliv), but *adhika-dasottara*, which is perhaps a misdection, is found in some Mss noticed by R. G. Bhandarkar (*Report* 1883-84, p. 314) and R. L. Mitra (*Notices*, viii, p. 45, no. 2589, also x, p. 287, no. 4186).

4. Gopinatha Kaviraj (History and Bibliography of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Literature in *Sarasvati Bhavana Studies*, iii, p. 115, note) believes that the *Saṃgraha-ṭīkā* was not an independent work but referred to the *Nyāya-kandalī itself*, which was a Ṭīkā on the *Padārtha-dharma-saṃgraha* of Praśastapāda; but the reference in the text does not appear to bear out his conjecture.

5. Śrīdhara's famous contemporary, Udayana, who dates his *Lakṣaṇāvalī* in Śaka 905 (= 984 A.D.) and who is the author also of a sub-commentary, entitled *Kiraṇāvalī*, on Praśastapāda's Bhāṣya, as well as of two independent polemical works named *Kusumāñjali* and *Ātma-tattva-viveka*, is sometimes connected with Bengal by a tradition which associates him with the Bhāduri Brahmans of North Bengal. But the unreliability of the tradition is indicated by Udayana's disparaging remarks about the Gauḍa Mīmāṃsaka who lacked a true knowledge of the Vedic texts. The reference may be to a school or to an individual; but Varadarāja in his *Kusumāñjali-bodhinī* commentary (ed. Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, no. 4, Benares 1922, p. 123) explains this reference as a pointed allusion to the Pañjikā-kāra. The identification of this Pañjikā-kāra with Śālikanātha, author of *Prakaraṇa-pañjikā* (ed. Benares 1903-4) and a direct pupil of Prabhākara, is plausible but unproved. It is noteworthy that much later (c. 13th century) Gangeśa Upādhyāya refers to the Gauḍa Mīmāṃsaka in almost identical terms in his *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* (ed. Bibl. Ind. Śabda-pramāṇa, p. 88)

is curious, however, that this work found little favour in the country of its origin, and the two best known commentaries on it are respectively written by the Maithila Padmanābha and the Jaina Rājaśekhara.

The tradition of Candra-gomin is supposed to have been maintained in Bengal by two well known Buddhist grammarians, Jinendrabuddhi and Maitreya-rakṣita; but the place of activity of these two authors cannot be definitely determined.[1] Jinendrabuddhi, who styles himself as Bodhisattva-deśīyācārya, was the author of an extensive commentary entitled *Vivaraṇa-pañjikā* (commonly cited as the *Nyāsa*)[2] on the *Kāśikā*, while Maitreya-rakṣita composed *Tantra-pradīpa* commentary[3] on Jinendrabuddhi's work, as well as *Dhātu-pradīpa*,[4] which professes to follow Bhūmasena's recension[5] of the Pāṇinīya *Dhātu-pāṭha*. The conjecture that Vimalamati, author of the *Dhāga-vṛtti*, belonged to Bengal, is too fanciful to require serious consideration.[6] The fact that these grammatical treatises were popular in Bengal furnishes an argument of uncertain value; for Bengal had admittedly been the ultimate place of refuge of most major and minor systems of Sanskrit grammar, including the Kātantra, the Mugdha-bodha, the Saṃkṣipta-sāra and the Sārasvata. Of lexical writers, we know nothing about the date and identity of Subhūticandra,[7] a part of the Tibetan version of whose commentary on the

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1. D. C. BHATTACHARYA (Pāṇinian Studies in Bengal in *Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volume*, Orientalia, pt. i, pp. 189 f) suspects the Bengal origin of these writers from the fact that all the commentaries of the Nyāsa, for instance, are by Bengal writers. S. C. CHAKRAVARTI in the works cited below appears to be of the same opinion. The extraordinary argument (D. C. BHATTACHARYA p. 201), however, that Maitreya was the title and Rakṣita the real name, and that a clan of Varendra Brahmans are called to-day Maitra or Maitreya requires no serious consideration; for one might as well as argue that Rakṣita being the cognomen of some Rāḍhīya Kāyasthas at the present time, our author was a Bengal Kāyastha! The arguments from modern cognomen is unwarranted and hasty. As a Buddhist writer the name Maitreya-rakṣita is quite intelligible by itself.

2. Ed. (in 3 vols.) Srish Chandra CHAKRAVARTI, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi 1913, 1919-24, 1925. This work is to be distinguished from the *Anyāsa*, a rival commentary by Indu or Indumitra (*IHQ*, 1931, p. 418), who is probably earlier than Maitreya-rakṣita but who need not be assumed gratuitously to have belonged to Bengal.

3. On this work see S. C. CHAKRAVARTI in the works cited, and D. C. BHATTACHARYA, *op. cit.* A fragmentary Ms is noticed in MITRA, *Notices*, vi, p. 140, no. 2076, and another incomplete Ms exists in Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi. It is referred to in the author's *Dhātu-pradīpa*; and the author is quoted by a series of grammarians and lexicographers (Ujjvaladatta, Rāyamukuṭa, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, Sarvānanda, Sāraṇadeva etc.), Sarvānanda (1160 A.D.) being the earliest known writer to cite Maitreya-rakṣita.

4. Ed. Srish Chandra CHAKRAVARTI, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi 1919. Ms. in EGGELING, *Catalogue of India Office Mss*, ii, p. 182, no. 687/434a.

5. Referred to in the opening verse.

6. Assigned to a period between 850 and 1050 A.D.

7. COMMER, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 465. Th. ZACHARIAE, *Die indische Wörterbücher*, GIPA, Strassburg 1897, p. 21.

Amara-kośa, entitled *Kāmadhenu*,[1] exists in *Bstan-ḥgyur* and who is sometimes assigned[2] to Bengal. He is quoted four times by Rāyamukuṭa and once by Śaraṇadeva.[3]

Among exponents of technical śāstras the medical writers of Bengal deserve mention. The well-known medical authority, Mādhava,[4] son of Indukara[5] and author of a learned work on pathology and diagnosis, entitled *Rug-viniścaya*[6] (or simply *Nidāna*), is assigned[7] to this period; but whether Bengal can really claim him is doubtful.[8] It is true that mediaeval Bengal

1. Ed. Satis Chandra VIDYĀBHŪṢAṆA. Bibl. Ind. 1912 (only one fasc. published of the Tibetan text). According to VIDYĀBHŪṢAṆA (p. ix), Subhūticandra is also cited by Liṅga Bhaṭṭa, another commentator on Amara.

2. *IC*, ii. p. 261.

3. Ed. Trivandrum 1909, p. 82.

4. In the work itself the name is given as Mādhava, and not as Mādhavakara, which is found only in some commentators; and it is doubtful whether *-kara* was at all a cognomen; for his father's name Indukara is intelligible in itself and need not lead to any supposition of Bengal origin. Cf. the name Bhānukara, author of *Rasika-jīvana* who never belonged to Bengal.—The evidence of Arabic sources (JOLLY, *Medicin*, p. 7) points to the 9th century as the date of Mādhava.

5. There is no evidence for presuming that Indukara was a medical writer and identifying him with Indu (where *-kara* is dropped) who is cited by Kṣīra-svāmin in his comment on the Vanauṣadhivarga of the *Amara-kośa*. He wrote, as the quotations show, on the topic of Vanauṣadhi, but the supposition (*IC*, *ii*, pp. 153-4) that his work was named Nighaṇṭu is entirely gratuitous. Indu is by no means an uncommon Indian name, and hazarding of guesses of identity of authors having similar names is hardly of any use.

6. The work has been printed very often in India. Ed. (Text only) with a Hindi commentary, by R. P. SITARAMA, Ganapat Krishnaji Press: Bombay 1884; Ed., with the Madhukośa-vyākhyā of Vijayarakṣita and his pupil Śrīkaṇṭhadatta and with Ātaṅka-darpaṇa-ṭīkā of Vācaspati-vaidya, by J. T. ACHARYA, NSP, Bombay 1932. Vijaya-rakṣita commented on i-xxxii; Śrīkaṇṭhadatta on the rest. Eight commentaries on this work are listed by AUFRECHT.

7. *IC*, ii, pp. 153-55; but see S. K. DE, *ibid*, iv, pp. 273-76.

8. The *Cikitsā* (MITRA, *Bikaner Catalogue*, no. 1413, pp. 647-48) of Mādhava is not, as suggested in *IC*, *loc. cit.*, a separate work, but is either identical with *Rug-viniścaya* or represents a version of it. The two opening verses quoted by Mitra are nothing but verses 3 and 4 of the *Rug-viniścaya*, while the only concluding verse cited, which is too corrupt for identification, deals apparently with Viṣa-roga-nidāna, which forms the subject-matter of one of the concluding chapters of the *Rug-viniścaya*. All the available Mss of the small work on Dietics, called *Kūṭa-mudgara*, are in Devanāgarī, and there is nothing to identify its author Mādhava with our Mādhava, who is probably also to be distinguished from the Mādhava or Mādhavas, who wrote *Āyurveda-rasa-śāstra* (BÜHLER, *Catalogue of Mss in Gujarat, Sindh etc.*, iv, p. 218), *Rasa-kaumudī* (MITRA, *Notices*, iv, no. 1616, p. 178), *Bhāsa-sadbhāva* (BÜHLER, *op. cit.*, p. 230; see AUFRECHT, *Catalogus Cata.* ii. p. 93, iii, p. 89), and *Mugdha-bodha* (EGGELING, *op. cit.*, v. p. 943, no. 2680(807). The only other work which can possibly be assigned to our Mādhava, son of Indukara, *is the Paryāya ratnamālā*, noticed by MITRA, *Notices*, ix, p. 294, no. 3150; but here, again, there is a great deal of uncertainty with regard to the work itself. In MITRA's description (*Notices*, i, p. 111, no. 207) of another Ms of the same work the name of the author is given as Rājavallabha. The India Office Ms (EGGELING,

developed peculiar names, surnames and titles, but the arguments based chiefly on the cognomen *-kara*, which, however, is not found attached to Mādhava's name in any of his known works, as well as on the extensive use of his works in Bengal, are hardly conclusive. It is, however, beyond doubt that Cakrapāṇidatta, the well known commentator on Caraka and Suśruta, belonged to Bengal. In his compendium of therapy, entitled *Cikitsā-saṃgraha*,[1] he informs us that his father Nārāyaṇa was an officer (Pātra) and superintendent of the culinary department (Rasavatyadhikārin) of the king of Gauḍa, that he was a Kulīna of the Lodhravalī family[2] and that his brother Bhānu was an Antaraṅga or learned physician of good family.[3] The commentator Śivadāsasena Yaśodhara, a Bengal writer, who belonged to the 16th century,[4] explains that the king of Gauḍa was Nayapāla. If this is so, Cakrapāṇidatta should be placed in the second half of the 11th century. Besides older authorities, the work professes to draw upon the *Gūḍha-bodha-saṃgraha* of Heramba, as well as upon the *Siddha-yoga* of Vṛnda,[5] which last in its turn follows the order of diseases and treatment of Mādhava's *Rug-viniścaya*. Besides being an authoritative work on the subject, it possesses importance in the history of Indian medicine for marking an advance in the direction of metallic preparations,[6] which had been introduced from the time of Vāgbhaṭa and Vṛnda.

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v. p. 975, no. 2740(1511c) omits the name of the author, and ends differently. On Mādhava see A.F.R. HOERNLE, *Medicine of Ancient India* (Oxford 1907), pp. 13f; J. JOLLY, *Medicin* GIPA, (Strassburg 1901), pp. 6-7, where his relation to Vṛnda, author of the *Siddha-yoga*, is also briefly discussed. The suggestion that Vṛnda is the true name of the author of the *Rug-viniścaya* (HOERNLE in *JRAS*, 1906, p. 288f; 1908, p. 996) is groundless and unproved. The *Siddha-yoga* is sometimes called *Vṛnda-mādhava* probably because Vṛnda has made a very large use of Mādhava's work in writing his own. The real names of the work and the author as given in most Mss are respectively *Siddha-yoga* and Vṛnda (See EGGELING, *op. cit.*, p. 937; AUFRECHT, *Bod. Cat.*, p. 315b; PETERSON, *Fourth Report*, p. 399; KIELHORN, *Catalogue of Mss in the Central Provinces*, p. 222 etc.).

1. Ed. by J. VIDYĀSĀGARA, Calcutta 1888; but it is printed very often.

2. Explained by Śivadāsa as the Lodhravalī branch of the Datta family. Tradition locates his birthplace in the district of Birbhum. Haraprasad SHASTRI in his *School History of India* (Calcutta 1896) gives 1060 A.D. as the definite date of Cakrapāṇi, which has been repeated by most writers (JOLLY, *op. cit.*, p. 6 and in ZDMG liii, p. 378; HOERNLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 16); but we have no proof for this exact date.

3. *Vidyā-kula-saṃpanno bhiṣag antaraṅgaḥ* (Śivadāsa). On this word see *IC*, i, pp. 684-85.

4. The commentary is entitled *Tattva-candrikā* and is professedly based upon a previous *Ratna-prabhā* commentary. From the genealogy and personal details given in the concluding verses we learn that Śivadāsa was the son of Ananta and grandson of Uddharaṇa, and that he belonged to Mālañcikā in Gauḍa (Pabna District). His father Ananta is said (*IC*, iii, p. 157) to have been a court-physician of Barbek Shah in the 16th century.

5. Ed. Ānandāśrama Sank. Series no. 27, 1894, with the *Vyākhyā-kusumāñjalī* commentary of Śrikaṇṭhadatta. On the sources of Cakrapāṇidatta see JOLLY in *ZDMG*, liii, p. 377f.

6. P. C. RAY, *Hist. of Hindu Chemistry*, i, introd., p. liv.

Cakrapāṇidatta also wrote a commentary on Caraka, entitled *Āyurveda-dīpikā* or *Caraka-tātparya-dīpikā*,[1] in the introduction to which he mentions Naradatta as his preceptor. His commentary on Suśruta is entitled *Bhānumatī*.[2] Two other useful works of his are *Śabda-candrikā*,[3] a vocabulary of vegetable as well as mineral substances and compounds, and *Dravya-guṇa-saṃgraha*,[4] a work on dietics.

It would be convenient in this connexion to notice two other medical writers of some importance who flourished in Bengal at a somewhat later date. The first is Sureśvara or Surapāla who wrote a glossary of medical botany, entitled *Śabda-pradīpa*,[5] in which he gives an account of himself. His great-grandfather and father were respectively Devagaṇa, who was a court-physician to king Govindacandra, and Bhadreśvara, who served in a similar capacity to king Rāmapāla (called Vaṅgeśvara). He himself was a physician to king Bhīmapāla, and should from these accounts be placed in the first half of the 12th century. He also wrote a *Vṛkṣāyurveda*[6] on a similar subject, and a *Loha-paddhati* or *Loha-sarvasva*[7] on the medical use and preparation of iron. The other writer is Vaṅgasena, whose very name would assign him to Bengal. He wrote *Cikitsā-sāra-saṃgraha*,[8] in which he is described as the son of Gadādhara of Kāntika or Kāñjika. The lower limit of his date, viz., the 12th century, is supplied by Hemādri's profuse quotations from this work in *Āyurveda-rasāyana* commentary on Vāghbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya*.[9] Vaṅgasena relies upon Suśruta but borrows freely and extensively from Mādhava's *Rug-viniścaya*. It is not certain if the later medical commentators,

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1. Ed. ŚIVNĀTHA VIŚĀRADA, Calcutta 1892-1895. Also Ed. V. K. DATAR, NSP, Bombay 1922; ed. N. N. SHASTRI, 2 vols. Lahore 1929. See MITRA, *Notices*, vi, p. 223, no. 2160 (incomplete Ms.)

2. Ed. in parts by Gangaprasad SEN, Vijayaratna SEN and Nishikanta SEN, Calcutta 1888-93. See AUFRECHT, *Catalogus Cat.* i, p. 175*a*.

3. Mss in AUFRECHT, *Bodleian Cat. no.* 453, pp. 195-196; EGGELING, *op. cit.* v, p. 974, no. 2738|987*b*. Also see MITRA, *Notices*, ii, p. 25, no. 862.

4. Ed. J. VIDYĀSĀGARA, Calcutta (2nd Ed.) 1897, with the commentary of Śivadāsa. See MITRA, *Notices*, ix, pp. 43-44, nos. 2931-32.

5. Ms in EGGELING, *op. cit.*, v, pp. 974-77, nos. 2739/1351*c*.

6. Ms in AUFRECHT, *Bod. Cat.*, no. 768, pp. 324-25, where an analysis of contents is given.

7. Ms. in H. D. VELANKAR, *Descriptive Cat. of Skt. and Pkt. Mss* in the Bombay Branch of the RAS, i (Bombay 1926), p. 65.

8. Ed. Nandakiśora GOSVĀMIN, Calcutta 1889. For Mss see AUFRECHT, *Catalogus Cat.*, i, 186*b*; ii, 38*a*, 199*b*; iii. 40*b* and especially EGGELING, *op. cit.*, v, pp. 951-52. The work is also called Vaidya-vallabha. The *Cikitsā-mahārṇava* mentioned by R. G. BHANDARKAR (*Report 1884-1887* p. 93, no. 918) is probably the same work. The *Ākhyāta-vyākaraṇa* mentioned by R. K. MITRA (*Descriptive Cat.* of Skt. Mss in ASB, pt. i, Grammar, Calcutta 1877, no. 29) may or may not be by the same author.

9. P. K. GODE in *IC*, iii, p. 535 f. The Cambridge Ms. (Add. 1707), as EGGELING notes, was copied in the Nepali era 396 = 1276 A.D.

Aruṇadatta,[1] Vijaya-rakṣita,[2] Niścalakara,[3] and Śrīkaṇṭhadatta[4] really belonged to Bengal.[5] We have no proof for such a conjecture; in any case, they are not independent writers of importance, and also fall chronologically outside our period.

Like the speculative Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, the practical Dharmaśāstra literature achieved a distinction of its own in mediaeval Bengal, but of the early history of the latter, like that of the former, we know very little. That the study of the Mīmāṃsā, allied to the *Dharma-śāstra*, was not neglected is apparent from the epigraphic records, as well as from the references, however disparaging, of Udayana and Gaṅgeśa, already mentioned above.[6] We also know that the two important Bengal writers on Dharma-śāstra, Bhavadeva and Aniruddha, were well versed in the teachings of Bhaṭṭa (Kumārila). Halāyudha in his *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* informs us that although Bengal paid little attention to the Vedas, she studied Mīmāṃsā; and he himself wrote a *Mīmāṃsā-sarvasva* which is now lost. But the subject is actually represented in this period by only one work, namely, the *Tautātitamata-tilaka*, to be dealt with presently, of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, which exists only in fragments. The study of the Vedic ritual is similarly evidenced by a single extant work composed by a little known scholiast, Nārāyaṇa, son of Goṇa (or Goṣa)[7] and grandson of Umāpati. It is a commentary, entitled *Prakāśa*, on Keśava Miśra's *Karmapradīpa* or *Chandoga-pariśiṣṭa*,[8] which is a compendium of Sāmavedic Gṛhya ritual as described by Gobhila. The author's ancestors belonged to Uttarā Rāḍhā. His grandfather Umāpati, who excelled in his knowledge of the teachings of Prabhākara, is described as flourishing under Jayapāla; while Nārāyaṇa was also a follower of the views of Prabhākara and was well versed in Smṛti and Purāṇa. But the work itself is not of great merit.

Of the two earliest Bengal writers on Dharma-śāstra, Jitendriya and Bālaka, whose works are now lost, our information is scanty, being derived from citations in later authors. They are quoted and criticised by the Bengal

1. Wrote Sarvāṅga-sundarī on Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya (Ed. A. M. KUNTE. 2 vols. Ganapat Krishnaji Press: Bombay 1880). His date is variously given as c. 1220 (HOERNLE), 13th century (COMBER), 15th century (JOLLY).

2. Wrote, with his pupil Śrīkaṇṭhadatta, the Madhu-kośa on Mādhava's *Nidāna*. HOERNLE dates him at c. 1240 and Jolly at the 14th or 15th century.

3. Wrote *Prabhā* on Cakrapāṇi's *Dravya-guṇa*°. Date not known.

4. See note 4 above. Also wrote *Kusumāñjali* on Vṛnda's *Siddha-yoga*.

5. As claimed without much justification in *IC*, ii, pp. 157-58.

6. The mislection *nigūḍhācārya* for *uvaṭācārya* in Halāyudha's *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* (fl. 20-21) led H. P. SHASTRI (*JBORS*, 1919, p. 173) to the supposition that there was an early author on Vedic ritualism named Nigūḍhācārya; but the reference is undoubtedly to Uvaṭācārya, the well known author of the Vājasaneyi *Mantra-bhāṣya* (See *IHQ*, 1930, p. 783).

7. The Bibl. Ind. ed. reads *tasyānujaḥ* (=younger brother of Umāpati), with the v. l. *tasyātmajaḥ*, which last is the reading also of the India Office Ms.

8. Ed. Bibl. Ind. 1909, 1923 (only two fasc. published). Ms in EGGELING, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 92-93, no. 1028 (incomplete).

authors, Jīmūtavāhana, Raghunandana and Śūlapāṇi, and are therefore conjectured to have flourished in Bengal before the 12th century A.D. In his *Kālaviveka*[1] Jīmūtavāhana mentions Jitendriya among writers who dealt with the subject of auspicious time (Kāla) appropriate for ceremonies, and quotes in several passages his very words.[2] Jitendriya's views on Vyavahāra and Prāyaścitta are also quoted in the *Dayā-bhāga* and the *Vyavahāra-mātṛkā* of Jīmūtavāhana, as well as in the *Dāya-tattva* of Raghunandana. It would seem, therefore, that Jitendriya's lost work was fairly comprehensive in its scope; and as only these Bengal writers, and no other, quote him, the supposition that he flourished in Bengal in the first half of the 11th century is not unlikely. The other forgotten author, Bālaka, is known entirely from references by Jīmūtavāhana, Raghunandana and Śūlapāṇi,[3] who discuss his views mostly on Vyavahāra and Prāyaścita, Jīmūtavāhana going even to the length of sometimes punningly ridiculing them as childish (*bāla-vacana*).[4] If the Vāloka mentioned six times[5] in his *Prāyaścitta-nirūpaṇa* by Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, also a Bengal writer, be the same as our Bālaka, then his date would be anterior to 1100 A.D. There is also another Dharma-śāstra writer named Yogīśa[6] who is known similarly from the references made by Jīmūtavāhana and Raghunandana. He appears to have treated the subject of Vyavahāra and composed a long (Bṛhat) and a short (Laghu) treatise on Kāla. He is quoted mostly for the purpose of being refuted, but since Jīmūtavāhana refers to old (*purātana*) manuscripts of Yogīśa's work, he might have been even an older author than Jitendriya and Bālaka.

If not a great writer, Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa was versatile and was certainly one of the most interesting personalities of his time. A great deal about him is known from an inscription[7] found in the magnificent temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva at Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa, which eulogises Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva as a politician, scholar and author, and as a constructor of reservoirs and builder of temples and images, the identity of the author Bhavadeva with the person eulogised being established by the unique epithet, Bālavalabhī-bhujaṅga, applied to both.[8] This Praśasti of Bhavadeva and his family composed by

1. Ed. Bibl. Ind. 1905, p. 380. See *JASB*, 1915, p. 315.

2. For the passages see KANE, *Hist. of Dharma-śāstra*, i, Poona 1930, pp. 281-83, where they are given in full.

3. These passages are quoted in KANE, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-84, which also see on the question of Bālaka's identity with Bālarūpa, pp. 284-86.

4. *JASB*, 1915, p. 320.

5. *JASB*, 1912, p. 336. Vāloka may be a common mislection of the Bengal scribe for Bālaka. The printed text (pp. 42, 44, 74, 81, 83, 106) apparently found the correct form Bālaka, but it does not utilise the Mss of the text mentioned below.

6. See KANE, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-87.

7. *EI*, iv, pp. 203-07; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, iii, pp. 25-41. On Bhavadeva see Monmohan CHAKRAVARTI in *JASB*, 1912, pp. 332-48, which account has been corrected and supplemented by N. G. MAJUMDAR, *loc. cit.*, and KANE, *op. cit.*, pp. 301-06.

8. The epithet has been the subject of much speculation (besides the work cited above, see R. D. BANERJEE, *Pāla of Bengal*, p. 99 and *Bāṅgālār Itihāsa*,

Bhavadeva's friend Vācaspati-kavi,[1] consists of thirty-three elegantly written verses. Bhavadeva belonged to the Sāvarṇa-gotra (of the Kauthuma school of the *Sāmaveda*) and came from the Siddhala-grāma in Rāḍha.[2] His ancestors were all learned men, and one of them received the Śāsana of Hastiṅ-bhiṭṭa from an unnamed king of Gauḍa. His grandfather Ādideva was likewise a minister of peace and war to some king of Vaṅga. His father was Govardhana; and his mother Sāṅgoka was the daughter of a Vandyaghaṭīya Brahman. Bhavadeva himself served for a long time in a similar capacity under king Harivarmadeva and probably also under his son, whose name is not given. Bhavadeva is described as prominent among the exponents of the Brahmādvaita system of philosophy, conversant with the writings of Bhaṭṭa (Kumārila), an antagonist of the Buddhist and heretic dialecticians, well versed in Artha-śāstra, Āyurveda, Astra-veda etc., proficient in Siddhānta, Tantra and Gaṇita, and called the second Varāha because of his special keenness for Astrology and Astronomy, having himself composed a work on the Horā-śāstra. He is said to have also composed a work on the Dharma-śāstra, which superseded the already existing texts, and, following Bhaṭṭa (*bhaṭṭoktanītyā*), to have written a guide to Mīmāṃsā in one thousand *nyāyas*.

Although exaggeration is usual in such eulogistic enumeration, we have the means of verifying at least a part of this remarkable catalogue of accomplishments. No work of Bhavadeva on the Horā-śāstra or Phala-saṃhitā has yet been discovered, but a fragment of his work on Mīmāṃsā is available. This is entitled *Tautātīta-mata-tilaka*[3] and is known from a fragmentary manuscript in the India Office Library. It discusses the *Tantra-vārttika* of Tautātīta or Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, the fragment covering only *Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtra* ii. 1. Bhavadeva's works on the Dharma-śāstra, however, are better known. These are, so far known, three in number and respectively embrace the three im-

p. 288, and references cited therein). Bālavalabhī is obviously a place-name which occurs as such in the commentary on Saṃdhyākara Nandin's *Rāma-carita* (p. 36), but the exact situation of which is unknown. A place called Vṛddhavalabhī, situated in the Gauḍa country, is mentioned in the colophon to a Ms of *Sarasvatī-deva-pratiṣṭhā-paddhati* of Trivikramasūri (Shastri, *Descriptive Cat. of ASB Mss*, iii, p. 529), which makes the meaning of Bāla in Bāla-valabhī intelligible. The word Bhujaṅga means 'a lover' or a Nāgaraka, and not a serpent, as M. Chakravarti and N. G. Majumdar are inclined to interpret (*JASB*, 1912, pp. 341-42).

1. R. L. Mitra's conjecture that this is the well known philosophical writer, Vācaspati Miśra, is unfounded. Six verses are ascribed to one Vācaspati in the Bengal anthology, *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, but as one of these verses (ii, 33.2) is quoted anonymously in *Daśa-rūpaka* (on ii, 29), he is probably a different person.

2. The Sāvarṇa-gotra, as well as Siddhala in Uttara-Rāḍha, is mentioned in the Belava copperplate of Bhojavarman (N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 21).

3. Eggeling, *op. cit.*, no. 2166|1591, p. 690. Another Ms probably of the same work noticed in *Triennial Cat. of Madras Govt. Mss Library* for 1919-22, p. 5527. The work is mentioned by Hall in his *Index to the Bibliography of Indian Philosophical System*, p. 170. Hemādri in his *Caturvarga*[o] (Ed. Bibl. Ind., p. 130) disapproves of Bhavadeva's explanation of some views of Kumārila. The Sūtras actually dealt with in the India Office Ms are ii, 1.1, 5, 9, 10, 13, 24, 30-35, 38, 40, 46-49.

portant branches of Ācāra, Vyavahāra and Prāyaścitta. The work on Vyavahāra or judicial procedure, called *Vyavahāra-tilaka*, is now lost; but it is known from citations in the *Vyavahāra-tattva* of Raghunandana,[1] the *Vīramitrodaya* of Mitra Miśra[2] and *Daṇḍa-viveka* of Vardhamāna.[3] The other Dharma-śāstra work is the *Prāyaścitta-nirūpaṇa*,[4] which deals in six chapters with the modes of expiation for various sins and offences. The first chapter (Vadha-pariccheda) concerns itself with the murder of men and women and slaughter of animals; the second (Bhakṣyābhakṣya-p°) treats of forbidden food and drink; the third (Steya-p°) discusses various kinds of theft; the fourth (Agamyāgamana-p°) is occupied with sexual union with forbidden persons; the fifth (Saṃsarga-p°) is devoted to such topics as taking of improper gift from outcasts, contracting of forbidden marriages, sale of forbidden food and contact of untouchable persons; while the sixth chapter (Kṛchra-p°) concludes with the discussion of expiatory rites and penances. It gives a fairly full treatment of the subject and cites more than sixty authorities.[5] The reputation which the work enjoyed is indicated by the respect with which it is cited by such Smṛti-writers as Vedācārya,[6] Govindānanda and Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa.[7] On the Sāmavedic rites and ceremonies relating to the Saṃskāras, Bhavavede wrote *Chāndoga-karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati*,[8] also variously called Daśa-karma-paddhati, Daśa-karma-dīpikā or Saṃskāra-paddhati. Its contents are devoted to Kasaṇḍiśā, Udīcya-karman, Viṣṭha, Garbhādhāna, Puṃsavana, Sīmantonnayana, Soṣyantī-homa, Jāta-karman, Niṣkramaṇa, Pauṣṭika, Anna-prāśana, Putra-mūrdhābhighrāna, Cūḍā-karaṇa, Upanayana, Samāvartana and Śālā-karman. From literary sources[9] Bhava-

1. Ed. Jīvānanda VIDYĀSĀGARA, ii, p. 207, also p. 208. A Ms entitled *Daittèètilaka* exists in the Varendra Research Society's collection (see the society's edition of Bhavadeva's *Prāyaścittanirūpaṇa*, introd. p. 2). The first Maṅgala-śloka of this work is identical with the opening Maṅgala-śloka of his *Chāndoga-karmānuṣṭhana*°, while the second verse refers to his Vyavahāra-tilaka; but it is a later fabrication passed off in Bhavadeva's name inasmuch as it quotes such later writers as Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura (14th century).

2. Ed. Chaukhamba Skt. Series, p. 85.

3. MITRA, *Notices*, p. 226, no. 1910. The work belongs to the latter half of the 15th century. It has been edited in GOS (1931) by KAMALA-KṚṢṆA Smṛti-tīrtha.

4. Also called °*prakaraṇa*. Ed. Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi 1927. Mss in EGGELING, iv, p. 554, no. 1725[561]; MITRA, *Notices*, ix, pp. 214-15, no. 3138, where an abstract of contents is given. Also Mss in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library, nos. 183-84. The colophon calls the author Bālavalabhī-bhujaṅga and Sāṃdhivigrahika.

5. For a list see *JASB*, 1912, p. 336; also index of works and authors to the printed edition.

6. For reference see KANE, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

7. In his *Prāyaścitta-saṃgraha* (EGGELING, op. cit., pp. 473, 555).

8. So named in the second introductory verse. Ms in EGGELING, *op. cit.*, p. 94, no. 452[5a] (cf. no. 394); in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library, no. 52; Bhandarkar Institute Mss no. 9 of 1896-98 and no. 263 of 1887-91. The epithet Bālavalabhī-bhujaṅga occurs in the colophon.

9. On this question see Mohanlal CHAKRAVARTI in *JASB*, 1912, pp. 342-45, KANE, *op. cit.*, pp. 305-06.

deva's date would be earlier than the first quarter of the 12th and even the last quarter of the 11th century; and this is supported by the palæography and internal evidence of the Bhuvaneśvar inscription[1] concerning Bhavaveda.[2]

To this period probably belongs Jīmūtavāhana, who is indeed the first of the three leading authorities of the Bengal school of Dharma-śāstra, the other two being Raghunandana and Śūlapāṇi who came later. Extremely divergent opinions, however, have been held on the question of his date, and he has been variously assigned to periods ranging from the 11th to the 16th century.[3] It is clear, however, that he could not have been earlier than the last quarter of the 11th century because he mentions Dhāreśvara Bhoja and Govindarāja; and since he is himself quoted by Śūlapāṇi, Vācaspati Miśra and Raghunandana, he could not have been later than the middle of the 15th century. Relying on astronomical as well as literary evidence, Monmohan CHAKRAVARTI would place him tentatively in the beginning of the 12th century, while P. V. KANE would approximate the date still further to a period between 1090 and 1130 A.D. Of Jīmūtavāhana's personal history not much is known. In the colophons of his works he is described as Pāribhadrīya Mahāmahopādhyāya, while at the conclusion of his *Vyavahāra-mātṛkā* and *Dāya-bhāga* he informs us that he was born of the Pāribhadra family (Kula). It is said that this name belongs to a section of Rāḍhīya Brahmans, still called Pārihāl or Pāri-gāi.[4] An astronomical reference in his *Kāla-viveka* (p. 290) appears to support the inference that Jīmūtavāhana belonged to Rāḍha.

Of Jīmūtavāhana's three works,[5] all of which have been printed, the most well known and important is his *Dāya-bhāga*, which is the basis and paramount authority on the Hindu law of inheritance, partition and Strī-

1. N. G. MAJUMDAR, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

2. Our Bhavadeva should be distinguished from several other later Bhavadevas who also wrote on Dharma-śāstra, viz., Bhavadeva, author of *Dāna-dharma-prakāśa* (middle of the 17th century), Bhavadeva, author of *Smṛti-candrikā* (first half of the 18th century) and Bhavadeva, author of *Saṃbandha-viveka* (on Sapiṇḍa relationship). These works do not mention either the epithet Bālavalabhī-bhujaṅga or the official designation Sāṃdhi-vigrahika of Bhavadeva.

3. For an examination of the various dates, see Monmohan CHAKRAVARTI in *JASB*, 1915, pp. 321-27, Panchanan GHOSH in 26 *Calcutta Law Journal*, pp. 171 (journal portion) and KANE, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-27.

4. See Monmohan CHAKRAVARTI in *JASB*, 1915, pp. 320-21. H. P. SHASTRI (*Descriptive Catalogue* of *ASB Mss.* iii, p. xv) thinks that since the Pāribhāls were reduced in status by Ballālasena, Jīmūtavāhana could not have paraded his being a Pāribhadrīya unless he flourished before Ballālasena.

5. It appears that these three treatises were meant to form a part of an ambitious work on Dharma-śāstra called Dharma-ratna; hence the colophons read: *iti dharma-ratne dāya-bhāgaḥ* (or *kāla-vivekaḥ*, as the case may be). The ignoring of this fact has led to inaccuracies in the description of Jīmūtavāhana's works in some catalogues of manuscripts. Thus, the *Dharma-ratna* mentioned in MITRA, *Notices*, v, pp. 297-98 (no. 1974) and in the *Descriptive Cat.* of Madras Govt. Oriental Library, vi, pp. 2385-88, nos. 3172-74 are respectively the *Kāla-viveka* and the *Dāya-bhāga*.

dhana in Bengal, except in cases where the *Mitākṣarā*, from which it differs in some fundamental points,[1] is applicable. The work is widely known through H. T. Colebrooke's English translation[2] and has been often printed in Bengal. Its popularity and importance are indicated by the large number of commentaries[3] which exist, including one by Raghunandana who has utilised it also in his own authoritative works. The work defines and discusses the general principles of Dāya or inheritance and proceeds to the exposition of father's power over ancestral property, partition of father's and grandfather's property and division among sons after father's death. It then deals with the definition, classification and devolution of woman's property (Strīdhana), after which it treats of persons excluded from partition and inheritance on grounds of disability, of property which is impartible, of the order of succession to sonless persons, of reunion, of partition of coparcenary property concealed but subsequently discovered, and of settlement of partition disputes by the court. It is a work of great learning and acuteness, and freely criticises a large number of authorities,[4] ancient and modern, some of whom are not known otherwise.

His *Vyavahāra-mātṛkā*,[5] as its very name implies, deals with judicial procedure. Its importance is evidenced by references to it by Raghunandana and Vācaspati Miśra.[6] It divides the subject into four Pādas, with an introductory exposition (Vyavahāra-mukha) dealing with the eighteen titles of law, the function and qualification of the judge (Prāḍvivāka), the different grades of court and the duties of the Sabhyas. Of the four stages of Vyavahāra, the first (Bhāṣā-pāda) deals with the plaint (Pūrva-pakṣa) of the plaintiff (Arthin) and with surety (Pratibhū); the second (Uttara-pāda) treats of the four kinds of reply (Uttara) by the defendant (Pratyarthin); the third (Kriyā-pāda) is devoted to proof or burden of proof (Kriyā) and various kinds of evidence, human (Mānuṣī) and divine (Daivī), the author purposely omitting the divine which consists of trial by ordeal; and the fourth (Nirṇaya-pāda) concludes with the topic of the decision and order of the

1. See KANE, *op. cit.*, p. 323 for a summary of these distinctive doctrines. Jīmūtavāhana does not quote or mention the *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara, but he appears to know the doctrines of the school.

2. Reprinted, Calcutta 1910. Edited Golapchandra SARKAR Sastri, Calcutta 1883, along with COLEBROOKE's translation of the *Mitākṣarā*.

3. The work was edited by Bhārata Candra ŚIROMAṆI with seven commentaries. 2 vols., Calcutta 1863-66 (an earlier edition with the commentary of Kṛṣṇa Tarkālaṃkāra, Calcutta 1850, in Bengali characters). In some editions, as for instance in that of Jīvānanda VIDYĀSĀGARA, the work is divided into sections but there is no such division in the Mss.

4. For a discussion of these citations see M. CHAKRAVARTI, *op. cit.*, pp. 319-20, KANE, *op. cit.*, pp. 323 f.

5. Ed. Asutosh Mookerjee in *Memoirs of ASB*, iii, no. 5, Calcutta 1910-14. This name of the work is given in the first introductory verse, and is found in later citations; but colophons name it variously as Nyāya-mātṛkā or Nyāya-ratnamālikā.

6. For references see M. CHAKRAVARTI and KANE in the works cited.

court. The work abounds in quotations,[1] calculated as about six hundred in number, and proves the learning and dialectic abilities of the author. Jīmūta-vāhana's third work, *Kāla-viveka*,[2] declares in its second introductory verse its object of elucidating the topic of Kāla or appropriate time for particular ceremonies, which has not been properly understood and treated by previous writers, seven of whom are directly mentioned in one verse.[3] It deals accordingly with the question of appropriate season, month, day and hour for the performance of religious duties and ceremonies, the determination of intercalary months, the suitability of lunar and solar months, and the auspicious time for various festivals, including the Kojāgara and the Durgotsava. The work shows the same skill and learning of the author and abounds in quotations, references and criticisms of previous authors, while its reputation is indicated by its wide recognition by such later writers as Raghunandana, Śūlapāṇi, Vācaspati Miśra and Govindānanda.

1. Discussed by M. CHAKRAVARTI and KANE, as above.
2. Ed. Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1905.
3. P. 380. They are Jitendriya, Śaṅkhadhara, Andhuka, Saṃbhrama, Harivaṃśa, Dhavala and Yogloka.

A NOTE ON A UNIQUE IMAGE OF YAMA

By

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The object of this note is to bring to the notice of scholars a sculpture of Yama, which is so very common in Gujarāt and which at the same time has never before been noticed and illustrated in the standard works on Hindu Iconography. The accompanying plate shows an image of Yama which is seen as a *dik-pāla* in the main niche of the southern *maṇḍovara* of the famous temple of Hāṭakeśvara, the Lord of Gold, the tutelary deity of the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas, in Vaḍnagar, an ancient historical town in the Mehsānā District of the Baroda State. Such images are to be seen in many Śiva temples in Baroda proper as well. The photo illustrates Yama in the so-called *tribhaṅga* pose, with a crown, circular ear-rings, necklaces, anklets and sandals. He has four hands and holds a *gadā* in the upper right hand a pen or *lekhanī* in lower right hand. A bird, possibly a cock, is perching on the rod he holds in his upper left hand and a book appears in his lower left hand. There are two female chowrie-bearers standing cross-legged on his sides. A *mahiṣa* (?) stands between his legs. The folds of his upper garment are visible.

It was originally not possible to identify this image as no *dhyāna* fully or partially agreeing with it was traceable in most of the standard works on icoonography which were published upto 1935, when I came across this image during my tour to enlist monuments in the Kherālu taluk of the Mehsānā prant of Baroda. I was helped in the correct identification of the sculpture by the *Devatamūrtiprakaraṇam and the Rūpamaṇḍanam* published later on. Yama, except as a *dik-pāla*, is rarely described independently. In the description of the *Kālāri* aspect of Śiva,[1] Yama is described as paying homage to Śiva with two hands. The *Aṁśumad-bhedāgama*[2] lays down that Yama should have two hands. This and other details do not tally with our image as illustrated in the accompanying photograph. However, its one detail, viz. द्वौ चामरधृते स्त्रियौ —there should be two females with chowries—is observed in our sculpture. The *Viṣṇudharmottariyam*[3] describes Yama seated on a *makiṣa*, with Dhūmorṇā, his consort, seated in his left lap. Though he has four hands, he is said to hold different weapons, e.g. *triśūla* and *Akṣamālā* in the left hands. His secretary, Chitragupta, is said to carry a pen and a book—a feature noticeable in our image of Yama. The *dhyānas* of this deity given in the *Devatāmūrti-prakaraṇam and Rūpamaṇḍanam*[4] of Maṇḍana

1. T. Gopinath Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, pt. 2, *pratimālakṣaṇāni*, Skt. text, p. 79.

2. *Ibid*, page 256. (Skt. text).

3. *Ibid*, page 527.

4. *Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇam and Rūpmaṇḍanam*; (Calcutta Sanskrit series Vol. XII.). By U. M. Sankhyatirtha; pp. 72 and 11.

(15th cen. A.D.) almost completely agree with the description of our sculpture given above. These *dhyānas* are :—

लेखनीं पुस्तकं हस्ते कुक्कुटं दण्डमेव च ।
महामहिषमारूढः कृष्णाङ्गश्च यमो भवेत् ॥

[देवतामूर्तिप्रकरणम् अ० ४, श्लो० ६१]

'(He should have) in his (four) hands a pen, a book, a cock and a rod. Dark of complexion, Yama should ride a big buffalo.'

An almost identical *dhyāna* from the *Rūpamaṇḍanam* is as follows :—

लेखनीं पुस्तकं धत्ते कुक्कुटं दण्डमेव च ।
महामहिषमारूढो यमः कृष्णाङ्ग ईरितः ॥

अध्याय २, श्लो० ३३ ॥

One slight variation is that the upper right hand of the deity of our sculpture holds a *gadā* whereas in the upper left hand we see the *kukkuṭa* perched on the *daṇḍa* or the rod.

Yama[1] is described in the *Rg-veda* as the son of Vivasvat and Saraṇyu. He is described as the first man who died and was an object of terror. It is implied that Yama is a god. He is not expressly called a god but only a king (*R. V.* IX.11.8) who rules the dead. In later mythology he is reduced to the position of a *dik-pāla* and the guardian of the *mṛtyu-loka*. He is the acknowledged judge of the dead and metes out punishments. As the dispenser of justice he is called Dharmarāja and this aspect of his is fully borne out in our sculpture by the *lekhanī* and *patra* he is shown holding in his lower two hands. Death is the path of Yama (*R.V.* I.38.5) and in *R.V.* I.165.4 he appears to be identical with death (*mṛtyu*).[2] A bird either the owl (*ulūka*) or pigeon (*kapota*) (*R.V.* X.165.4) is said to be the messenger of Yama. This fact may account for the presence of a bird, possibly mistaken for a cock in later period, perching on a rod in his hand. Thus we see that Vedic tradition is continued in later mythology with slight and inevitable changes.

It will be clear from the above discussion that for correct identification of Hindu images in Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwāḍ especially, works like the *Devatā-mūrtiprakaraṇam* and the *Rūpamaṇḍanam* of the eminent architect Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana are quite indispensible and very reliable. Sculptures difficult of identification can be accurately identified with the help of these works of Maṇḍana, whose treatises on iconography give *dhyānas* of certain rare images which cannot be found described in other works on Indian Icoonography or which are peculiar to this part of India. Maṇḍana as also his father Śrīkṣhetra were under the patronage of Mahārāṇā Kumbha (15th cen. A.D.) of Mewāḍ, who was a famous builder of monuments.

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1. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*; T. Gopinath Rao's, Vol. II, pt. 1 p. 525
2. *Vedic Mythology* by A. A. MACDONELL, p. 172.



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SCULPTURE ON THE OUTSIDE OF A WALL OF THE HĀṬAKEŚVARA TEMPLE, VADNAGAR.

YOGAVĀSISTHA ON THE MEANS OF PROOF

By

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Introductory Remarks.

The second chapter of the *Yogāvāsiṣṭha* entitled "Mumukṣu-prakaraṇa" is as it were the key-chapter of that work because although its immediate and declared purpose is to lay down the qualifications which an aspirant must acquire before he can be initiated into the teaching of Vasiṣṭha contained in the remaining four chapters, which it does in four Sargas,[1] it also contains a Sarga[2] in which the total number of chapters in the work, the total number of stanzas therein, the doctrine expounded therein, the name of each chapter including even the previous one, the number of stanzas therein and the nature of the contents thereof and the inter-connection between those of each of them, have been stated. Over and besides that it contains 4 Sargas[3] intended to prove that Puruṣārtha (human-effort) if well-directed and backed up by a strong will must succeed in spite of obstacles of all sorts being thrown in the way by Daiva (fate) because the latter is nothing else but an imagined result of actions in a previous birth and such a result can be avoided if actions are done in this birth resolutely and persistently, without believing that there is any other or higher source of power than the self itself, not only on the physical but on other planes as well. This subject is intimately connected with that of the Pramāṇas, the means of cognition, because after the acquisition of the necessary qualifications by a persistent self-effort backed up by a grim determination, what one has to acquire is correct knowledge, which is capable of leading an aspirant to the desired goal. In order that such knowledge may be acquired it is necessary to know which is or are the unfailing means of proof. This author has discussed that subject in two of the Sargas in this chapter.[4] The accepted means of proof are (1) 'Pratyakṣa' (direct perception), (2) 'Anumāna' (inference) (3) 'Upamāna' (analogy) and (4) 'Śabda' (authoritative word). I propose to set forth the views of this author with regard to the nature of each of them and their relative values.

(1). *Direct Perception.*

2. He says that just as the ocean is the principal source of all water so Pratyakṣa amongst the means of proof is the principal source of knowledge.[5]

1. *Yogavāsiṣṭha* II. 13 to 16.
2. *Ibid.* 17.
3. *Ibid.* 4 to 9.
4. *Ibid.* 18 and 19.
5. *Ibid.* 19. 16.

According to him this is so not only in the matters pertaining to Vyavahāra (our daily intercourse) but also in those relating to Paramārtha (the highest object of man's attainment), *i.e. to say*, not only in the matter of cognition of the objects of the phenomenal world but also in that of the absolute reality. The process of reasoning by which he demonstrates this proposition is indeed subtle and original.

3. It may be summed up thus :—According to the wise that knowledge can be deemed to have been derived from direct perception which arises from the contact of an object with the eye which is the principal organ of sense-perception. These are however outward manifestations of an inner reality, which becomes both the Pramāṭā (knower) and the Prameya (thing to be known), the subject and the object. The subject is of the nature of the consciousness "I" and the object is of the nature of a Vṛtti (modification) of the mind, which itself is also a product of a Vṛtti which had originally arisen in the pure consciousness. This Vṛtti, whether it arises in the individual mind or as it had arisen in the universal mind, is known as the 'Saṁvit.' In the latter it had arisen without any specific reason but once having arisen it had given rise to numerous Saṁkalpas and Vikalpas (changing thoughts) and had thereby given motion to it, as the result whereof, just as water itself assumes the forms of bubbles, ripples, waves &c., by the action of wind, diverse objects of the material world had come into existence and become manifest. These objects consist of beings in different grades of development. In their material forms they seem to be distinct and of variegated natures but these forms are like mere bubbles, having only a transient existence, which they owe to their substratum, the underlying reality.

4. Thus from the standpoint of the Absolute both the sentient and insentient creatures are unreal, mere conventional names and forms, but since the absolute permeates all of them they partake of its nature in a greater or less degree and therefore we can avail ourselves of the knowledge about them in order to rise from the known to the unknown, from the manifest to the unmanifest. Such knowledge arises in the case of an ordinary individual from the contact of his sense of perception with an external object but that is only a physical act and knowledge as such does not arise unless it is followed by a psychical process, which differs in the case of different individuals according to their psychical development. An ordinary individual is, on seeing an object, reminded merely of a similar object which he had seen or heard of. He has an eye only on its outer form, not its inner kernel. A philosopher, on the other hand, has his eye on the latter, which is the same in the case of all objects, physical or metaphysical. Thus, whenever he sees any object even with his physical eye, he is reminded of the First Cause (Parama Mahat), which, as said above, had assumed the form of objects. This does not mean that he is incapable of dealing with the object as such but only means that his mind remains placid even on seeing it, deals with it only so far as it may be necessary for an immediate purpose and does not allow his mind to be coloured by the impression produced therein, so that it may not disturb him in his

repose when it is no longer necessary. As for himself too, he knows that the Pramātā (Knower) in himself, making himself felt as self-consciousness in the form "I" is also an assumed form of the same First Cause. Thus unlike an ordinary man, a philosopher has even in objective perception an Anubhūti (experience) of the self by the self. In this work therefore the term 'Pratyakṣa' has been used in the sense of 'Anubhūti' i.e. an actual realization of the truth. And just as one sees things externally when the senses are turned towards the external world one can also see several things internally when one's senses are drawn inwards, as in the case of the dream-experience, which is common to all human beings. The only difference between such vision and a dream-vision is that the soul is in the sub-conscious state in the latter and in the conscious state in the former. The consciousness can be kept up even when the senses are drawn inwards, by the cultivation of a habit of deep thinking, while in such a state (Abhyāsa). But one who cultivates that habit does so not for the sake of seeing the abstract forms of objects but for realizing by intense thinking the substratum underlying them. He therefore does not take them at their face-value and satisfy his greed in that manner but cultivates the habit of detachment (Vairāgya) by reflecting over their source, mode of origin &c. By this dual means, Abhyāsa and Vairāgya, he ultimately reaches the First Cause, which appears to him inwardly as having a body made up of the universe extended in space and time. On reaching it he finds that there is no distinction between himself and that object, his own individuality merging in the universality of the object, and the universal consciousness itself alone survives in the form "I myself am the cause of all that was, is and will be, there is naught else except my self." This kind of consciousness arises then as confidently as the consciousness "I exist" in the waking state. This therefore is also 'Pratyakṣa' of the nature of 'Anubhūti.' Without such direct perception or actual realization, all knowledge however derived, is a burden on the brain, a mere intellectual exercise which increases egoism instead of decreasing and ultimately dissolving it. Without its dissolution true knowledge cannot arise as shown in this work by the illustrations of Śikhidhvaja and Kaca in the first half of the Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa.[1] This is the reason why this author says that 'Pratyakṣa' is the principal Pramāṇa (instrument of knowledge).[2]

2. *Inference.*

5. Consistently with the above view he says that "Anumāna (inference) and others," by which he probably means 'Upamāna' (analogy), are the offshoots of 'Pratyakṣa'.[3] It can also be seen from the etymology of those words that the first means "that which follows the Māna" *i.e.* the 'Pratyakṣa' and the second, "that which is subsidiary to the Māna" and that therefore when the terms were first coined these two means of proof must have been

1. *Yogavāsiṣṭha* II. 19. 18-32, IV. 77-111.
2. *Ibid.* II. 19. 16-17.
3. *Ibid.* 33.

intended to be made use of as auxiliaries to the principal means of proof. Even from the ways in which they come into operation they appear to be so, because we draw an inference as to a thing not before us because it is removed from our ken either by space or time, only from some data before us in addition to our past experience based on direct perception at some other time and place and we try to give an idea of a thing which is not familiar by drawing a comparison between it and a thing which is familiar and therefore perceived several times before, on the strength of a property which is common to both. It thus appears that this author's view that the principal means of knowledge is the 'Pratyakṣa' and that 'Anumāna' and 'Upamāna' are its offshoots is in accord with the accepted notions about the nature of those means but that his view as to what is meant by 'Pratyakṣa' is peculiar to himself.

6. Although thus he does not, like the Cārvākas, disapprove of taking the assistance of the means of knowledge other than direct perception, he has not discussed in his work the different problems connected with knowledge derived by inference. The reasons for not doing so may perhaps be that the Pratyakṣa in his wider sense involves to some extent a consideration of the method of simple reasoning by inference, and that an elaborate discussion of that subject was fruitless and unsettled the mind instead of settling it in a definite position, which is the purpose of all philosophical thought.[1]

3. *Analogy.*

7. He has however a lot to say about the method of evaluation of an argument by analogy drawn on the strength of a common attribute between two objects, as he has made a very lavish use of illustrations drawn from a variety of the objects of our daily experience. This is as it should be because in the commencement of philosophical studies abstract principles are not easily grasped if stated baldly but if they are supported by comparisons drawn between generally-known objects and the unknown object to be made known, the principles are quickly grasped and progress becomes easy. This author therefore commences his discussion as regards the utility of this means of proof by defining what is called a 'Dṛṣṭānta' (an illustration). He says that the wise call that a 'Dṛṣṭānta' which yields a fruit in the form of the beneficial knowledge of a thing which has not been seen or experienced through that of one which has been seen or experienced, because an invisible object cannot be known without a 'Dṛṣṭānta' just as one cannot see household furniture in a house at night-time without a lamp. Each of those illustrations which have been given in this work relates to a thing which has a cause but they lead to the knowledge of that which is without cause because there is a relation of cause and effect between that which is compared and that with which it is compared, a kind of relation which exists in the case of all objects but since Brahma is an exception to that rule owing to its being

1. *Yogavāśiṣṭha*, II. 18. 67.

without cause, any illustration used while imparting a teaching as to that must be understood to have a common attribute only in one part of it.[1] He then considers an objection of a rival school to the effect that Brahma being without form, an illustration of a thing having a form cannot lead to any knowledge of the former which can cause deliverance from bondage. In refutation thereof he says in effect that the illustrations are given not because we believe that the objects of this world from which they are drawn are eternal or real like Brahma but because the nature of Brahma is partially reflected therein and so they are real so long as they seem to exist, like the objects appearing in a dream and have a connection with the ultimate reality and produce a desired result with reference thereto just as meritorious acts done even in a dream, in meditation &c., do produce results in the material world. Moreover it is not possible to get any other illustration except those of objects produced for the time being in dreams, and of those produced by imagination, contemplation &c., in the waking state because the nature of the phenomena as a whole is under consideration and because there is nothing which can be deemed to be similar to the ultimate reality. The illustrations do not agree with the thing to be illustrated in all respects but that is not essential also even when the objects of the world are compared with one another, as when a jem is compared with a lamp, what is meant is that the gem has a lustre similar to that of a lamp, not also that it has in it things corresponding to oil, wick, &c. Therefore it is no use raising frivolous objections to this method of proof.[2]

4. *Authoritative Word.*

8. Lastly, we come to a very debatable means of proof, namely, the 'Śabda-pramāṇa.' The 'Śabda' (word) here meant is not that of anybody but that of the Āptas *i.e.* of those on whom we can rely for our guidance. Such a word may be either written or oral. Under the first category would come all the Vedas and Śāstras and under the second the oral instructions imparted by teachers. The recognised writers of the Advaita Vedānta school give a preponderating weight to this means of knowledge. But the author of this work gives such weight, as we have already seen, to direct perception, though by such perception he does not mean physical perception of a concrete object by the ocular organ but the direct realization of the First Cause, which is the source of both the subject and the object, by the individual soul purged of all the crusts of imaginary sheaths foolishly adhered to for eons and eons.[4] This does not however mean that this author approves of the method

1. *Yogavāsiṣṭha* II. 18. 50-54.
2. *Ibid.* II. 18. 55-65.
3. *Br. sū.* I. 1. 3 and II, 1. 11 and Śaṅkara's Bhāṣya thereon, Vācaspati's gloss on the latter &c., (N. S. P. edition, pp. 95 to 100 and 448-49); also Rāmānuja's Bhāṣya with the gloss of Abhyankar thereon (Jñānprakāśa Press edition, 1904) pp. 192-206.
4. *Yogavāsiṣṭha* II. 19. 16-33.

of arriving at the truth by personal effort unaided by a study of any ancient works or by instructions from a teacher. He is alive to the danger of men of different grades of intellect arriving thereby at different conclusions to which Śaṅkara draws attention while commenting on *Brahmasūtra* II. 1. 11. He therefore draws a distinction between Pauruṣa (human effort) which is "Ucchāstra" (contrary to the scripture) and that which is "Śāstrita" (approved by the scripture) and states that the former leads to a harmful object and the latter to the highest object[1] and further on says that if an effort approved by the scripture leads to a harmful object it must be inferred that one's previous effort (luck) likely to do harm is more powerful and that in that case one should not give up the attempt but make a grim determination to succeed and grinding one's teeth overpower the harmful effort by the beneficial one. At another stage too while expounding the topic of human effort he says that the wise call that 'Pauruṣa' which consists of the movement of the limbs following upon that of the mind after a desire arises in the heart to attain the lasting and well-known fruit, which is conceived as the result of discharging such religious duties appropriate to the province in which one lives, as are expounded in the Śāstras and as are gathered from the conduct of the good and that knowing the result of such human effort as the 'Puruṣatva,' one should attain the highest fruit as so conceived, looking to one's personal efforts alone for that purpose though it may be aided by a study of good scriptures and by association with good and learned persons.[2] As to what kinds of scriptures and good persons are to be resorted to, he later on says that the wise call that 'Paramārtha' (highest object) which consists of the 'Ānanda' (exultation) arising from an unending complacency and that those scriptures and good people should be resorted to from whom such 'Paramārtha' can be secured.[3] As to how the benefit derived from such an application and the individual intellect developed by personal effort aid each other in the attainment of the goal, he says that they act and react on each other and contribute to mutual progress with the lapse of time like a lake and the lotuses therein. Lest one should hug the delusion that this effort is required to be made for a very limited period only, he says that the goal is reached as the result of such effort only if continued right from childhood onwards and in order that the reader may not feel disheartened by that assertion he adds that Viṣṇu had conquered the Daityas, established order out of chaos in this universe and evolved these worlds not through the force of Daiva but through personal efforts.[5] Then after explaining how the mind can be persuaded to take to this path he lays down a time upto which one should regulate one's conduct according to the dictates of the Śāstras and teachers and that limit is the stage of spiritual development in which the

1. *Yogavāsiṣṭha* II. 5. 4.
2. *Ibid.* II. 5. 8-9.
3. *Ibid.* II. 6. 40-41.
4. *Ibid.* II. 7. 28.
5. *Ibid.* II. 7. 29-31.

mind acquires an equilibrium and remains unruffled by objects of sense and the knowledge of the essence is perfectly assimilated. Once that stage is attained one stands unmoved by the disturbance of mind likely to be created by the Śrutis and Smṛtis like the ocean without the mount Mandara in it.[1]

9. There still remains the question which Śāstras this author approves of and whom he calls good men. As to that although he lays special stress on Puruṣārtha and claims to teach a doctrine of mixed knowledge and action, which Vasiṣṭha having learnt from Brahmā had, like Sanatkumāra, Nārada and others formerly imparted to royal sages of yore,[2] the goal according to him is to realise the purport of the Mahāvākyas, "Tattvamasi," "Aham Brahmāsmi" and others.[3] Moreover, although it is but rarely that he cites authorities, he has expressly mentioned "all the Vedāntas (Upaniṣads) such as the Bṛhadāraṇyaka and others"[4] as an authority for one of his propositions, for another he relies upon a "Śruti,"[5] at a third place he calls the instruction given by Vasiṣṭha as "the purport of the Vedāntas,"[6] at a fourth place he says :— "How can the Ātmā which has been proclaimed by the sonorous verses of the Vedas, Vedāntas &c., be forgotten once its realization has occurred,"[7] at a fifth Vasiṣṭha says that Dāśūra instructed a son of a sylvan deity born on account of his boon with *inter alia*, conclusions drawn from the Vedas and Vedāntas,[8] at a sixth Bhuśuṇḍa calls Vasiṣṭa, "the knower of all the Vedāntas,"[9] at a seventh Rāma cites the authority of the Vedas, Āgamas, Purāṇas and Smṛtis in support of the proposition that the word of a Guru is an injunction,[10] at an eighth he cites the authority of the Śrutis, and the Smṛtis besides the common experience of men of all ages as to a dream-experience narrated by him and says that if the Cārvāka view is accepted the Purāṇas, Itihāsas, Smṛtis &c., together with the Vedas would be rendered purposeless[11] and lastly, the author seems to have incorporated certain Upaniṣad texts *ad hoc* in his work at certain places,[12] taken pithy sentences from others[13] and to have as it were, written a Vārttika on certain Upaniṣad texts.[14] These citations and allusions, few as they are in view of the vast extent of the work, are, in my opinion, sufficient to prove that Ānandabodha Yati, who has commented on this work, was on solid ground in assuming that the author thereof not only accepted the Śrutis, Smṛtis, Purāṇas and Itihāsas, as authoritative works but in addition to that believed that there was only one consistent doctrine underlying all of them inspite of some minor differences in details and that the said doctrine was the same

1. *Yogavāsiṣṭha* II. 9. 41 ; 19, 11.
2. *Ibid.* II. 10. 11-44 ; 11. 1-19.
3. *Ibid.* II. 18. 67.
4. *Ibid.* V. 71. 57.
5. *Ibid.* III. 61. 34.
6. *Ibid.* VII. 127, 3.
7. *Ibid.* V. 36, 20.
8. *Ibid.* IV. 51. 32.
9. *Ibid.* VII. 24. 11.
10. *Ibid.* VII. 128, 103.
11. *Ibid.* VI. 2.79, 16 and 22.
12. *Ibid.* III. 7. 10.
13. *Ibid.* III. 5. 5.
14. *Ibid.* III. 5, 7, 112 &c.

as had been elaborated by the orthodox Vedāntins of the Aupaniṣad school, each in his own way, and in view of the requirements of his own age, namely, that the purport of the Upaniṣad teaching lay in the essential identity of the individual soul with the supreme, which has been summed up in the four Mahāvākyas, "Tattvamasi" and others. If still further proof were needed it is afforded by the facts that times without number this author has designated the ultimate reality pervading the universe as Brahma and the Absolute as Parath Brahma, and that he has made a very lavish use of the episodes contained in some of the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads *e.g.* those of Janaka, Bhuśuṇḍa and Uddālaka and in some of the Itihāsas and Purāṇas such as those of Arjuna, Prahlāda, Śukra, Kaca, Gādhi, Viśvāmitra, Nandi, Marutta and others. Ānandbodha has also quoted some stanzas from Chapter XV of the *Āditya Purāṇa* in which there is a reference to a work which was in the form of a dialogue between Rāma and Vasiṣṭha and the substance of the teaching embodied wherein was that knowledge was not an attribute of the self but was identical with it, that it was eternal, all-pervading and tranquil and that it was the self of all animate and inanimate beings which were one in essence and brought into existence as separate entities only by imagination.[1] I too have discovered that there are many common stanzas between the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* and the *Mauktikopaniṣat*, a decidedly very late Upaniṣad and come to the conclusion that the latter must be the borrower.[2] Lastly Ātmasukha and Mummaḍideva, who have written commentaries on the *Laghu Yogavāsiṣṭha*, have also interpreted the text thereof throughout as expounding the doctrine of the Aupaniṣadas, Vidyāraṇya in his works, *Pañcadaśī* and *Jīvanmuktiviveka* and Madhusūdana Saraswati in his *Siddhāntabindu*, have accepted this work as an authoritative work of the Advaita doctrine and taken copious extracts therefrom. This evidence goes to establish that the ortho-

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1. *Ānandabodha's Commentary on Y. V.* I. 1. 18. (N. S. P. edition pp. 4-5).

2. For instance vide *M. U.* II. wherein after the remark "Atra ślokā bhavanti" several stanzas are quoted which on even a superficial comparison can be confidently believed to have been taken bodily from the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* e.g. *M.U.* II. 1 is the same as *YV.* II. 5. 4., *M.U.* II. 2-4. have a close resemblance with *Y.V.* II. 9. 25-27, *M.U.* II. 5. with *Y.V.* II. 9. 30-31, *M.U.* II. 7-8 are almost identical with *Y.V.* II. 9. 32-33 and 35, *M.U.* II. 10-15 with *Y.V.* V. 92. 17-23, *M.U.* II. 15 with *Y.V.* V. 92. 15, *M.U.* II. 26 with *Y.V.* V. 91. 53-54, *M.U.* II. 27 with *Y.V.* V. 91. 48, *M.U.* II. 29 with *Y.V.* V. 92. 26, *M.U.* II. 32-37 with *Y.V.* V. 90. 4, 15 20, 23, *M.U. II.* 43-47 with *Y.V.* V. 92. 33-39, *M.U.* II. 48 with *Y.V.* V. 91. 14, *M.U.* II. 57-60 with *Y.V.* V. 91. 29-32., *M.U.* II. 61 with *Y.V.* I. 3. 11-13 and son on. Besides these there are certain stanzas in the former in which whole distiches seem to have been taken bodily from the latter. The differences that appear between some of the parallel stanzas and in the order in which they appear in both the works are attributable to no other cause except that mentioned by me in my articles on the date of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* (*Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference, Baroda* pp. 15-30, and *Poona Orientalist*, April 1938, pp. 29-44) namely, that there must be a different and earlier recension of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* than that commented upon by Ānadabodha, namely the *Devadūtokta Saṁhitā*.

dox Vedāntins of earlier dates than that of Ānandabodha were convinced that the author of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* was one of their class, for otherwise they would not have made use of extracts and summaries made from that work, and that therefore apart from the above internal evidence, Ānandabodha had a good reason for taking it for granted that the doctrine of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* was one of the many ways in which the orthodox belief, that the purport of the Upaniṣads lay in teaching the essential identity of the individual and the supreme souls, had been interpreted upto the time of its author. This conclusion does not exclude the possibility of the existence of a difference between that doctrine and that of one branch of the Śaṅkara school headed by Sureśvara as regards the interpretation of Śaṅkara's dictum that salvation can arise only through knowledge. The author of this work may therefore have to be classed either with those of the other branch of that school headed by Vācaspati Miśra, if he was at all a follower of Śaṅkara. Judging from certain data mentioned in my paper on "The Date and Place of Origin of the Yogavāsiṣṭha," referred to in foot-note 2 on p. 292, my present view is that he was not. There are also other reliable data leading to that conclusion. That point however requires a more elaborate elucidation than I can make in this paper. Nor is it necessary to do so here as the issue at present is only whether the author of this work was an Advaitin of the orthodox school or an apostate. What has been stated above is enough for demonstrating that he was one of the former class.

10. Although that was so, it is a point worthy of note that he was not a blind respecter of the scriptures or of persons. Like a thorough rationalist he says that the guidance given by that scripture alone should be accepted which puts forth reasons in support of the propositions contained therein while one which does not do so should be shunned even though propounded by a Ṛṣi and that even a word of a child, if such, should be accepted while that which is not such should be shunned even if it is uttered by Brahmā, for, "who would not overpower one, who having an extraordinary attachment towards old things, drinks the water of a well saying that it alone is drinkable by him because the well belongs to his father, disregarding the water of the Ganges in front of him?"[1] Reverting to the same subject in Chapter V. wherein there is the episode of Prahlāda tending to show that it is rather the grace of God than self-effort that leads to salvation, the author explains that Prahlāda was a Mahātmā, that whatever he achieved he did by personal effort alone, that the soul of man is Nārāyaṇa himself, being related to him like oil to its seed and even like whiteness to a cloth and fragrance to a flower, that the words 'Viṣṇu,' and 'Ātmā,' are synonymous like the words 'Viṭapī' and 'Pādapa,' that the soul named Prahlāda was impelled by the soul himself,

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1. *Yogavāsiṣṭha* II. 18. 2-4.

i.e. by his Parā Śakti, to become devoted to Viṣṇu, that he himself having made himself an object of contemplation understood the nature of the mind, that even Viṣṇu is not able to impart knowledge to one who cannot think about his own self even though he may have propitiated Him for a long time and may be extremely devoted to Him, for, in the realization of the self the principal factor is contemplation about one's self made by self-effort, that this is accomplished by vigorously bringing under control one's senses, which again can be done only by putting into action one's own inherent powers and by no other method, that if the Lord were revealing himself to any being without personal effort, there seems no reason why he does not release from bondage the beasts and birds, that similarly if a Guru can make one cross the ocean of misery without one's own effort there is no reason why he can not help a tame camel or bullock to cross it, that the fact is that nothing of importance which is achieved through one's own self on bringing the mind under control can be achieved through Hari or through a Guru or through external objects, that one's own self becomes the source of all the powers after the serpent of the senses is brought into control by a mind devoted to the goal and weaned from the objects of sense-perception and that therefore what one is required to do is to be devoted to one's self and to worship one's self, so that one can realise one's self by itself and repose in it, devotion to Viṣṇu having been prescribed only for the purpose of turning to the right direction the minds of those dull-headed men who are not inclined to study the scripture, make a personal effort and think of their own self.[1]

Other Means of Proof

11. Besides the above four means of proof, which are the only ones recognised by the Vaiśeṣikas and Naiyāyikas, the Mīmāṁsakas and Vedāntins recognise two others namely Anupalabdhi (non-perception) and 'Arthāpatti' or 'Anyathānupapatti' (presumption or necessary implication). None of them however deserves to be considered a separate means of arriving at correct knowledge because the first is a mere negation of perception and the second a particular variety of inference. That being so, it can readily be taken for granted that the author of this work, who considers even the 'Anumāna' and 'Upamāna' as off-shoots of 'Pratyakṣa,' could not have recognised 'Anupalabdhi' and 'Arthāpatti' as separate means for arriving at correct knowledge. As a matter of fact also he has not done so.

Conclusion.

12. It is apparent from what has preceded that out of the six means of proof recognised by the followers of Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa, this author recognises the first four only, namely 'Pratyakṣa' 'Anumāna' 'Upamāna' and 'Śabda', that his 'Pratyakṣa' is not the direct perception of an ordinary individual but that of a Yogi which is synonymous with 'Anubhūti' (per-

1. *Yogavāsiṣṭha* V. 43. 5-20.

sonal experience), which is the result of a sustained personal effort of a qualified aspirant made under the guidance derived from the written and spoken authoritative word of such masters of the Adhyātmavidyā (science of ontology), of which all the other branches of metaphysics are auxiliaries, as treat him like a Dvija worthy of being guided by persuasive precepts supported by rational explanations involving inferences and analogies, not like a Śūdra amenable only to an iron discipline and stern command, that therefore the latter three means of knowledge are according to him only auxiliaries of the first, which is the principal one, that all the ancient scriptures, the Vedas, Upaniṣads, Itihāsas and Purāṇas, are, in his view, fit to be studied subject to the above limitation, that none should be accepted as a teacher, however high his position in the world of letters, unless he satisfies the above test and that the guidance that such scriptures and teachers can give should be resorted to only so long as the true purport of the Mahāvākyas, the identity of the self of the individual with that of the universe as a whole is not realized by 'Anubhūti.'

Closing Remarks.

13. The author of this work can, in view of the above, be described in one word as *an Orthodox Rationalist* or *a Rational Sanātanist* and his views on the several problems of life must therefore commend themselves in this age of rationalism to all the educated persons who can think for themselves and of their selves and desire a re-organisation of the present convulsed social fabric on sound lines. It might appear strange that a work on philosophy and that too, one of which the predominant doctrine is that of *Absolute Monism*, which involves a negation of aught else except the One Essence, should have any solutions of such problems to offer. It is nevertheless true that this vast ocean of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* contains several useful priceless jems whose lustre is likely to throw considerable light on the solution of several problems which agitate the minds of the thinkers in all ages. It is my ambition to dive deep into that ocean on some future occasion, extract the gems from their hidden recesses therein, polish them a little so as to enable them to expose their lustre and arrange them like exhibits in a sort of word-museum for the gaze, admiration and, I hope, enlightenment also, of those with a developed sense of appreciation.

NAMES OF PRAKRIT LANGUAGES

By

S. M. KATRE, Poona.

The primary sources for our study of the Prakrit languages, besides the huge religious and secular literatures employing these Middle Indo-Aryan dialects, are the orthodox systems of Prakrit Grammar that have come down to us from the time of Vararuci, the earliest known Prakrit Grammarian of repute.[1] It is from these grammars that we have our present system of *nomina propria* for the different MI-A. languages. The only names that were introduced in the modern works on Prakrit Grammar are Jaina Śaurasenī, Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī and Jaina Saurāṣṭrī, but they are now only in the sense that the qualifying adjective Jaina has been added to already existing language names.

Vararuci refers to only four MI-A. languages : Māhārāṣṭrī, Paiśācī, Māgadhī and Śaurasenī. Hemacandra adds to these Cūlikāpaiśācī, Apabhraṁśa and Ārṣa. Trivikrama, Lakṣmīdhara and others follow the classification of Hemacandra. Many of the subsequent works on Pk. grammar deal only with these six languages (leaving out Ārṣa or Ardhamāgadhī).[2] It is only when we come to Mārkaṇḍeya that we notice altogether sixteen languages as opposed to the above six.

References to the two principal religious MI-A. languages are to be found in the texts of these languages themselves. Thus Pāli[3] and Ardhamāgadhī[4] are attested in their own literatures. Not so, however, with the other Prakrits, and we have to depend upon the above grammars for defining their names and characteristics.

While most of these names of Prakrit languages refer to literary dialects, we find in some of the later grammatical works references to the non-literary dialects current in the various parts of India, many of which are now lost to us in that we have not sufficient literature surviving in them.

References to names of these Prakrit languages are also sometimes found in exegetical literature on Sanskrit Plays which employ them for the women and other characters. Thus we find Pṛthvīdhara in his commentary on *Mṛcchakaṭika* mentioning and defining, besides the well-known Śaurasenī and Māgadhī, the less-known Āvantī, Prācyā, Śākārī, Ḍhakkī, etc. A third source for the names of Prakrit languages is to be discovered in the extensive critical literature on Alaṁkāra, including Nāṭya and Saṅgīta works. Here also we

1. Reference may be made here to the well-known work of PISCHEL and the recently published excellent work of Mme. Luigia NITTI DOLCI, *Les Grammairiens Prakrits* (Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris, 1938) for a comprehensive account of these grammarians and their contribution to Prakrit linguistics.
2. See AUFRECHT's *Cat. Catal.* under *śaś-bhāṣā—*
3. GEIGER, *Pāli Literatur und Sprache* p. 1.
4. PISCHEL § 16.

find the classification of language in several divisions, their main characteristics and names.

One particular work belonging to the Saṅgīta class was recently brought to my notice by Mr. Chandra Śekhara PANT while he was working on his history of Saṅgīta Literature as a research scholar of the Lucknow University, as containing a chapter devoted to composition of songs in various languages. This is the *Gītālaṁkāra* attributed to Bharata.[1]

The fourteenth chapter, entitled *Bhāṣālakṣaṇa*, refers to forty-two different languages current probably in the days of the author, either as living speech or known through literature. What is interesting to us primarily is the list of names given to these Prakritic languages and secondarily the actual stanzas supposed to illustrate the characteristics of these languages. There are 41 stanzas of an illustrative nature, but the names of all the languages illustrated are not found there. In the introductory Sanskrit verses, however, there are hardly over 30 actually enumerated, but the author mentions in the next verse *dvi-catvārimśatiḥ proktā etā bhāṣā prasaṁkhyayā* : There is no indication of any verse having been lost, and we can only conclude that this is an imperfect copy of an original which may or may not have contained the exact list of 42 language names.

According to the introductory verses we have the following list. 1. Mahārāṣṭrī, 2. Kirātī, 3. Mlecchī, 4. (lost), 5. Somakī, 6. Colaki, 7. Kāñci, 8. Mālavī, 9. Kāśi-sambhavā, 10. Devikā, 11. Kuśāvartā, 12. Śūrasenikā, 13. Vaudhī, 14. Gūrjjarī, 15. Romakī, 16. Mālavī (repeated, see 8 above), 17. Kānamūkhī, 18. Devakī, 19. Pañcapattanā, 20. Saindhavī, 21. Kauśikī, 22. Bhadrā, 23. Bhadra-Bhojikā, 24. Kuntalā, 25. Kośalā, 26. Pūrā, 27. Yāvanī, 28. Kurkurī, 29. Madhyadeśī, 30. Kāñcyojī and 31. (lost).

In the illustrative material in these individual dialects we find the following names enumerated (the figures within square brackets referring to the number of the illustrative verse): 1. Desī [1]; 2. Kirāī [2]; 3. Soraṭṭhiyā [3]; 4. Māgaha [4]; 5. Agoī [6 ?] ;[2] 6. Pañcayabhāsa [11]; 7. Mecchī [13]; 8. Kaṁvī [17]; 9. Mālivī [18]; 10. Kāsī [19]; 11. Vedī *and* 12. Kuramarī [20]; 13. Kusuma-uttaya-bhāsā [21]; 14. Sūraseṇā [22]; 15. Puṁḍī *and* 16. Bhoṭī [23]; 17. Gujjarabhāsā [24]; 18. Romaya-bhāsā *and* 19. Vaṁga [25]; 20. Meya-bhāsā [26]; 21. Māraya-bhāsā [27]; 22. Lāvaṁḍī [28]; 23. Paṁcapaṭṭall-bhaṇia [30]; 24. Kāsiyā [32]; 25. Jāraṇa-bhāsā [37]; the verses offer some problems of their own which I have not attempted to solve here. For scholars interested in MI-A. dialectology this material will be of great value if properly sifted, and I am reproducing this particular chapter from the work of which other copies have not been available to me so far, in the shape of an appendix to this paper.

Below is a list of the names of Prakrit languages as found in grammatical and other literatures :

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1. See Appendix below for this work.
2. I am not sure if this is the name of the language illustrated. Hence the question-mark.

APABHRAṂŚA PISCHEL §§ 3-5, 28-29 ; three varieties : *nāgara, upanāgara* and *vrācaḍa* (v.l. *-ṭa*), § 28.. Mārkaṇḍeya mentions 27 different kinds as follows : 1. Vrācaḍa, 2. Lāṭa, 3. Vaidarbha, 4. Upanāgara, 5. Nāgara, 6. ?, 7. Bārbara, 8. Āvantya, 9. Pāñcāla, 10. Ṭakka, 11. Mālava, 12. Kaikaya, 13. Gauḍa, 14. Auḍhra, 15. Pāścātya, 16. Pāṇḍya, 17. Kauntala, 18. Saiṁhala, 19. Kālingya, 20. Prācya, 21. Kārṇāṭa, 22. Kāñcya, 23. Drāviḍa, 24. Gaurjjara, 25. Ābhīra, 26. Madhyadeśīya and 27. Vaitāla. But for actual descriptive purposes he accepts only the three classes mentioned above. Puruṣottama[1] also follows the same classification as Mārkaṇḍeya.

ARDHA-MĀGADHĪ PISCHEL §§ 16-19. Mārkaṇḍeya mentions this under I.4 comm. and I.5.

AVAHAṬṬHA-BHĀSĀ PISCHEL §28. The word *avahaṭṭa*[2] has been used by Vidyāpati in his *Kīrttilatā* (edited by Dr. Baburam SAKSENA), and in the *Saṁnekaya-rāsaya* of Abdur Rahman[3] we find *Avahaṭṭaya* (v. 6) as the name of a language in which the work is composed.

ANDHRĪ NITTI-DOLCI,[4] p. 77.

ĀRṢA PISCHEL §§ 3, 16-17.

ĀVANTĪ § 26 ; Mk. I. 4-5 ; XI. Puruṣottama XI.

KIRĀTA *Gr Pr.* 77.

CĀṆḌĀLĪ §[4] 24 ; *Gr Pr.* 75, 77, 120.

CŪLIKĀPAIŚĀCĪ § 27 ; *Gr. Pr.* 20, 158, 170, 175 and 192.

JAINA-MĀHĀRĀṢṬRĪ §§ 16, 20.

JAINA-ŚAURASENĪ § 21.

JAINA-SAURĀṢṬRĪ § 20.

ṬĀKKĪ *Gr Pr.* 97, 120-3, 203. Mk. XVI ; Pur. XVI (*ṭakka-deśī*).

ḌHAKKĪ § 25.

DĀKṢIṆĀTYĀ § 26 *Gr. Pr.* 75, 77, 115.

DEŚĪ-BHĀṢĀ §§ 4, 5 ; *Gr Pr.* 73, 77, 118.

DEŚĪ §§ 8, 9 ; *Gr Pr.* 6, 70, 80, 180, 192, 193.

DRAMILĪ *Gr Pr.* 77.

ḌRAVIḌA *Gr. Pr.* 122.

DRĀVIḌĪ *Gr Pr.* 120, 122.

PAIŚĀCIKA, °-kī, °-cī : § 3, 27 ; three kinds, § 27, Mk. 1, 8, and XVIII-XX. The three are 1. *kaikaya* Mk. Pur. XVIII, 2. *śaurasena*, Mk. Pur. XIX, and 3. *pāñcāla-*, Mk. Pur. XX. See above for *cūlikā-paiśācī*. In Mk. I. 4 com. eleven kinds are mentioned from an unknown author. 1. Kāñcya, 2. Pāṇḍya, 3. Pāñcāla, 4. Gauḍa, 5. Māgadha, 6. Vrācaḍa (see under *apabhraṁśa* above), 7. Dākṣiṇātya, 8. Śaurasena, 9. Kaikaya, 10. Śābara and 11. Drāviḍa.

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1. *Prākṛtānuśāsana* of Puruṣottama, edited by Luigia NITTI-DOLCI, Paris 1938.
2. See my paper on "A Muslim contribution to Apabhraṁśa literature" in the *Karnatak Historical Review*, Vol. IV.
3. *Les grammairiens Prakrits* (= *Gr Pr.*)
4. The sign § refers to paragraphs in PISCHEL's *Grammatik d. Pk. Spr.*

PRĀCYĀ § 22. Mk. I. 4 com., 5 ; Mk. Pur. X.
BĀHLĪKĀ, °-i § 24 ; *Gr. Pr.* 75, 77, 115, Mk. I. 4 com.
BHŪTA-BHĀṢĀ § 27 ; °-*bhāṣita* and °-*vacana*, § 27. = *paiśācika*.
MĀGADHIKA, -°I §§ 17, 18, 23 for *māgadha-paiśācikā* see above under *paiśāci*, § 27.
MĀHĀRĀṢṬRĪ, §§ 2, 12-15-18.
VIBHRAṢṬA § 8.
ŚAKKĪ §§ 3, 28.
ŚAURASENĪ (v. l. *sūra-*°) §§ 21, 22.

APPENDIX

The Ms. of *Gītālaṅkāra*, bearing the number 977 of 1887-91, is described in the *Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Collection of Mss.* deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, vol. XII, p. 374. The present section forms the last in the whole book. The colophons of the first four chapters bear the number of the chapter, but the following nine chapters do not bear any number. As there are no other Mss. of this work mentioned by AUFRECHT the text which remains unintelligible to me in most places, is reproduced here as it is found in the Ms., omitting only absolutely illegible or partly disappeared letters. The Ms. appears to be very old.

गीतालङ्कार

[fol. 16] १९ ॥ ४ ॥ ८ ॥

महाराष्ट्री किराती च म्लेच्छी चैव तु—रेका ॥
सोमकी चोड्डी कांची मालवी काशिसंभवा ॥
देविका च कुशावर्ती तथाभ्या सूरसेनिका ॥
वौधो च गूर्जरी चैव रोमकी मोदसंभवा ॥
मालवी कानमूखी च देवकी पंचपत्तना ॥
सैंधवी कौशिका भद्रा तथाभ्या भद्रभोजिका ॥
कुंतला कोशला पारा यावनी कुकुरी तथा ॥
मध्यदेशो च कांबोजी—त्यमा स्मृता ॥
द्विचत्वारिंशतिः प्रोक्ता एता भाषाः प्रलक्षणया ॥
एता निरूप्य कर्त्तव्यं गीतं गीतविचक्षणैः ॥
लक्षणानि च सर्व्वेषां कथयिष्ये यथाक्रमं ॥
संक्षेपेण समस्तंतु न शक्यं त्रिदशैरपि ॥

अथ **देशी**

रम्भीमलो सोहो कइया लिंगातरिअविगेयधा।
तह हलिउं विहुवरो आइत्थो (च्छो) पढम—[fol. 17] भासाए ॥ १ ॥
डिंबाइअ अणेहिट्ठं संचिट्ठ जंतुअं सुलक्खत्थं।
तह शुचिछउं पहट्ठो सुहिउं रीणं **किराइए** ॥ २ ॥
डुक्कं अजलहुतं गाहुडिगाहो तरो मंडो।
सोरट्ठियाए भणिउ तं दोहथोहउ णासो ॥ ३ ॥

अणर्क डोम्बसनउ **मागहे** भासाए पहआरवली ।
साहाला कंकोलकिवहुंतामरं भणियं ॥ ४ ॥
मुच्छा एसा लच्छीविरहं कुसुमजंबयं ।
डुआंधं अणहुतं तुंगी खणीधवो नता ॥ ५ ॥
आइलो जोइदवो पाछी वग्गो परंसुवो सद्दो ।
आलासो विसकीडो छारो विरिवो **अगोलाए** ॥ ६ ॥
कासीरीअ पवडो मोरो केलो नराहिवो तुंगो ।
विच्छेएहु विलासो तह सूरो पूरणो भणियं ॥ ७ ॥
पच्छाए तासु पुरिसो दिट्ठं भणियं महीसड्ढा ।
तह पुरहिलै खिअं अलासासूहुरो हीरो ॥ ८ ॥
मेहुगिहं तह भणिए तीरोपवलो अचंलुलो नउलो ।
अंपेचायाय मोरो रीहो.....मंकारो ॥ ९ ॥
गिरिवंलिवे विवेसंतु—पीचरो तहा भणिउं ।
सारंगो तह भसलो सारो सब उइयला ॥ १० ॥
पंचयभासो भणियामयग.....रो तीरं ।
गीयंगुद्धावह–उ जांजलं वच्छं (त्थं) व ॥ ११ ॥
तह वोलिया सहारो भाइप्पिसु.....सव्वेवं ।
पिंगलं तं मारी कंटारइतेहो ॥ १२ ॥
मेच्छीए पुलभगिउ तप्पिलिचहारा.....
गुब्बीलेलं आछी जहापुछे ॥ १३ ॥
तुरं वाराएस सयो सत्थारो सहिउ तहा कल्हो ॥
.....इत पुक्कलकोउ आभणिया ॥ १४ ॥
इंदवहूई दोउदासालो इरिलो ।
मायाहिउभ.....ए नरणाहो भाइवहलो सुराहिउ भसलो ॥ १५ ॥
वसुआवदि हुसुकं सई पुण पुरी इत्थं (च्छं) ॥ १६ ॥
रभिछमो असमत्थो **कंबीए** पडव्वमगो तुंडं ।
सूवरवयणं अरिपाही भगए वग्गो ॥ १७ ॥
रच्छा (त्था)—(Lost) अहुलहो कूलम्घोवो अ—भणिउ ॥
उजअंतेण चकुरीरं **मालिविए** मेयलो विंगो ॥ १८ ॥
उंपिउभातहवोरी **कासीए** पिजरी चोरी ।
चेलं पहउ चारं नाहणी.....[fol. 18].....॥ १९ ॥
छसं मोसो भणियं **वेदीए कुरमरी** तहा वंदी ॥
हेरवो तह पडहो येण्णो चोरो चलंपीलं ॥ २० ॥
कुसुमउत्तयभासा—तहच्छुरीच्छुरीया मुणेयत्था ।
पिंडवलो...दवग्गो कूई नाहुपि ओजाला ॥ २१ ॥
संगभाइवग्गा सापं तिक्खं च **सूरसेणाए** ।
भाइलउं वरउरउं अरिया असई सुणेअत्था (च्छा) ॥ २२ ॥
कूलं सेणावच्छं (त्थं) **पुंडीए** अंबियं च विवरीरं ॥
भोजी काइरपुरिसो भडिलअसई करीनाओ ॥ २३ ॥

छिवु विभाइ असई **गुज्जरभासाए** माहरं संगं ।
वाहीकि हुडियाजत संखलं हुसं ॥ २४ ॥
रोमयभासा भणिउ पावी सघो सहारवी पडवो ।
वंगं तह अकलंकं विसलं सव्वं वियाणेहि ॥ २५ ॥
गंधी मंगलाइं उगरं कच्चं सुणेयव्वं ।
परिघो परिवारो कलिवं वंटे च **मेयभासाए** ॥ २६ ॥
मारवभासा भणिउ धवलो सुरो असंगलो अग्गी ।
चंपं तहविच्छुपुच्छं पुरिसो कीरो मली घुसिउं ॥ २७ ॥
इम्हो तहयव लद्दोद्दरिसो चंदो अच्चापडं ।
साहीलं सुपउत्तं मंजरिवइं तु **लावंदी** ॥ २८ ॥
हयमीए.....तालच्छी चारो कूउ सुहासिइं सेलं ।
उद्दालो संताउ चलेगअं लक्खियं भणिवं ॥ २९ ॥
आइचं अंसं.....सीलं हसलिअं च **पंचपट्टालीभणिए** ।
मेलव्व तह सुणउ ताही लिच्छणि सामिद्दा ॥ ३० ॥
सिंहयभासा भणिए तहा पवलो भूपियासिउ हेरो ।
दोलंवउ महोसहउंगवलं अवसोहे संभालियं ॥ ३१ ॥
तहा **कासिया** भाइ दुहिया.....स्सो ॥ ३२ ॥
हिणयो सिंदारो मउली पूणी पलमधरो ॥ ३३ ॥
सद्दनगाए तहनियगोरोवी.....सीसी ।
जलगं भाइ दीणं हत्थो साहापवोईवा ॥ ३३॥
कु.....व इपहीरा सव्वाखलोकोप्पो ।
पासंडं निउवेदन्नं चीउ पहरो सइत्तभी ॥ ३४ ॥
तह कोमल सभणिउ सुखोडेरो असी पिउ साही ।
गोला मग्गई नाई थेरो कसरो मधुं न हरो ॥ ३५ ॥
टिपी भणइ विलउ पूसो कीलोपले विअं सरिअं ॥
माहागियाय जणणी पत्ताए अट्ठिया वहिणी ॥ ३६ ॥
जारणभासा.....क [fol 19] गोडु त्रिली तहा वेशा ॥
—छिरि भाताई ससवो कुडुगी रच्छा (त्था) माहो वत्तां ॥ ३७ ॥
.....सुणह वाकुरीए सेट्ठो (lost.....) होत थो ।
अछुअंगो कलपत्रो सकलोपचलोफरोक..... ॥ ३८ ॥
भण इंदवीरे रानं **शिमभासाए** वारिअं पीअं ॥
लंबोसा (lost)..... कुडिलिद्दोलसर.....भणइ दोरो कं
कंडोव कंचुनाईए ॥ ३९ ॥
संखोचंदीहजीहो गावो कसले मले भीलो ।
.....उद्दाए गेयं भाइकलंतुली वीणा ॥ ४० ॥
तोले तहव पसारो सुच्छणवलो भणिउं ॥ ४१ ॥
इति भाषालक्षणमध्यायः ॥ १४ ॥
इति **भरतकृतं गीतालंकारं** वाद्यिमत्तगजांकुशं समाप्तमिति ॥

HINDU PURĀNAS, THEIR AGE & VALUE

By

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Every religious-minded Hindu is supposed to know something about Purāṇas. Leaving aside Upa-Purāṇas (minor Purāṇas) there are eighteen Mahāpurāṇas (main Purāṇas) out of which according to *Skanda Purāṇa*[1] :—

तत्र शैवानि वैष्णवं च भविष्यं च द्विजोत्तमाः ।
मार्कण्डेयं तथा लैङ्गं वाराहं स्कान्दमेव च ॥
मात्स्यमन्यत्तथा कौर्मं वामनं च मुनीश्वराः ।
ब्रह्माण्डं च दशैतानि त्रीणि लक्षाणि संख्यया ॥
.....
विष्णोर्हि वैष्णवं तच्च तथा भागवतं तथा ।
नारदीयं पुराणं च गारुडं वैष्णवं विदुः ।
ब्राह्मं पाद्मं ब्रह्मणो द्वे ह्येतेषामेवमेककम् ॥
सवितुर्ब्रह्मवैवर्तमेवनवदश स्मृताम् ॥

(i.e.), 1. Śiva, 2. Bhaviṣya, 3. Mārkaṇḍeya, 4. Liṅga, 5. Varāha, 6. Skanda, 7. Matsya, 8. Kūrma 9. Vāmana, and 10. Brahmāṇḍa, are related to Śiva (and contain 300000 couplets) ; 11. Viṣṇu, 12. Bhāgvata, 13. Nārada and 14. Garuḍa to Viṣṇu ; 15. Brahma and Padma to Brahmā ; 17. Agni to fire god and 18. Brahma-Vaivarta to sun.

But in the 'Kedāra Khaṇḍa' chapter of the same Purāṇa the division of Purāṇas is given as under :—

अष्टादशपुराणेषु दशनिर्गीयते शिवः ।
चतुर्भिर्भगवान् ब्रह्मा द्वाभ्यां देवी तथा हरिः ॥

(i.e.) out of eighteen Purāṇas ten are connected with Śiva, four with Brahmā, two with the goddess and two with Viṣṇu.

Further some scholars are of opinion that Padma and Varāha are related to Viṣṇu; Agni to Śiva and Brahmāṇḍa, Brahma-Vaivarta, Mārkaṇḍeya, Bhaviṣya and Vāmana to Brahmā.

Moreover some persons take 'Vāyu' and 'Śiva' while others 'Vāyu' and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa[2] as one book. Many of them substitute 'Devī Bhāgavata' in place of 'Śrīmad Bhāgavata' in 18 Mahāpurāṇas.

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1. Śiva Rahasya Khaṇḍa, Śāmbhava Kāṇḍa.
2. Mr. Pargiter holds this opinion.

According to Hindu Śāstras the description of a Purāṇa is :—

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥

(i.e.) that which contains the stories of primary and secondary creations, genealogies of the Gods etc., tale of the periods of 14 Manus and the history of the solar and the lunar dynasties is called a Purāṇa.

But there are some Purāṇas like 'Nāradīya' and 'Vāmana' etc., to which this description does not apply properly.

Let us quote here some references to find out the age of Purāṇas.

Alberuni, who flourished about 1030 A.D. has mentioned 18 Purāṇas in his travels.

Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa, the famous Sanskrit prose-writer of the first half of the 7th century A.D. refers 'Pavanokta Purāṇa' and by it he might have meant 'Vāyu', 'Śiva' or 'Brahmāṇḍa' Purāṇa.

'Milinda Pañha' a Buddhist work of 3rd century A.D. shows that Purāṇas were in existence at that time. The 'Artha Śāstra' of Kauṭilya, which was written in the 4th century B.C., includes Purāṇas in history :—

पुराणमितिवृत्तमाख्यायिकोदाहरणं धर्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रं चेतिहासः ।

(अधि. १, अध्याय ५, प्रकरण २)

This shows that Purāṇas were known to the people of that time.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa states :—

तदनुशिशिति पुराणं वेदः सोऽयमिति किंचित् पुराणमाचक्षीतैवमेवाध्वर्युः ।

(१३।१४।३।१३)

(i.e.) The 'Adhvaryu' informs them that the Purāṇa is also a part of Veda and then recites a portion of it.

The **Atharva Veda** contains :—

इतिहासस्य च वै पुराणस्य च गाथानां च नाराशंसीनां च प्रियं धाम भवति य एवं वेद ।

(का. १५, अनु. १, प्र. ६, मं. १२)

(i.e.) that he who knows this becomes beloved of Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Gāthā and Nārāśaṁsi.

From the above quotations one may conclude that purāṇas were in existence even in the pre-historic period.

Matsya Purāṇa says :—

पुराणमेकमेवासीत् तदा कल्पान्तरेऽनघ ।
त्रिवर्गसाधनं पुण्यं शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम् ॥

(अध्या. ५३ श्लोक ४)

(i.e.) previously there was only one sacred Purāṇa.

Though nothing definitely can be said in this connection yet the singular form of the word Purāṇa used in pre-historic works and the existence of some

couplets of one Purāṇa or their ideas in another Purāṇa shows the possibility of this conclusion.

Mr. PARGITER thinks that 'Matsya', 'Vāyu' and 'Brahmāṇḍa' Purāṇas have taken their dynastic lists from original 'Bhaviṣya Purāṇa' as is evident from the following quotations of those Purāṇas :—

तान् सर्वान् कीर्तयिष्यामि भविष्ये कथितान् नृपान् ।

(i.e.) I shall describe all those kings who have been mentioned in 'Bhaviṣya Purāṇa.'

अथवा (or)

भविष्ये ते प्रसंख्याताः पुराणज्ञै श्रुतर्षिभिः ।

(i.e.) they have been described by the old sages in 'Bhaviṣya Purāṇa.'

But the present form of 'Bhaviṣya Purāṇa' has been much interpolated by people and has lost its authenticity.

Anyhow it is a source of great pleasure that now the scholars and specially those of the west have recognised the value of the historical data found in some of them. It is a fact that from time to time interpolations were made in these Purāṇas and to preserve their antiquity the later historical events have been added as prophecies.

There are many stories in them the clue of which can be found in one or other form in the Vedas. But the sectarianism has also muddled them to a great extent. A critic can separate such corrupt portions or later additions if he studies them critically.

For instance 'Vāyu Purāṇa' states :—

अनुगङ्गाप्रयागं च साकेतान् मगधांस्तथा ।
एताञ्जनपदान् सर्वान् भोक्ष्यन्ते गुप्तवंशजाः ॥

(i.e.) the Guptas will rule over the places near the Ganges, Prayāga, Sāket and Magadha.

The 'Bhaviṣya Purāṇa'[1] contains :—

सूरदासं इति ज्ञेयः कृष्णलीलाकरः कविः ।
शम्भुर्वै चन्द्रभट्टस्य कुले जातो हरिव्रिः ॥

(प्रतिसर्ग पर्व, चतुर्थखण्ड, अध्याय २२, श्लोक. ३०)

(i.e.) Sūradās, the famous devotee of Kṛṣṇa, was an incarnation of Śiva and was born in the family of Chanda Baradai.

One can easily detect such spurious couplets from the originals as later additions.

In the same manner the doctrines of Rāmānuja and Tāntrikas and the glory of Jagannātha found in 'Varāha' 'Kūrma' and 'Skanda Purāṇas' respectively are also later additions.

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1. Even mention of Calcutta is also found in Bhaviṣya Purāṇa—

नगर्यां कलिकातायां स्थापयामासुरद्भुताः । ७५ ।

Though 'Śrīmad Bhāgavata' does not mention the name of Rādhā, yet a prominent place is given to her in 'Devī Bhāgavata.'

The well known 'Satyanārāyaṇa-Kathā' is declared as a part of 'Revā-Khaṇḍa' of 'Skanda Purāṇa', but no trace of it is found there.

We quote here a story from the Ṛgveda of the fight which took place between Indra and Kṛṣṇa :—

अवद्रप्सो अंशुमतीमतिष्ठदीयानः कृष्णो दशभिः सहस्रैः ।
आवत्तमिन्द्रः शच्या धमन्तमप स्नेहितीर्नृमणा अधत्त ॥ १३ ॥
द्रप्समपश्यं विषुणे चरन्तमुपह्वरे नद्यो अंशुमत्याः ।
नभो न कृष्णमवतस्थिवांसमिष्यामि वो वृषणो युध्यताजौ ॥ १४ ॥
अवद्रप्सो अंशुमत्या उपस्थे धारयत्तन्वं तित्विषाणः ।
विशो अदेवीरभ्याचरन्तीर्बृहस्पतिना युजेन्द्रः ससाहे ॥ १५ ॥

(ऋग्वेद-मण्डल, ८, अध्याय १०, सू. ८५)

Sāyaṇa, the well-known commentator of Vedas, describes these hymns as under :—

The demon Kṛṣṇa was a swift runner and lived with his ten thousand followers on the bank of the river Aṁśumatī.[1] Indra went to him and killed him, as well as his followers, who lived under water (or who threatened the world with roars).

Indra said O Deities ! I saw Kṛṣṇa, the demon, who is a swift runner and walks in the impregnable places and who like the sun in the sky lives in the hidden place (water) of the river Aṁśumatī—Therefore O Deities ! I wish that you should fight him.

Afterwards Indra, with the help of Bṛhaspati reached near the demon Kṛṣṇa, who lived pompously on the bank of the river Aṁśumatī, and who guarded his body against enemies (or who had a strongly built body due to rich food), and killed latter's advancing army.

In conclusion Sāyaṇa[2] writes :—

तमवधीदित्यर्थः प्रकरणाद्गम्यते ।

(i.e. it is concluded that Indra also killed the demon Kṛṣṇa).

Now let us quote a story from the 24th and 25th Adhyāyas of the 10th Skandha of 'Śrīmad-Bhāgavata' to compare it with the above.

'According to the instructions of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Nanda etc. worshipped the Govardhana mountain in place of Indra and the food offered at that time was partaken of by Śrīkṛṣṇa by creating a second bigger form of himself. This enraged Indra who ordered the Saṁvartaka clouds to wash away Gokula by pouring torrential rain : when under this circumstance the Gopas got frightened, Kṛṣṇa lifted the Govardhana mountain on his hand and sheltered them under it. After seven days' continuous futile efforts Indra's pride was humbled.

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1. In Sanskrit language Aṁśuman is a synonym of sun.
2. Ṛgveda Saṁhitā (published at Ganpat Kṛṣṇaji's Press, Bombay,) p. 515.

Though the results given in both the stories are quite contrary to each other, yet the scholars will see a surprising resemblance in them.

Mr. PARGITER is of opinion that Purāṇas were first written in the 'Prākṛta' language and 'Kharoṣṭhi' characters. But the proofs given in support of this theory are not so convincing. No one can deny that some additions were made in the Purāṇas in later periods and under such circumstances if there are some mistakes of metres or euphonic combinations and existence of 'Prākṛta-Words' they deserve no special attention. If in a manuscript of a Purāṇa the word 'Ayoda' is found in place of 'Aśoka' it cannot convince us that the Purāṇas were originally written in 'Kharoṣṭhi' characters. Because it is also possible in other characters that an indistinct (śa) may be read as (ya य). Similar arguments may be applied to other objects.

But concluding this paper we must thank Mr. PARGITER who has taken great pains to examine 63 manuscripts of Purāṇas and bring their hidden value to light.

SOME PHONETIC TENDENCIES IN TAMIL

By

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Although Kanarese and Tamil are closely related, a sound favoured by the former appears to have been rejected, in certain connections by the latter. The Kanarese Velar explosive "k" occurring in combination with a palatal front vowel "i" or "e" was abandoned in favour of the palatal explosive "c" (pronounced in the initial part of words as the palatal spirant ś) in Tamil. The Kanarese root "kem" meaning "red" found its parallel in the Tamil "cem" (pronounced as śem). That "kem" is much more primitive is borne out by a comparison of the forms of the word for "redness" in the following table :—

Kanarese	Tulu	Telugu	Malayalam	Tamil
kempu	keñja	kempu	cembu	cemmai

Similarly, "k" appears to have been replaced by "c" in such phonetic connections in Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu :—

(Meaning)	Kanarese	Telugu	Malayalam	Tamil	Tulu
(To do)	key or gey	cheṟ	cheṟ	ceṟ	key
(Ear)	kivi	chevi	ceppi	cevi	keppi
(To scatter)	kedaru	cedaru	cidar	citaru	
(Small)	kiru	chiru	ciru	ciṟu	kiru
(Small)	kinna	chinna		ciṉṉa	kinni

The corresponding forms for "to do" in the uncultivated Dravidian dialects Tuda, Kota and Gond are "kei," "kē," and "kd." The explosive velar is retained in the word for "ear" also in Tuda and Gond and Brahui : kevi, kavi, khaf.

The *palatalisation* in these Tamil words is probably due to the relative difficulty found in the articulation of the explosive "k." The tendency to relax the completeness of contact between the back of the tongue and the palate seems to be the cause of palatalisation here. Greater muscular effort no doubt is demanded in producing "k," for here the air-stream would be blocked. On the contrary, there would be less effort if entire contact were not insisted upon and if a fissure in the oral passage were left. This happens in the articulation of a spirant sound such as "ś" and that is the reason why the vocal apparatus, with or without the consciousness of the speakers, adjusted

itself and produced a "c" which was nearer to the spirant "ś." This change therefore was in the direction of greater ease.

No student of linguistics will argue that since the sound "k" in these places is retained in Kanarese there is no difficulty in its articulation, for he knows that there is no absolute standard by which greater ease can be judged. The ancient Kanarese probably took the primitive Dravidian "k," kept it intact and found it easy by sheer force of habit, whereas the other people made a modification of it in the direction of greater ease relative to their own habits of speaking. But there is no change of "k" into "c" in such words as "kodu" (= to give) "kol" (= to take) "kuri" (= a mark) and "kudirai" (=a horse) because the vowels occurring in combination, with the plosive here do not belong to the front series. Therefore the phonetic equation[1] is (the primitive Dravidan) k + i or e was equal to (Tamil) c + i or e at a certain period prior to the 5th century B.C.

In a similar manner, distinct easing seems to have been brought about by articulating the labial continuant "v" instead of the labial plosive "p." In the production of "p" the lips are to be entirely closed and hence greater muscular effort is demanded, whereas in the production of "v" there is only partial contact and consequently less muscular effort is called for. An excellent example of this sort of economy of effort is found in the ancient word for "cart," "paṇṭi" changing into "Vaṇḍi," in Tamil and Malayalam, while the old form has been weakened into "baṇḍi" in Kanarese and Telugu. Some other instances of this tendency are :—

Paku > Vaku (= to divide)
Pakir > Vakir (= to divide)
Pati > Vati (=to stay)
Parambu > Varambu (= embankment)
Paḍivam > Vaḍivam (= image or shape)

This tendency has begun but has not yet become general.

Apocope is another phonetic tendency found in Tamil. The primitive Dravidian words for ghee, butter and sesamum-oil were respectively ney, veṇṇey (=white ghee) and eṇṇey (= el + ney). These doubtless possessed a terminal semi-vowel "y". It is in the Tamil literature alone that the final "y" in these words is preserved. But the modern tendency in Tamil is to apocopate or to weaken it. In the other main Dravidian languages the tendency long before started and has spread :—

Kanarese	Tulu	Telugu	Malayalam	Tamil
beṇṇe		venna	veṇṇa	veṇṇai
yeṇṇe	yeṇṇe		eṇṇa	eṇṇai

1. Cf. Hudson WILLIAMS : *Introduction to the Study of Comparative Grammar* p. 3.

The tendency is extending its range in modern Tamil to other sounds such as the trill "r," as is evident from the disappearance of the final "r" in the word "taṇṇīr" (=cold water) (pronounced as "taṇṇi").

Syncope is much more common. The medial syllable "ku," after having been slurred over for sometime, is to-day completely omitted in the word "ā(ku)m" (yes; literally, will be or will happen). Very probably "ku" was fast corrupted into something like an aspirate "hu," or a sonant "gu" which in turn has been dropped. To the original root "ā" (=to become) the formative "ku" was added. "Āku" + "um" (the aorist particle) became "ākum" by rule. This has been simplified into "ām" because of the relative frequency of the occurrence in Tamil of the compound phoneme "ku," which happens to be the sign of the dative case. Furthermore, "ku" is found to have served sometimes for indicating a noun in the genitive case too, as in "arasaṟku makan" (=son to the king). These occurrences were in addition to its appearance in several words as a formative infix. Thus the number of times of the occurrence of "ku" in Tamil being proportionately large, it came to be slurred in articulation and was ultimately left out.[1] The same tendency is found in the words "pōm," for "pōkum" (=that which goes) "cām" for "cākum" (=that which dies) and "Vēvum" or "Vēm" for "Vēkum" (=that which warms).

Instances also of syncopation of the semi-vowel "y" are found: "Vā(y)kkarisi" (Vāykka + arisi = rice for the mouth) "Pā(y)cal" (Pāy + (c) + al = that which rises or jumps).

Weakenings far in excess of normal phonetic change are also found. "Arumantapiḷḷai" is an instance in point. It is the result of the weakening of the old "arumaruntaṉṉapiḷḷai" (=a son as dear as a rare medicine). The articulating apparatus having slowly stinted its work of complete and exact enunciation, several slurrings and abbreviations should have taken place before the form "arumanta" was reached. But it is not possible now to explain this excess weakening, which is related in some manner to what Mr. L. BLOOMFIELD would call "the sub-linguistic status of conventional formulae."[2] At any rate, this excess weakening should be regarded as very different from sound change proper. It is a weakening similar to the weakening of the English "God be with you" into "good-bye."

Aphaeresis, the tendency to remove a letter or a syllable at the beginning of a word, was the cause of the loss of the initial "y" in such words as "(Y)āṟu" (=a river), "(Y)āṉai" (=an elephant) and "(Y)āḍu" (=sheep). Due to the same tendency "tāy" (=mother) seems to have been first weakened into "yāy"[3] and then into "ñāy"[4] and "āy" (Cf. "Tāy" in Malayalam and Kanarese and "dāi" in Gond).

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1. Cf. L. BLOOMFIELD: *Language* (Revised edn. 1935) p. 387.
2. *Language* p. 388.
3. *Puṟanāṉūṟu* verse 159 and *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* verses 1-10 186, 280, 385, etc.
4. *Kuṟuntokai* verse 40.

"Tāy," however, was not completely crowded out. Slowly there appeared a preference for the old "tāy" which had once been simplified. "A later process may end by favouring the very same acoustic types as were eliminated by an earlier change" says Mr. Bloomfield.[1] In accordance with this principle the old "tāy" has come back with greater vigour. At one stage in the history of the Tamil language, easing seems to have been brought about in the word by the *dropping* of the dental plosive "t" and at another by means of its *insertion*. "T" is produced by the tip of the tongue making a complete closure against the teeth-ridge.[2] The semi-vowel "y" is produced somewhere near the teeth-ridge and is the last in the series of front sounds produced without contract.[3] In between these two sounds there is to be produced "ā", the first vowel in the back series. In anticipation of the sound "y" that was to follow,[4] the articulatory organs seem to have produced the front semi-vowel "y" instead of the front plosive "t." Therefore it is that "tāy" originally changed into "yāy." But when "yāy" was in vogue for sometime, the vocal organs perhaps found it difficult to execute a rapid succession of identical movements for "y" and hence the palatal nasal "ñ" replaced the initial "y". The merit of "ñ" was that its place of production, the hard palate, was nearer to the place of production of the vowel "ā." This merit itself seems to have disserved it later, for this appears to have been the cause of ousting it. When "āy" came into being by the elimination of "ñ" and was in use for sometime, it was probably in danger of being lost unless some *body* was given to it. As Mr. VENDRYES[5] remarks, "very short words often lack expression and when phonetic changes tend to abridge words, these are especially prone to disappear." In order that the word might be preserved, lengthened forms such as "āyi," "āyā" and "ā(y)oci" arose in ordinary conversation. When the form "āy" was not serviceable in itself and when more "body" had to be given to it, the same sound "t" that was once before sought to be eliminated gained favour in order to supply the substance it lacked. About the tendency to insert a letter or syllable within a word, namely *epenthesis*, nothing more is proposed to be stated in this paper.

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1. *Language* p. 368.
2. Vide *Tolkāppiyam* Eḻuttu rule 93.
3. Cf. *Tolkāppiyam* Eḻuttu rule 99; L. R. PALMER: *Introduction to Modern Linguistics* p. 24; Dr. I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA: *Elements of the Science of Language* p. 234; Dr. T. G. TUCKER: *Introduction to the Natural History of Language* p. 336.
4. Cf. Herman PAUL: *Principles of the History of Language* p. 46; PALMER p. 31 and Otto JESPERSEN: *Language its nature, development and origin* (1934 edn.) p. 280.
5. *Language, a Linguistic Introduction to History* p. 213.

NEWLY DISCOVERED DURGĀ-PĀṬHA MINIATURES OF THE GUJARĀTI SCHOOL OF PAINTING

By

M. R. MAJMUDAR, Baroda.

Durgā Māhātmya—a non-sectarian text.

The Caṇḍī-Māhātmya,[1] though concerned with the exploits of the goddess Caṇḍī, curiously enough does not form a part of the Pauraṇic texts sacred to the Śākta sect, namely the *Devī-Bhāgavata*, and the *Kālikā-Purāṇa*, which are taken as *Upa-purāṇas*. This fact clearly testifies to the non-sectarian nature of the Caṇḍī-Māhātmya, which comprises of 13 Adhyāyas (Adh. 78 to 90 in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*). The same episode is, however, found expanded to 35 Adhyāyas in the Fifth Skandha of the *Devī-Bhāgāvata*.

Its popularity in Gujarāt.

It is this non-sectarian character of the contents of the Durgā Māhātmya that has led to the prevalence and popularity of the theme, which is a panegyric to the glories of Śakti—the mother, protector, and the benefactor of the human race. Love, in its various spiritual forms thus permeates the cult of Kālī-Durgā in Gujarāt, where she has lost most of her terrible phase and has become the Sweet Mother of the Universe—our Madonna.

Subject-matter of Durgā Māhātmya.

The Durgā-Devī Māhātmya describes in great details the furious fights in which the goddess destroyed certain demons who were threatening the gods. Here her limitless power and her terrific appearance find forcible, even ghastly expression. She devours unnumbered foes and drinks their blood. It also deals with the exploits of the Goddess Caṇḍī, who killed the Buffalo-demon, emanated as she was as the spirit of light from Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, and the minor deities of the Olympus, who had contributed to the formation of the Mahādevī's limbs, as well as her ornaments and weapons.

The narrative.

The story runs that there was a king by the name of Suratha of the line of Caitra, who was driven away from his kingdom by powerful enemies and treacherous friends and who rode alone on horse-back to a dense jungle, knowing not what to do. There he met a Vaiśya by the name of Samādhi, who had been robbed by greedy sons and selfish wife. Both Suratha and

1. The text is variously known as "Devi Bhagavati Māhātmya" or "Devī Māhātmya," "Durgā Pāṭha," "Caṇḍī-Pāṭha" or shortly "Caṇḍī" and also "Sapta-śatī" (comprising of 700 verses).

Samādhi sought the hermitage of the Saint Médhas for the solution of their troubles and the attainment of mental peace. The Saint narrates the exploits of the Goddess, by whose grace both of them got the desired boons.

A mahākāvya on the subject by a Gujarāti poet.

The earliest literary reference to the Devī-Māhātmya episode in Gujarāt is the poem "Surathotsava"[1] by Someśvaradeva the reputed author of the historical panegyric, *Kīrti-Kaumudī*, a Nāgar Brāhmin from Vaḍnagar, who was honoured as Gurjareśvar Purohita during the reigns of two Hindu sovereigns Bhīmadeva and Viśaladeva in the 13th century A.D. It is a Sanskrit poem of 15 cantos in the style of Mahākāvya woven round the incident of king Suratha's banishment, who ultimately recovered his kingdom through the boon of the Devi, whose Māhātmya he heard, and by his devotion appeased her.[2]

Absence of Brāhmanical illustrated mss. on palm.

All the illustrated mss. of Devī-Māhātmya so far traced in Gujarāt belong to the second period of Western Indian Painting i.e. the paper-period from 1400 A.D. onwards.[3] Barring the Jaina and Buddha miniatures on palm of the First Period (1150-1400) no illustrated Brahmanical ms. on palm has yet to my knowledge, come to light.

Prolific sources of miniature-painting in Gujarāt.

The most prolific sources of materials for the school of Early Western Indian Miniature painting are decidedly the numerous palm and paper mss. of two Śvetāmbara Jaina works entitled the *Kalpasūtra* and the *Kālakācārya Kathā*. To this, however, may be added the equally popular series of the *Devīmāhātmya* and the *Bhāgavata Daśama Skandha* mss. that we come across in Gujarāt, lying scattered over several private collections, now in custody of Brāhmin families of old literary tradition.

Oldest known miniatures on paper.

The Devī-Māhātmya miniatures, introduced through this paper, are the oldest known Indian painting on paper bearing on the Śakti legend, representing an almost hitherto unknown school of Indian art, based on old traditions, and carrying us back at least a century and a half further (i.e. of the beginning of the 15th century) than the oldest available examples of Rājput and Mughal pictures on the same theme.

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1. Published in the "Kāvya Mālā" series.

2. The popularity of this theme is found to be catching even during the modern times in that it has been utilized as an epilogue to a Mahākāvya in Gujarāti. This poem is "Śānti Sudhā," by the late Pandit and Poet Chhoṭālāl N. Bhaṭṭ of Baroda, Published in 1869.

3. For the discussion of the Periods of "Western Indian Paintings" see the Story of Kālaka edited by Prof. W. N. Brown (1933, Washington) pp. 13-24; ch. II styled "Miniature Painting in Western India: 12th to 17th century."

PLATE I



FIGHT WITH SUMBHA

PLATE II



GRANTING OF BOONS TO KING SURATHA AND SAMĀDHI VAIŚYA

The discovery of the earliest series of Devī-Māhātmya miniatures.

The earliest paper ms. dealing with the episodes of the "Glories of the Goddess"—"the Devī-Māhātmya" is an incomplete ms. with about 35 folios which includes 12 miniatures, done in pure Gujarāti style. It was first discovered by me in 1934.

The following four illustrations will give a fairly good idea of the original.

Condition of the miniatures.

The condition of the miniatures is deplorable, the colours having all but worn out including even the brick-red back-ground. However the outline is in high relief and gives an adequate idea about the draughtsmanship of the artist. We are incidentally reminded of some of the panels from the *Vasanta Vilāsa* scroll, which are irreparably damaged. This series is important as being a valuable addition to Hindu miniatures of the Paper Period in the pure Gujarāti style i.e. from 1400 A.D. to about 1650 A.D.

The size of the folio is $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ with the miniature-penal to the right-hand, which generally measures $3'' \times 4''$. It has 14 lines in the page, and the writings are uniform. The fact that the scribe uses *pṛṣṭhamātrā* invariably in the ms. gives some antiquity as to its age. The ms. being incomplete we have no direct evidence as to its date. However the miniatures might have belonged to the 15th century A.D. at the latest, irrespective of other facts like the stylistic grounds.

Plate I.

Fight with Śumbha.

When Śumbha learnt the news that his commander-in-chief Dhūmralocana was killed and his army totally destroyed by the furious lion—the carrier (Vāhana) of the goddess—he himself entered the field riding on an elephant (Adhyāya 10) to face the goddess.

The figure of the goddess (folio 28 reverse) is depicted in full action, all the four hands being busy doing their might. The delineation of the lion, to be seen by her feet is done in a conventional manner. The style resembles one come across in figures given among the "fourteen dreams" of Triśalā in the illustrated mss. of the *Kalpasūtra*.

Plate II.

Granting of boons to King Suratha and Samādhi Vaiśya.

King Suratha and the merchant Samādhi, before whom the sage Médhas narrated the various episodes (*caritra*) and exploits of the goddess, as a result regained their peace of mind and they then practised penance and worship of the goddess. As a consequence they succeeded in appeasing the Goddess, who in her turn gave them what they wanted—the lost kingdom was given back to the banished King and highest knowledge leading to salvation was given to the Vaiśya, who was driven away from his home by unkind relatives.

In the miniature Suratha and Samādhi,—both shown with a halo,—are standing with folded hands before the Almighty yet kind Goddess. The conventional sky and the Devi's vehicle—lion—are also shown there.

Plate III.

Brahmā and Viṣṇu meeting the Mahādevi.

Brahmā with four faces and bearded accompanied with four-handed Viṣṇu is seen in front of the Goddess, obviously praising the Mahādevi, who is shown seated in *Virāsana* pose, but has a quiet and majestic look. In two of her upper hands she holds a *Vajra* and a *Khaṭvāṅga*, the lower left hand holding a lotus, and the right being in the *varada mudra*. The conventional cloud figures, here also, on the left hand top.

Plate IV.

Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa being taken by Cāmuṇḍā in two of her eight hands.

The standing figure of the eight-handed goddess (folio 30) came to be known as 'Cāmuṇḍā,' on account of her extraordinary exploit, viz. she carried in two of her hands both Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa, seizing them by their locks of hair. The self-complacence on the face of the Goddess is remarkable in the miniature. The two wretches being carried in her mighty hands, held so as to face each other, add to the grandeur and almightiness of her figure.

A narrative Art.

As already noticed, the art of Western Indian Painting, as manifest in Jaina and Hindu specimens, ranging from the 12th to the 17th centuries, is essentially a narrative medium and obviously intellectual rather than aesthetic in its motives. Their chief occupation is to illustrate the incidents as related in the text. Apart from the function of story-telling, they display a peculiar character in their drawings, nervous yet calligraphic, facile yet restless, and they have a charm quite their own.

This narrative art is as though it were a folk-art converted to the purpose of religion, used to illustrate legendary stories from the Epics and the Purāṇas, and as such it is not hieratic to the same degree as the cult image, but it is a dramatic presentation comparable to the stage.

An Art of Drawing.

It is evident from the bare outline that has survived the colours, (now deplorably worn out in many of the miniatures of this Devī-Māhātmya ms.) that it is the outline that establishes all the facts of the narrative. Though the colouring is strong and brilliant at places, still one feels that it is less essential than the drawing. The composition, though formal and traditionally fixed with abundance of details gives a valuable picture, as the presentation is characteristically linear.

The pictures are brilliant statements of facts and at times expressive of emotions from the story of the Devī Māhātmya, and every event is told in the

PLATE III



BRAHMĀ AND VIṢṆU MEETING THE MAHĀDEVĪ

PLATE IV



CAṆḌA AND MUṆḌA BEING TAKEN BY CĀMUṆḌĀ IN TWO OF HER EIGHT HANDS

art of symbols. Theme and formula compose an inseparable unity; text and pictures form a continuous relation of the same fact.

Landscape clouds.

A typical peculiarity of Indian Painting is the kind of perspective known as 'vertical projection,' whereby the landscape is presented as seen from the height, so that the horizon almost reaches the upper edge of the frame—nearly to the top of the page, leaving only a narrow strip of dark sky, in which are depicted heavy storm-clouds. This is characteristic of early Gujarāti and Rājasthāni painting alike, and may be regarded archaic; but it is anything but Persian or Chinese in manner.

The fondness of clouds is visible in the early series of the Devī-Māhātmya, (Plates II & III) where they appear in layers, curved and indented in shuffled surfaces, each slightly modelled, in about half dozen miniatures; and the planes are differentiated in the sense that the object or figure behind or at a distance is represented as above it.

Stereotype forms.

This is one of the reasons why these Gujarāti paintings became somewhat stereotyped, common in motif and composition—particularly in angular features of the human faces and types. The scenes depicted from one story are bound to be common, as each artist seems to have reproduced those known to his predecessors, and naturally the depicting of new scenes was a rarity. This does not mean, of course, that the art had not varied in style, nor that the details of costume, architecture and manners did not largely reflect the painter's own environment nor that there is no diversity of merit in these mediaeval works. However, as time went on, new ones were conceived, and the latter mss. contain sometimes twice as many scenes as this earlier one. In any case, we see here a purely Indian Art derived from old traditions.

Some peculiarities.

The miniatures of the earlier series have all the strongly marked characteristics in the peculiar angular physiognomy of the men and women, and in the extraordinary drawing of the big eyes, which are unduly elongated and often projected to the nose and even beyond. Generally there is no attempt at individual portraiture or definition of facial expression; the emphasis is almost wholly on the movements of hands and feet.

The study of Durgā Pāṭha.

The episodes narrated in the Devī-Māhātmya and the occasional panegyrics to the glory of the goddess refer more to the controlling of brute-force by the Soul-force of the kindest yet the cruellest of women—the Mahādevī—which is the Supreme Power. The real *Devī-Yuddha* is the destruction of egotism, pride and self-seeking with the power of God that is in us and acts through us. The study of the text and the paintings of the Devī-Māhātmya is, therefore, believed to lead to this ideal, if properly understood.

Jaina Representations of the Goddess.

The Jainas in Gujarāt are not averse to Śakti-worship ; however, they do not allow Śakti the place of principal reverence as creative energy of the world. And generally speaking, figures of women are in the background in the Śvetāmbara Jaina miniatures of the Gujarāti school, as they naturally play a restricted part in the lives of the Jinas, appearing mainly as their mothers. But representations of the glorified super-woman—Śakti—are met with in Jaina miniatures on palm as Vidyādevis, Śrutadevatās and the Yakṣiṇis of the Tīrthaṅkars, which disclose points of identity in respect of names, attributes vāhanas, etc. with those of the Navadurgās mentioned in the *Durgāpāṭha*.

The Gujarāti Style of the Miniatures.

The style of these representations of the Vidyādevis has been faithfully handed down, without any alteration upto the paper-period of the Hindu miniatures in the Durgāpāṭha Ms. illustrated above. The horizontal *tilaka* with a circular mark in the centre on the forehead, the tuft of hair artistically twisted in curls so as to touch the cheek, the peaked *mukuṭa*, the circular *kuṇḍalas*, the three-fourths profile of the face, with the other eye elongated shown in relief, the pointed nose and the roundness of the face, not to talk of the halo, and other minor accessories—these are facts sufficient to establish direct relationship and continuity of the older tradition in representing female figures as super-women. The facial expression, the drapery, ornaments, etc. of the male figures playing a subordinate rôle in the text describing the "Glories of the Goddess" such as Viṣṇu, Brahmā, demons, and their messengers, warriors, etc. are of the conventional type, with no special points of distinction between one another. The miniatures in this Ms. in short, exhibit all the marked peculiarities of style and manner going by the name of the "Gujarāti school of miniature-painting," which is in evidence from the 12th to the 17th century, after which it is more or less modified by Mughals and Rajput influences.*

* For a fuller treatment of these miniatures the reader is referred to my paper on "Earliest Devīmāhātmya miniatures with special reference to Śakti-worship in Gujarat" in the *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta, for 1938 (published in April 1939).

IDENTITY IN DIFFERENCE IN SOME VEDANTIC SYSTEMS

By

P. T. RAJU, Waltair.

There are a number of Vedantic systems which employ the concept of *bhedābheda* (identity-difference) in order to explain the relation between the Brahman or the Absolute and the world. This concept is formulated by them not simply through logical considerations but in order to reconcile the Upanishadic texts which preach identity in some places and difference in the other. It is the result of an attempt to construct a logic that would agree with the different teachings of the *śruti* rather than of an attempt to interpret the *śruti* according to the independent canons of logic. The original works on most of these *bhedābheda* systems are lost to us, and we know of them only through references and criticisms by subsequent writers. M. M. Lakshmipuram SRINIVASACHARYA mentions the names of Bhartṛprapañca, Bhartṛmitra, Brahmadatta,[1] and Yādavaprakāśa,[2] all of whom are known only through the works of others. Of the teachers mentioned in the *Brahmasūtras* it is difficult to say who actually held the *bhedābheda* view and in what form he held it; for each commentator on the *sūtras* interprets him as suits himself. Those whose works are handed down to us are Bhāskara, Nimbārka, and Śrīpati. Śrīkaṇṭha and Rāmānuja reject *bhedābheda* outwardly, though accepting it in truth in their own way. This paper deals with the views of these five.

While interpreting them it is usual to employ the concept of identity in difference. Mr. JOAD, while reviewing Professor SRINIVASACHARI'S *Philosophy of Bhedābheda* writes that *bhedābheda* means "roughly the philosophy of 'identity in difference'"[3]. Professor SRINIVASACHARI too uses the concept of identity in difference with reference to all the forms of *bhedābheda*, though certainly pointing out fundamental differences between them. Professor HIRIYANNA in the Foreward to the book writes: "The expression *bhedābheda* does not bear precisely the same significance in all the schools that make use of it, but it may generally be taken to indicate a belief that the *bheda* or 'distinction' and *abheda* or 'unity' can co-exist and be in intimate relation with each other". This seems to be the safest way of speaking about *bhedābheda*. But the concept according to some teachers of *bhedābheda* means identity in difference as understood in Western idealism. It is necessary to decide who among the Vedantic teachers comes nearest to the concept.

1. *Darśanodaya*, p. 92 (The Asst. Suptd. Govt. Branch Press, Mysore.)
2. *Ibid*, p. 192.
3. *The Aryan Path*, p. 40 (January 1935).

In the West the concept is most clearly formulated and consistently applied by Hegel and his followers. It is a concept of speculative reason which holds both the ideas of identity and difference transparent to each other. That is, reason, while holding the idea of difference, sees through it identity, and similarly while holding the idea of identity, sees through it difference. Hegel tells us that only as abstract concepts identity and difference are opposed to each other. Concrete thought, on the other hand, perceives their unity. He writes: "In point of form Logical doctrine has three sides: (α) the Abstract side, or that of understanding; (β) the Dialectical, or that of negative reason; (γ) the Speculative, or that of positive reason."[1] "Thought, as Understanding, sticks to fixity of characters and their distinctions from one another: every such limited abstract it treats as having a subsistence and being of its own".[2] "In the Dialectical stage these finite characterisations or formulae supersede themselves and pass into their opposites"[3]. "But when the dialectical principle is employed by the understanding separately and independently,—especially as seen in its application to philosophical theories, Dialectic becomes Scepticism; in which the result that ensues from its action is presented as a mere negation"[4]. "The Speculative stage or stage of Positive Reason, apprehends the unity of tems (propositions) in their opposition,—the affirmative which is involved in their disintegration and in their transition"[5]. Speculative reason sees indendity imprinted on every element of difference, the whole in every part. An example of such a unity, Bosanquet tells us, is the æsthetic whole, in which the presence of the whole is felt in every part.

Evidently this is a concept of the spectator. Western philosophical tradition in general understands the philosopher as a spectator of all existence and eternity. But the stand-point of Indian philosophy in general is of man's life in its process, and not merely that of the spectator of this process.[6] The chief aim of philosophy is not merely a logical understanding of the universe; such an understanding is subservient to the realisation of something higher, which is beyond logic. All the Vedantic systems admit in one form or other an inexplicable entity which eludes logic.[7] Still some do not give up the attempt to press the Brahman into the moulds of logic. Thus an inherent contradiction presents itself in their systems. Hegel identified philosophy with contemplative life, and placed it higher than even religion. He treated religion not from the stand-point of one who is under-

1. W. WALLACE: *The Logic of Hegel*, p. 143.
2. Op. cit.
3. *Ibid*, p. 147.
4. Op. cit.
5. *Ibid*, p. 152.
6. See RADHAKRISHNAN: *Contemporary Indian Philosophy*, p. 258. ("We are not contemplating the world from outside but are in it") and also the author's *Thought and Reality*, pp. 248-9.
7. See commentaries on the *Brahmasūtra*, *Ātmaniścāyam, siddhāntaḥ hi* (II, I, 28 according to all but Nimbārka according to whom II, 1, 27.)

going an experience, but as a concept or category, that is, from the standpoint of one who looks unaffected at religion. But for Indian philosophy religious life is the highest, and philosophy has to stop before its portals and completely surrender itself to it. Because Hegel's stand-point is that of the unaffected contemplative life, he was able to view the Absolute as an identity in difference, in which the unity of the Absolute and the plurality of the world are held together in transparent unity. Whether the resulting systems is true to facts or not, his method is consistent with his aim. But the Indian philosopher is at a disadvantage concerning this point. His aim is something that transcends logic, and naturally his method is at variance with his aim. Some like Śaṅkara saw this clearly and accordingly constructed their systems. But others held on to thought and logic, and tried to bring down what is beyond. They tried to retain both identity and difference. The aim of this paper is to investigate how far they have succeeded in retaining both.

II

Bhāskara is the earliest of the upholders of *bhedābheda* whose commentaries on the *Brahmasūtras* are available. According to him the world is a transformation or *pariṇāma* of the Brahman just as curd is the transformaction of milk.[1] Yet the nature of the Brahman is not thereby affected. He remains the same in spite of *pariṇāma*. It is therefore open for us to question how the world can be a *pariṇāma* of the Brahman. The objection is anticipated by Bhāskara himself. When milk is transformed into curd it is no longer available as milk. But Bhāskara tells us that the analogy between the transformation of milk into curd and of the Brahman into the world should not be carried on all fours. The Brahman possesses infinite power or energy (*śakti*) and makes this power undergo transformation,[2] so that he can remain what he is. Pariṇāma is for Bhāskara the throwing out of energy (*śaktiviśeṣa*).[3] Naturally between energy and the agent who possesses it there can be no difference. Bhāskara says that the Īśvara or the Brahman has two-fold energy : one that takes the form of the enjoyer and the other that of the object of enjoyment.[4] Thus as effect there is difference, but as cause all is one ; just as ear-rings, bangles, etc., are as such different from each other, though they are one as gold.[5] Bhāskara tells us that the world is also a peculiar state (*avasthā*) of the Brahman.[6] Yet the finite soul or jīva is not a *vikāra* of the Brahman,[7] for *vikāra* is an actual transfor-

1. *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* by Bhāskarācārya, II, 24. (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series)
2. *Ibid*, p. 97.
3. *Ibid*, p. 85.
4. *Ibid*, p. 105.
5. *Ibid*, p. 18.
6. *Ibid*, p. 96. *Paramātmano 'vasthāviśeṣaḥ prapañco'yam ata eva vastutvam.*
7. *Ibid*, p. 134. *Na cātrāpi vikārabhāvo vivakṣitaḥ kintūpadhikṛtabhedābhiprāyā hi sā.* M. M. Lakshmipuram Śrinivasacharya writes that the world is an

mation, just as the world is a *vikāra* of *Prakṛti* according to the Sāṅkhya. Bhāskara does not accept the supra-rational Brahman but one who is determinate.[1] The difference between the Brahman and the jīva is due to *upādis* or limiting adjuncts, and therefore is not natural (*svābhāvika*) ; so that it lasts only until the jīva is liberated.[2] But the non-difference or *abheda* between the two is natural[3] (*svabhāvika*). As the difference is due to limitations and therefore external, it can be removed by contemplating on non-difference.[4] But the *upādhis* are real unlike the *māyā* of the advaitin. They are not false like the horns of hare.[5] They are forms of the Brahman's *śakti* or energy ; and so both difference and non-difference between the Brahman and the *upādhis* are natural.[6] For if this difference also is not natural it must be due to some *upādhi* as in the case of the *jīva*. Then to explain one *upādhi* we have to postulate another, and to explain the second we have to postulate a third, and so on *ad infinitum*. Thus unlike Yādavaprakāśin, Bhāskara draws a distinction between the forms of *bhedābheda* relation to be found between the Brahman and the jīva and that between the Brahman and the inorganic world. If it is asked how can a relation be both difference and non-difference, which are contradictories, he says that they are not contradictories. One thing, of course, cannot be both cold and hot, because the relation between the two is not that of cause and effect. But the relation between the Brahman and the world is that of cause and effect ; so the Brahman can be both different and non-different from the world.[7]

So far as regards the essentials of Bhāskara's system. Now how far are we justified in regarding it as a philosophy of identity in difference?

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avasthā or state of the Brahman according to Bhartṛprapañca, *vikāra* or actual transformation according to Bhāskara, and energy or *śakti* of the Brahman according to Yādavaprakāśa ; Rāmānuja accepts the last view in a refined form. But Bhāskara seems to reject the view of *vikāra* as regards the relation between the Brahman and the jīva and uses the words *śakti* and *avasthā*, while explaining the relation between the Brahman and whole phenomenal world. See *Darśanodaya*, p. 192.

1. Bhāskarācārya's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣyam*, p. 238.

2. *Ibid*, p. 81. *Amuktebheda eva syāt jīvasya ca parasya ca, muktasya ca na bhedo'sti bhedahetorabhāvataḥ.*

3. *Ibid*, p. 170. *Yasmādubhedaḥ svā bhāvikaḥ,*

4. *Ibid*, p. 141.

5. This is certainly a misunderstanding of the Advaitin. He does not hold that *māyā* is unreal like the horns of a hare. It is neither real like the Brahman nor unreal like the horns of a hare.

6. Sudarśanasūri, the commentator on Rāmānuja's *Vedārthasaṅgraha*, says : *Bhāskarayādavaprakāśābhyāṁ svābhāvikatārthasādhakapramāṇasiddhyarthaṁ bandhamokṣādipramāṇasiddhyarthaṁ Prapañcasya pāramārthyamabhyupetam. Tatra muktau abhedalakṣaṇaḥ bhedasyaupādhikatvam abhedasya svābhāvikatvam jīvabrahmaṇorabhyupetam. Acidbrahmaṇostu sarvasya brahmātmakatvaśruteḥ nirmalatvādiśruteḥ upādhyantarābhyupagame anavasthānāt ca bhedābhedau svābhāvikau abhyupagatau bhāskarairate. Yādavaprakāśamataṁ tu muktāvapi bhedanirdeśaśruteḥ jīvabrahmaṇośca bhedābhedau svābhāvikau abhimatau iti bhidā*, p. 95.

7. Bhāskara's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, p. 17.

The religious interest of Bhāskara is quite apparent. It is a process from something to something else. The finite self during its phenomenal existence is different from the Brahman; but in the state of *mukti* or liberation it is identical with it. There is thus a process from difference to non-difference. Naturally this relation cannot be identity *in* difference, for both identity and difference do not exist at one and the same time. If the relation between the Brahman and the jīva were both identity and difference even in *mukti*, we could have said that it is identity in difference. In *mukti* even the *svarūpa* of the jīva, that is, his individual form, is not left.[1] But the relation between the Brahman and the world is identity and difference at one and the same time, and so identity in difference. The physical world is the *śakti* or energy of the Brahman, and this energy cannot be grasped without grasping the Brahman, and hence must be said to be both identical with, and different from him. As a matter of fact, even the jīva is said to be the energy of the Brahman (*bhoktṛśakti*). But he does not seem to be an effect of the Brahman. Bhāskara tells us that the Brahman exists in a threefold form,—as the cause, the effect, and the jīva. The separate mention of the jīva here shows that he is not included in the effect.[2] Bhāskara further tells us that because the *bhogyaśakti* transforms itself into the physical world, the *bhoktṛśakti* stands as the jīva.[3] So the jīva does not seem to be the result of transformation. He is the Brahman stupified by the power of the *upādhis* (world). And it is not really the conception of the relation between energy and its possessor that led Bhāskara to postulate natural identity in difference (*svābhāvikābhedābheda*) between the Brahman and the physical world.[4] It is rather, as said above, the consideration that if the difference between the two were not natural it must be due to some *upādhis*, and thus we shall be led to postulate one *upādhi* to explain another and so forth. Thus in Bhāskara we do not find a system which is through and through a philosophy of identity in difference; for he tried to be faithful to the general tradition of Indian philosophy, namely, that of explaining things from the stand-point of the experiencer himself, and not that of the spectator.

III

Rāmānuja explicitly rejects the theory of *bhedābheda* in many places of his *Śrībhāṣyam*. But his *Viśiṣṭādvaita* is really a reinterpretation of *bhedā-*

1. *Ibid*, p. 231. *Brahmaṇi kalānām avibhāgaḥ svarūpavyatirekibhāvo lavaṇasya iva samudraprāptau.*

2. *Ibid*, p. 7. *Brahma kāraṇātmanā kāryātmanā jīvātmanā ca tridhā sthitam.*

3. *Ibid*, p. 105.

4. See P. N. SRINIVASACHARI: *The Philosophy of Bhedābheda*, p. 243. M. M. Lakshmipuram Srinivasacharya tells us that according to Saṅkara identity between the Brahman and the jīva is real and difference unreal; for Bhāskara difference is due to limitation and so ends, and identity is real; and for Yadavaprakasa identity is due to *śakti* or energy and difference due to individuality. Thus for all three identity is primary and difference secondary. But for Rāmānuja difference is primary and identity secondary. See *Darśanodaya*, p. 194.

bheda. All commentators say that both identity and difference are to be found between the Brahman and the jīva; but some hold that one is primary while the other is secondary or unreal. Only where both are equally real and primary do we find identity in difference. Rāmānuja accepts three kinds of reality, the Brahman, the jīva, and the physical world. The latter two form the *śakti* of the former. Rāmānuja's theory therefore is a form of *śaktivāda* like that of Yādavaprakāśa.[1] But the energy and its possessor cannot be separated, though they are not the same merely. Hence the Brahman is not indeterminate but determinate, that is, particularised by *śakti* (*śakti viśiṣṭa*). The relation between the two is that between body and soul.[2] The Brahman's body comprises both the jīvas and the physical world. It is an instrument of his play (*līlā*). It has two states, the *sūkṣma* or the subtle and the *sthūla* or the gross.[3] In the subtle state it is called *tamas* or darkness,[4] in which the world of forms and names is not explicit. The division into forms and names occurs only in the gross state. The Brahman with the subtle body is the cause of the world, and with his gross body is the effect of himself.[5] In the gross state the Brahman becomes a plurality, but in the subtle state he is a unity. The world is due to his *pariṇāma* or transformation. The *pariṇāma* does not affect his nature, because it is his body that undergoes change, while he as the soul of his body remains static. The affections of body cannot be attributed to soul, and the qualities of soul cannot be attributed to body.[6] By regarding the jīva as the body of the Brahman both in the subtle and the gross states we can retain both identity and difference. As the body the jīva is the mark or attribute (*prakāra*) of the Brahman. And as his attribute cannot be obtained apart from the Brahman there is identity between the two; yet one is not the other and so difference also holds between them.[7] Thus the difference between the two is not merely due to *upādhis* or *māyā*, but real, natural and eternal.[8] The body of the Brahman which comprises both the jīvas and the inorganic world is eternal and in its subtle form is unconscious; so that we have to infer that, during the dissolution of the world when the jīva is transformed into the subtle body of the Brahman, he becomes unconscious.[9] He is not a novel creation, but eternal. Rāmānuja denies that the *pāñcarātra* systems advocates the birth and therefore the beginning

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1. *Ibid*, p. 192.
2. *Śrībhāṣyam*, Vol. II, p. 162. (R. V. and Co.)
3. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 408.
4. *Ibid*, p. 405.
5. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 13. See also p. 407, Vol. I.
6. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 162.
7. Op. cit. *Jīvaparayorviśeṣaṇaviśeṣyayoraṁśāṁśitvam svabhāvabhedaśca upapadyate.*
8. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 402. *Jagatkāraṇasya parasya brahmaṇaḥ prakāratvābhūtam atiśūkṣmam cid acidvastu nityameva.*
9. *Ibid*, II, 2, 42.

of the jīva.[1] In the liberated state the jīva regains his original purity.[2] This pure state of the Jīva is not destroyed even in the mundane world, but is only screened by *avidyā*[3] which is of the form of *karma*. In *mukti* the jīva is identical with the Brahman only in the sense of inseparability.[4] Then he experiences that he is the Brahman, not in the sense that he actually becomes the Brahman, but in the sense that he becomes equal to him in purity.[5] Because of this difference even in *mukti* the jīva cannot possess the power of creation.[6]

Rāmānuja objects to *bhedābheda* because the identity between the jīva and the Brahman, according to Bhāskara, is an identity of their form; but he is prepared to accept their identity if it is like that of body and soul.[7] Rāmānuja's theory may therefore be rightly said to be a form of identity in difference. The reason for his dislike of the word *bhedābheda* seems to lie in his desire to drag down a purely logical concept to the physical level, and understand it in terms that are accessible to imagination. However, his insistence on the inseparability (*apṛthaksiddhatva*) of the jīva and the Brahman reveals his inclination towards *bhedābheda*. But it does not seem that according to his conception both identity and difference can be held together in transparent unity as in Hegel. For identity is secondary for him and is not primary like difference. True, the world along with the jīvas is the result of the transformation or *pariṇāma* of the *śakti* of the Brahman, and so inseparable from him. And so far as difference and inseparability are emphasized even in *mukti* between the jīva and the Brahman Rāmānuja is more an advocate of identity in difference than even Bhāskara, according to whom in *mukti* there is only identity. The process from the state of bondage to the state of liberation is a process from one form of identity in difference to another; but there is no process between identity and difference. In one passage he seems to say that creation is a process from identity to difference.[8] But both in the evolved and the unevolved stages the world and the jīvas constitute the Brahman's body and the problem of the relation between the two remains always and the relation is always identity in difference. We may therefore conclude that there are really only two entities, the Brahman and his body,

1. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 468.
2. Not the Advaitin's *avidyā*. Cp. Ibid, p. 469.
3. *Ibid*, p. 437. *Apṛthakbhāva.*
4. *Ibid*, pp. 472-3. *Atosvīkāgena brahmaśabdāntyavibhaktyavibhaktayā sāmyasāmānyavyapadeśo brahmaprakārabhūtasya eva pratyagātmanaḥ svarūpaṃ tatsamamiti devādidṛṣṭarūpa-prakaṇena brahmasamāna śuddhiṃ pratipādayati.*
5. *Ibid*, IV, 4, 17. This sūtra applies to all *muktas* or liberated souls according to Rāmānuja; according to Saṅkara only to those who meditate on the *Saguṇa* or determinate Brahman; and according to Bhāskara only to those liberated souls who yet stand in separation from the Brahman.
6. *Vedārthasaṅgraha*, p. 97. *Īśvarasya svarūpeṇa tādātmyasaṃsarga syādayaṃ doṣaḥ Aimśarīrabhāvena tu tādātmyapratipādaṃ na kaścid doṣaḥ.*
7. *Śrībhāṣyam*, Vol. I, p. 402.

between which the relation is identity in difference as each cannot be obtained without the other. One of the terms of this relation (as *Tamas*) undergoes *pariṇāma*; in the evolved state it is a plurality, but in the unevolved an identity. And because the Brahman's body in the unevolved state (*Tamas*) is the material cause of the evolved state, the relation between the two states again is identity in difference. This idea is nearer to our imagination than Bhāskara's. Rāmānuja's, though he is fighting shy of the purely logical concept, is really more a system of identity in difference than the other's. The pure concepts of what Hegel calls ordinary understanding, identity and difference, Rāmānuja opposes to each other, finds that they are incompatible, makes no attempt to synthesise them, goes to the concrete example of body and soul, but actually sees in it identity and difference and therefore their synthesis. Rāmānuja's eagerness to use a concrete example for solving the problem may give rise to a difficulty. According to the general Indian tradition, though the physical body cannot exist without a soul it is not admitted that the soul cannot exist without a body. It may therefore be said that the body cannot exist without a soul though the soul can exist without a body. Hence the relation of inseparability or *apṛthaksiddhatva* is not equal in both directions. With this agrees the general opinion that for Rāmānuja difference is primary and identity secondary. He himself accepts Bādarāyaṇa's view that in *Mukti* the liberated soul may or may not have a body.[1] So far Rāmānuja's system too is not a thorough-going identity in difference.

Besides, the jīva in *mukti* does not really feel his identity with the Brahman, but only that he is as pure as he, that the latter is really his soul, and that his thoughts and actions are controlled by him, though through his grace he can enjoy everything. That is, the jīva actually feels his difference from the Brahman. So from the stand-point of the jīva and his experience Rāmānuja's cannot be identity in difference. Who is to feel the identity between energy and its possessor? It is only the external spectator. Thus far Rāmānuja's turns out to be a philosophy written from the stand-point of the spectator and is a deviation from the general Indian tradition. There is a further difficulty due to Rāmānuja's understanding the relation between the jīva and the Brahman in terms of the relation between body and soul, one an unconscious and the other a conscious entity. It is not merely due to our carrying the analogy on all fours. The unconscious never thinks and therefore cannot speculate about the relation between the conscious and itself. It is only some outsider that can think of this relation. If the relation between the jīva and the Brahman were really identity and difference at the same time, the jīva should not be in the position in which Rāmānuja places him in *mukti*.

IV

Nimbārka's is the most thorough-going and consistent of the Indian

1. *Ibid*, IV, p. 4, 2.

philosophies of identity in difference. His commentary on the *Brahmasūtras* is too short to give us an adequate idea of his difference from the other philosophies of identity in difference. We can get the details of his system only from Śrīnivāsa's commentary upon it. Śrīnivāsa tells us that he is Nimbārka's disciple and wrote his commentary at his teacher's command. The world according to Nimbārka is the *pariṇāma* or transformation of the Brahman. The jīva too is included in the effect, and thus the Brahman is the cause of the jīva and the physical world. As cause he differs from the latter two, and this difference is primary. Yet the material cause cannot be separated from the effect, therefore there is identity between the two, and this identity too is primary. Hence the relation between the Brahman and the world including the jīvas is both identity and difference at once. And both identity and difference are natural and real.[1] Nimbārka's view thus differs from that of Bhāskara. Śrīnivāsa interprets Audulomi as holding the view later advocated by Bhāskara, and tells us that this view is mentioned just to benefit dull intellects. He interprets Kāśakṛtsna in the next *sūtra* as holding the view of natural difference and identity.

The Brahman has two kinds of *śakti* or energy, the energy that takes the form of the enjoyer and that which takes the form of the objects of enjoyment. Both undergo transformation and evolve the jīvas and the physical world.[2] Bhāskara too speaks of two kinds of *śakti*, but the jīva according to him does not seem to be the result of the transformation of the first form, but is the same as the Brahman conditioned by the second form of *śakti* becoming *upādhi*. This accords with his conception that the identity between the jīva and the Brahman is natural (*svābhāvika*) and in *mukti* is identity of form also (*svārūpya*), whereas the difference between the two is due to limitations. According to both Bhāskara and Nimbārka *pariṇāma* is the throwing out of *śakti* (*śaktivikṣepa*).[4] For Nimbārka the Brahman is both identical with, and different from the jīva and the world *naturally*; yet he is not identical with them *in form*, though he is different from them *in form*.[5]

Though the jīva is the effect of the Brahman, he is eternal, not created.[6] Besides, in *mukti* the jīva is said to attain his original form of purity.[7] He

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1. Nimbārka's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣyam*, p. 139. (Chowkamba Sanskrit Series). *Yato vā imāni bhūtāni jāyante ityādau jīvopi bhūteṣu praviṣṭaḥ khalu kāryamadhye gaṇitaḥ brahma kāraṇam. Kāryakāraṇatvābhyām tayorbhedo mukhya eva. Atra dvaitavākyāni arthavanti bhavanti Kāryasya ca tajjñātvādinā tadananyatvādabhedovi mukhyaḥ. Evamatra advaitavākyāni arthavanti bhavanti. Evamubhayavidhavākyānam sārthe prāmāṇyāt jīvabrahmaṇorbhedābhedasambandhoḥ svābhāvikaḥ.*

2. *Ibid*, 146. *Sthūlabuddhi janopakārāya bhagavataḥ Auḍulomerbhedābhedaeva samabhikitaḥ.*

3. *Ibid*, p. 169.

4. *Ibid*, p. 170 *Śaktivikṣepalakṣaṇaḥ pariṇāmo gṛhyate.*

5. *Ibid*, pp. 165-6.

6. *Ibid*, II, 3, 17.

7. *Ibid*, IV, 4, 1.

is said to be an *aṁśa* or part of the Brahman, but *aṁśa* means only energy.[1] In *mukti* though the jīva is said to be identical with the Brahman, he is not so in form.[2] There he obtains all the perfections of the Brahman excepting the power of creation.[3]

In Nimbārka's philosophy, we thus see, the conception of identity in difference is rendered more consistent than in any other Indian system. Both identity and difference are given equal primacy and are declared to be natural and real. Of course identity in form (*svarūpaikya*) is not admitted by him; for if that is admitted there will be left no room for difference of any kind, as in *mukti* according to Śaṅkara and Bhāskara. Though Nimbārka has thus gained in consistency, he has deviated from the general philosophical tradition of India. For in *mukti* how can the jīva know at the same time both tradition from, and identity with the Brahman? The difference is not only natural but in form also; and the identity, though declared to be natural, that is, to belong to their nature, is nothing but inseparability.[4] The jīva is a jīva only because of his form. And so long as he knows his difference because of his form, it is difficult to understand how he can know his identity. This identity would be just of the same nature as that between one jīva and another, for these also possess the same nature. So it can only be an outside intelligence that can bring together both identity and difference from two sides, and try to have an idea of their unity. Hence Nimbārka does not interpret the relation between the jīva and the Brahman in terms of the former's life process, but as can be understood by an external spectator. Nor can it be said that the jīva as the *śakti* of the Brahmans feels his identity with him. For if the jīva as the *bhoktṛ-śakti* of the Brahman feels the identity of his consciousness with that of the Brahman, it is then difficult to conceive how he can feel the difference.

V

Śrīkaṇṭha, who is Śaiva commentator on the *Brahmasūtras*, calls his system by the name *Viśiṣṭādvaita*. He says that it can account for both *bheda* or difference and *abheda* or non-difference. The whole world along with the jīvas forms the body of the Brahman; and as the body is not separate from the soul, and yet is not the same as the soul, both identity and difference hold between the two.[5] Yet the relation is not *bhedābheda*, because identity and difference are opposed to each other. The world with the jīvas is the manifestation of the *śakti* or energy of the Brahman, and the

1. *Ibid*, II, 3, 42, *Aṁśo hi śaktirūpo grāhyaḥ.*
2. *Ibid.* p. 425. *Svarūpataḥ svābhāvike vibhāgepi svarūpāvibhāgastu neṣṭaḥ.*
3. *Ibid*, IV, 4, 17.
4. *Ibid*, p. 398. *Nirapekṣasthitirahitatvam.*
5. Śrīkaṇṭha's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣyam*, Vol. II, p. 31. (Nirnaya Sagar Press). *Bhedābhedakalpanam viśiṣṭādvaitam sādhayāmaḥ...śarīraśarīriṇoriva viśiṣṭāṅgitvāvādinaḥ....Prapañcabrahmaṇoranyatvam nāma....viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyatvena ca vinābhāvarahitatvam....Tadā brahma vinā na prapañcalakṣṇasthitiḥ. Śaktivyatirekeṇa na kadācidapi brahma vijñāyate vahnerivauṣṇyam vinā. Yena vinā yanna vijñāyate tattena viśiṣṭameva. Tattvam ca tasya svabhāva eva. Ataḥ sarvathā prapañcāvinābhūtam brahma tasmādamayaditycucyate. Bhedaśca svābhāvikaḥ.*

latter is always qualified or particularised by the *śakti*. This qualification or particularisation is natural (*svābhāvika*) like the difference between the two. Just as this *śakti* can never exist without the Brahman (*avinābhūta*), the latter also can never be seen without the *śakti*.

The world and the jīvas are due to the transformation or *pariṇāma* of the Brahman. But really this is a *pariṇāma* of his *śakti*; so that it is the material cause (*upādāna kāraṇa*) of the world and he the efficient cause (*nimitta kāraṇa*). In the state of dissolution the world does not disappear altogether but remains in a subtle state. The Brahman with his subtle *śakti* is the cause of the world, and with his gross *śakti* the effect.[1] In either case, he has a body either subtle or gross. This *śakti* is called *chidambaram*.[2] Before creation the world was in the form of *Tamas* or Darkness. But *jñānaśakti* or the energy of consciousness began to act, dispelled darkness, and the world appeared.[3]

The jīva is eternal and had no beginning.[4] Śrīkaṇṭha does not accept the views of Śaṅkara and Bhāskara that the jīva is nothing but the Brahman conditioned by *upādhis* or limitations either false or real.[5] In *mukti* the jīva attains his original state of purity. He does not become completely identical with the Brahman, that is in form, but comes to possess qualities like his.[6] Śrīkaṇṭha does not allow the power of creation to the liberated souls. That power is a prerogative of the Brahman only.[7]

So far we see that the philosophical systems of Rāmānuja and Śrīkaṇṭha are identical in almost every respect. Consequently the remarks we made on Rāmānuja's system apply with equal force to Śrīkaṇṭha's. But Appayya Dīkṣita in his *Śivārkamaṇidīpikā*, a commentary on Śrīkaṇṭha's commentary on the *Brahmasūtras*, as well as in his *Śivādvaitanirṇaya*, tries to prove that Śrīkaṇṭha is an *advaitin*, in spite of the latter's explicit declaration that his system is *viśiṣṭādvaita*. Apart from the question of the interpretation of the *śruti* texts, there are two important arguments of Appayya concerning doctrine. The first is that Śrīkaṇṭha advises the individual to meditate on the Brahman as his own self (*ātman*), whereas Rāmānuja advises that the Brahman has to be meditated upon as the self (*ātman*) of the individual who is the body of the Brahman, of whom therefore the Brahman is the self.[8] The second is that Śrīkaṇṭha draws a distinction between the *nirvayava* or unrelated Brahman and the *viśiṣṭa* or modified (related) Brahman. Taking the first argument we find that it is an inference from what has not been said. Just like Rāmānuja

1. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 135.
2. *Ibid*, p. 123.
3. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 566.
4. *Ibid*, II, 2, 41, and II, 3, 18.
5. *Ibid*, II, 3, 49. *Satyamāthyopādhibhyām buddhasya brahmaṇaḥ eva jīvabhāva iti pakṣadvayepi yuktaya abhāsā eva.*
6. *Ibid*, IV, 4, 1, and IV, 2, 14.
7. *Ibid*, IV, 4, 17.
8. *Ibid*, See respective commentaries on IV, 1, 3.

Śrīkaṇṭha says that one has to meditate on the Brahman as one's own *ātman*, but he does not add "because just as one is the *ātman* of one's body the Brahman is the *ātman* of the jīva." But from this mere absence of mention in that place we should not conclude that the jīva and the Brahman are absolutely identical for Śrīkaṇṭha. The passages in which he refers to their difference are overwhelming in number. It is true that Śrīkaṇṭha tells us that the Brahman grants his own form (*svarūpa*) to the meditator, though both are different from each other.[1] But this passage is only misleading if taken by itself, and has to be interpreted in the light of views expressed in the commentary on later *sūtras* which describe the state of *mukti*. In IV, 4, 1, and IV, 2, 14, for example, Śrīkaṇṭha says that the jīva in *mukti* does not leave his form (*svarūpa*) but becomes like the Brahman. Appayya's clinching upon the Upaniṣadic sayings *tattvamasi*, That thou art, *tvaṁ vā ahaṁ asmi*, Thou art myself, the one identifying the jīva with the Brahman and the other identifying the Brahman with the jīva, as implying complete identity, but not merely the sort of identity that is to be found between the body and the soul,[2] is not really conclusive; for Śrīkaṇṭha holds that just as the *śakti* including both the world and the jīvas cannot exist without the Brahman the latter too can never be found without his *śakti*,[3] so that the relation of inseparability holds in both directions equally. Hence, identity for Śrīkaṇṭha has to be explained accordingly.

As regards the second argument, Professor Suryanarayana Sastri says that the *niravayava* Brahman of Śrīkaṇṭha, need not be same as the *nirguṇa* Brahman of Śaṅkara, nor need it be higher, for Śrīkaṇṭha, than the *saguṇa* or *viśiṣṭa*-Brahman.[4] He tells us that in some Śaiva *Āgamas* meditation on the *niravayava* Brahman is a preparatory stage for meditation on the *saguṇa* Brahman. Śrīpati, a Vīraśaiva commentator on the *Brahmasūtras*, rejects *Viśiṣṭādvaita* and calls it *Saṁyuktādvaita*, dualism in which the terms are simply conjoined (like body and soul according to the general Indian belief), the two terms here being the Brahman and the *śakti*. We may probably venture upon a guess that the *niravayava* Brahman is the Brahman without the *śakti*, while the related Brahman is the one with the *śakti*.[5] And because according to Śrīkaṇṭha the true Brahman is the latter, the former is an abstraction from him and so his falsified form, and hence occupies a lower position. The fact that Śrīkaṇṭha does not refer to *śaktiviśiṣṭa* Brahman in his commentary on IV, 1, 3, where he advises the individual to meditate on the Brahman as his own self, is perhaps due to his belief that the jīva can never become such a Brahman, but only a pure one like the *niravayava* one. For the former possesses the power of creation which is refused by Śrīkaṇṭha to the liberated

1. *Ibid*, p. 427. *Upāsiturarthāntaratvepi tāmupāsitṛsvanugṛhṇati svasvarūpatayā paraṁ brahma.—Ato niratiśayaṁ śivatvamiti bhāvanāprakāśena śithilitapāśatayā apagatapaśubhāva upāsakaḥ śiva eva bhavati.*
2. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 427, (see *Śivādvaitamañjīrikā*).
3. *Ibid*, p. 31.
4. *Śivādvaita of Śrikaṇṭha*, pp. 37 foll.
5. *Anvaya* = relation.

souls. However, the arguments cannot be conclusive on either side. But if we are to interpret his system as a whole, Śrīkaṇṭha must be declared to be a *viśiṣṭādvaitin*. As Professor Suryanarayana Sastri says, as an expositor of what Śrīkaṇṭha ought to have said Appayya may be right, but as an interpretor of Śrīkaṇṭha's meaning he may be wrong.[1] As a matter of fact, it is possible by a criticism of every philosopher to point out presuppositions that could never have been knowingly made by him.

VI

Śrīpati is another Śaiva (Vīraśaiva) commentator on the *Brahmasūtras*. He calls his system *bhedābheda*, *dvaitādvaita*, and *viśeṣādvaita*.[2] He does not accept the *nirviśeṣa* or indeterminate but only the *saviśeṣa* or determinate Brahman.[3] The world along with the jīvas forms the *viśeṣa* or quality of the Brahman. It is really his *śakti* or energy by which he is particularised. The jīva is at the same time a part of the Brahman.[4] Śrīpati's language here is misleading in that it makes the reader think that he is a *viśiṣṭādvaitin* like Rāmānuja. But as Rao Saheb Hayavadana Rao points out, it is wrong to interpret Śrīpati as a *śaktiviśiṣṭādvaitin*.[5] Śrīpati openly criticises *Viśiṣṭādvaita* as *saṃyuktadvaita* or joined-dualism; for if the jīva were really an organ of the Brahman's body, the latter would be affected by the pains and pleasures of the former.[6] He mentions the name of Śrīkaṇṭha who also held the view of *Viśiṣṭādvaita* and disagrees with him.[7] This shows that Śrīpati is opposed to this physical conception of the relation between the jīva and the Brahman. The relation between the *daṇḍa*, the stick, and the *daṇḍin*, the person who holds the stick, is certainly physical, though the stick so long as it exists in the latter's hands remains a mark or *prakāra* which distinguishes him from those who do not hold sticks. But the relation between the two is not internal. This seems to be the reason why Śrīpati is dissatisfied with *Viśiṣṭādvaita*. Like Nimbārka he tells us that both *dvaita* or duality and *advaita* or non-duality are natural[8] (*svābhāvika*). He disagrees with those who say that one is primary and the other is secondary; and thus both Rāmānuja and Bhāskara are not acceptable to him, because for the former identity and for the latter difference are secondary. Śrīpati mentions another view of *bhedābheda* which is like Bhāskara's concerning the relation

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1. *Śivādvaita of Śrikaṇṭha*, p. 39.
2. *Śrikarabhāṣyam*, Vol. II, p. 2. (Edited by Rao Saheb C. Hayavadana Rao. Bangalore Press, Bangalore).
3. *Ibid*, p. 15.
4. *Ibid*, II, 3, 48. *Viśiṣṭaikavastuno viśeṣaṇamaṃśa eva. Evaṃ jīvaparayoraṃśāṃśitvam.*
5. *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 860.
6. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 20. *Sadāśeṣaśeṣitvavyavasthāpaṇasaṃyuktadvaitapañcarātrādivat nacāṅgāṅgitvena sāvayavatvavādinaḥ. Jīvavat sukhaduḥkhabhāktvaprasaṅgāt. Tasmādvayaṃ svābhāvikasarvaśrutisamanvayabhedābhedavādina iti vāddhāntaḥ.*
7. *Ibid*, p. 200.
8. *Ibid*, p. 6. *Dvaitādvaitayor eva svābhāvikasya sarvaśrutisamanvayāt.*

between the jīva and the Brahman, but unlike his as regards the relation between the Brahman and physical world, between which both identity and difference are declared to be not natural (*svābhāvika*).[1] Of course he does not accept the view. For him the world is a *pariṇāma* or transformation of the Brahman. But it is really Brahman's *māyāśakti* or energy called *māyā* that is transformed into the world and so is its material cause, while he himself remains only its efficient cause.[2]

The jīva is not born but eternal.[3] The so-called creation of the jīva is nothing but the narrowing down of his consciousness; so that the creation of the physical world is of a different form from that of the jīva.[4] In *mukti* the jīva becomes identical with the Brahman, and attains his own original purity.[5] This identity is not only natural but also of form.[6] Herein lies the difference between Nimbārka and Śrīpati. For both, identity and difference are natural. But according to Nimbārka identity is not of form unlike difference, whereas for Śrīpati it is of form also like difference. If it is asked how can both identity and difference hold if identity is of form also, Śrīpati's possible answer is that difference holds only in bondage and identity in *mukti*;[7] so that identity and difference are not to be found simultaneously but at different times.[8] Curiously enough, in spite of this identity of form also, Śrīpati tells us that the jīva in *mukti* cannot possess the power of creation and remains secondary to the Brahman.[9] Thus difference seems to be carried into *mukti* also. On the basis of this statement we have probably to interpret the identity of form between the Brahman and the jīva as similarity of form. Śrīpati does not seem to be sufficiently clear on this point. If identity comes to mean inseparability for Śrīpati, then there is no need for taking recourse to the idea of different times[10] in order to reconcile the conflicting texts of the *śruti*. Or probably for Śrīpati though Brahman is identical in form also with the jīva, he can be different from the latter as an individual. But it is difficult to understand how things which are identical both in form and nature can be different as individuals.

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1. *Ibid*, p. 186.
2. *Ibid*, p. 180. *Nimittabhūtasya upādānatvepi na vikārādiparāḥ. Parameśvarmāyāśaktirjagadrūpeṇa pariṇāmitvam tatparameśvarasya nimittakāraṇatvam ca pratipādanāt.*
3. *Ibid*, p. 29.
4. *Ibid*, p. 251. *Viyadāderacetanasya yādṛśo anyathābhāvo na tādṛśo jīvasya. Jñānasaṅkocavikāśalakṣaṇo jīvasya anyathābhāvaḥ. Viyadādestu svarūpānyathābhāvalakṣaṇaḥ. . .Seyam svarūpānyathābhāvalakṣaṇānutpattiḥ jīve niṣidhyate.*
5. *Ibid*, p. 478.
6. *Ibid*, p. 461. *Svarūpeṇāvidhāgo nirdiśyate, baddhāvasthāvat.*
7. *Ibid*, p. 174. *Saṃsāradaśāyām jīvabrahmaṇorbhedaḥ mokṣadaśāyāmabhedaśca pratipādyate.*
8. *Ibid*, p. 338. *Kālabhedena samanvayāt.*
9. *Ibid*, IV, 4, 17. This *sūtra* according to Śrīpati applies to both *mūrtabrahmopāsakas* and *niravayavabrahmopāsakas*, that is, to the worshippers of both the undifferentiated Brahman and the one with form.
10. *Ibid*, p. 338.

So far as Śrīpati thinks that difference holds in bondage and identity in *mukti*, his stand-point is that of the jīva undergoing his life's experience, and is therefore in accord with the general Indian philosophical tradition. And as identity and difference hold at different times, this philosophy is not really identity in difference though the author wants it to be called so. He is anxious to give equal importance to the *śruti* texts declaring identity as well as those declaring difference,[1] even if that procedure clashes with the demands of reason. Still there is an attempt to accommodate reason, as in the other commentators. Naturally inconsistencies appear in one form or another. Śrīpati does not see that by bringing in the idea of different times he is practically giving up *bhedābheda* as a logical unity. And he tries to go beyond Nimbārka by saying that *bhedābheda* is not only of nature but also of form, though it is inconceivable how such a relation is possible. And above all, it cannot be the jīva in *mukti* that is to know the *bhedābheda* between himself and the Brahman. For he loses his own form in *mukti*. Consequently this relation is for an external spectator.

VII

This paper is concerned with only the philosophical import of the various systems discussed. The sectarian bias of each has not been referred to. Only Śaṅkara and Bhāskara are not sectarian; the others are either Vaiṣṇavites or Śaivites and identified their Brahman either with Viṣṇu or Śiva. Bhāskara's leanings too seem to be towards Vaiṣṇavism, though he does not enter into elaborate discussions on the point. Each of the commentators discussed tried to retain both identity and difference in one form or another. But it is only Nimbārka who comes very close to the speculative conception of identity in difference; but so far he has deviated from the general Indian philosophical stand-point, namely, of life's process. Nimbārka is consistent also in his application of *svābhāvikabhedābheda*. Śrīpati tried to outdo him by accepting identity of form also; but thereby he ended in contradictions, which weaken his idea of identity in difference or even of *bhedābheda*. He practically marks a return to Bhāskara by saying that difference is found in bondage and identity in *mukti*.

1. *Ibid*, p. 273. *Vayam śrutipramāṇavādinaḥ. Na yuktim balumanmahe.*

THE *KALITĀ* CASTE OF ASSAM.

By

B. KAKATI, Gauhati.

§ 1. The *Kalitās* are a people of undetermined origin in Assam. They represent the main bulk of the fully Aryanised population. The social purity of a certain Assamese locality is judged by the number of *Kalitā* households in the place. In social ranking they occupy a position next to the Brahmins. They are regarded as *sat śudras* and observe Hindu rites in all their purity. Their main occupation is cultivation but as there are no functional castes in Assam, they figure also as goldsmiths, blacksmiths, bell-metal workers etc.

§ 2. The *Kalitās* spread over the whole of the Brahmaputra valley from Sadiyā in the east to Rangpur in north Bengal (which was a part of ancient Assam). But they constitute the most preponderating elements in the four districts of Kāmrup, Nowgong, Darrang and Śibsāgar. They appear to have held great sway in the past and foreign observers have often divided the people of mediaeval Assam into the *Kalitās* and the rest. The author of the *Fatiyah-i'-Ibriyah* who accompanied Mir Jumlah throughout his expedition to Assam in 1662 A.D. says that the ancient inhabitants belong to two nations, the *Ahom* and the *Kalitā*. This statement is apparently intended to apply to the country named Garhgāon in eastern Assam. (GAIT : *History of Assam*, 1st Edn. p. 138.) In western Assam, the people were often divided into *Kalitās* and the *Koches* (MARTIN : *Eastern India*, Vol. iii, p. 545).

§ 3. It seems rather curious that no writer on castes and tribes of India has ever tried to connect the *Kalitās* with any Aryan or non-Aryan tribe. GAIT contents himself with the remark that the *Kalitās* of the Brahmaputra valley have often a distinctly Aryan appearance and although they certainly contain other elements they are possibly to some extent the descendants of the first Aryan immigrants by women of the country. (*History of Assam*. p. 6.). Amongst the *Kalitās* themselves there is a tradition that they were originally Kshatriyas, that they concealed their caste to avoid the wrath of Paraśurāma when he was out extirpating the Kshatriyas and that the caste name *Kalitā* is a corruption of *Kula-lupta*. The connection of *Kalitā* with *Kula-lupta* is a piece of folk etymology and seems due to some accidents of history. *Cf.* § 22.

§ 4. *Kalitās* are heard of also in other parts of India. There are *Kalitās* (Kolitās, Koltās) in the Sambalpur district of modern Orissa and they constitute a great cultivating caste there (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1909. *Bengal*, Vol. ii. pp. 309, 312-13). According to their own tradition they immigrated from the state of Baudh and their ancestors were water-carriers in the household of Ramachandra (R. D. BANERJI, *History of Orissa*, Vol. i. p. 24). In the Tons valley and Jaunsar Bawar of Nepal there are two classes of people : (1) the upper classes being Rajputs or Brahmins and

(2) the lower classes the *Kaltās*. The latter are not depressed classes, only generally they work as servants. (E. C. MOBBS : *Indian Forester*, Vol. lx pp. 663-799 referred to in *JARS*. Vol. iii. No. 3, p. 87.). The *Kaltās* of the Himalayan regions are obviously immigrants from the plains in historical times along with the Rajputs. In the absence of similar traditions among the Sambalpur *Kalitās, the Kula-lupta* theory would appear to be confined only amongst the Assamese *Kalitās*.

§ 5. Quite recently there has been some amount of discussion amongst Assamese writers about the origin of the *Kalitās* in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Gauhati (Vols. i. & iii. Nos. 3, & 3, 4). Some uphold the *Kula-lupta* hypothesis, others suggest that they were Aryans migrating into Assam long before the Aryans in the Punjab divided themselves into the four *varṇas* etc...

§ 6. In pursuance of the *Kula-lupta* theory one writer in an article called The Kalitas of Kāmarūpa (*JARS*. Vol. i. No. 3) has sought to connect *Kalitā* with *Kolta, Kalatiai, Kalti* of the early Greek writers about ancient India, and to *Kulūta, Kulattha, Kulatya* etc., of the Purāṇas. These are all names of tribes in western and north-western India and they are often grouped in the Purāṇas with rude and ferocious tribes like the Hūṇas and the Kāmbojas etc. The *Kolta, Kalatiai, Kalti* of the Greek geographers may have references to Paurāṇic tribes like the *Kālatoyas* of north-western India. The *Kulūtas* of the Purāṇas survive in the place-name *Kulu* in the Kangra district in the upper valley of the Bias river, Punjab (N. L. DEY : *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India.*) Phonetically also *Kulūta* can not happily be connected with *Kalitā, Kolitā* or *Koltā*. Beyond similarity of consonantal sounds no other archæological evidence to support cultural contact between the extreme east and the extreme west has been adduced.

§ 7. The caste-name *Kalitā* would, however, sustain a better affiliation with the following tribal names of the Purāṇas : *Kala* (*Mark* lviii, 32); *Kālitbala* (*Ibid* : lvii. 49) ; *Kāltaka* (*vāyu* : xlv. 123); *Kalavana* (*Ibid*); *Karīti* (*Mahābhārata; Bhīṣma* ix 44) : *Ut-kala, Me-kala, (Mbh. Bhīṣ.* ix. 41); also *Kalinga* ; *kalada, kalava, kalkala* (SORENSEN ; *Index to the Mahābhārata*). These are all names of tribes living south of the Vindhyas. As the tribal names of the Dravidian people have been separately enumerated in the Purāṇas, these names may be assumed to have references to a people or peoples different from the Dravidians. Further, these varied names perhaps refer to the branches of one central tribe with the element, *-kal-*, as the basic constituent of the main tribal name.

§ 8. Amongst these analogous terms the nearest approach to the word *Kalitā* is found in the formations *Kālitaka*, and *Karīti*. The presence of *Kalitās* in Sambalpur where by their own tradition they had migrated from Bandh still further south, raises some suspicion about the original southern habitat of the *Kalitās* whence in some pre-historic time across Bihar they entered into Assam through north Bengal.

In the absence of definite records about the early history of the *Kalitās*,

certain side-lights may perhaps be gathered from instances of cultural contact between Assam and Southern India.

§ 9. It has been pointed out by historians of the Far-East that Indian colonists seem to have proceeded to the Far-East both by land and sea and that the land route passed through Eastern Bengal, Manipur and Assam (R. C. MAJUMDAR : *Indo-Aryan Colonies in the Far-East* : Vol. i *Champa* pp. xi, xiii). It has also been noted that the beginning of the Indian Colonial kingdoms is not later than the second century A.D. (*Ibid.* p. xvi). This trade-route through Assam might be one of the many causes of the migrations of people from other parts of India to Assam.

§ 10. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* (composed not later than the 10th cent. A.D.) from its mass of topographical details about ancient Assam may be presumed to have been composed in ancient Assam or in some contiguous tract. From its re-handling of the older legends about Narakāsura it appears that Naraka was the first Aryanised king and that prior to his time Assam was a land of barbarians or *mlecchas*. According to this Purāṇa he was born of Earth by Viṣṇu and brought up in Videha in the court of Janaka (*K.P.* xxxviii 21). Having killed Ghaṭaka, the Kirāta king, he was installed king of Prāgjyotiṣa by his reputed parent God Viṣṇu. He brought over the first batch of twice-born people and settled them in the region between the Karatoyā river in the west and the Lalitakāntī in the east. (*Ibid.* xxxix. 31, 32). He is said to have married a daughter of the king of Vidarbha (modern Berar) named Māyā (*Ibid.* 34, 35). It is to be noted that in the accounts of Naraka in the Mahāpurāṇas, no mention of his early training in Videha or of his marriage in Vidarbha seems to have been made.

By foisting these details on Naraka, the author of the *Kālikā Purāṇa* might have hinted at the immediate and remote cultural relationship between Assam, north Bihar and Southern India (Berar).

§ 11. These earliest immigrants seem to have been worshippers of Viṣṇu. Naraka himself is represented as being the son of Viṣṇu and the *Kālikā Purāṇa* notes it that the kingdom of Prāgjyotiṣa became known as Kāmarūpa only after the settlement of the twice-born (xxxix. 34). While the author reconciles the cults of Viṣṇu and Śakti by representing Naraka as a devotee of Kāmākhyā, a sort of intolerance for the Śaiva cult seems to be suggested by making the association of Bāṇa, the king of Śoṇitapura and a devoted worshipper of Śiva, mainly responsible for the subsequent debasement of Naraka's character (xl. 6, 7). Folk-mythology connects various localities of Assam with some of the heroic exploits in the life of Kṛṣṇa. Vidarbha is located in Śadiyā, in the extreme east of Assam whence Rukmiṇī was carried off by Kṛṣṇa. The horses of his chariot got tired at a place called Aśvaklānta near Gauhati. Kṛṣṇa vanquished Bāṇa and his protecting god Śiva at a place called Tezpur in the Darrang district. No place, however, is associated with the scenes of his sports in Vṛndāvana or Gokula. If folk-mythology may be looked upon as reminiscences of the local legends of the early immigrants, they must have come over at a time and from a place when and where these

legends were fondly cherished and dwelt upon. The Vidarbha legends point to the southern origin of the earliest colonists.

§ 12. That some sort of cultural intercourse existed between Assam and Southern India is shewn by the presence of ancient Assamese scholars in the south. Kumarila Bhaṭṭa, the celebrated teacher of the Mīmāṁsā philosophy and opponent of the Buddhists, who flourished a little prior to Śaṅkarāchārya is supposed by some to have been a native of Kāmarūpa (C. N. AIYAR : *Śrī Śaṅkarāchārya, His Life and Times*, p. 26). There is mention of a certain Assamese or Kāmarūpa scholar named Vishnusomāchārya in the copper-plate inscriptions of Anantavarman, the Ganga King of Kalinga, 922 A.D. (R. D. BANERJI : *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 233 *et seq*).

§ 13. Archaeological scholars like R. D. BANERJI and K. N. DIKSHIT have found in the architectural ruins of ancient Assam, points of resemblance to the Chalukya columns of the Bombay Presidency, Chaitya window patterns so common in the temples of Central India, (esp. those in the Rewa state and at Khajurdaho), in the Gupta temples at Bhumra and Deogarh (R. D. BANERJI : *Annual Reports*, 1924-25 ; 1925-26 ; *Archæological Survey of India*). K. N. DIKSHIT is a little more explicit about the source of the inspiration of ancient Assamese art. "The affinities of Assamese art would seem to lie more with the schools of Bihar and Orissa than with contemporary Pala art of Bengal. This is not unnatural as of the streams of influence that have moulded the culture of Assam, the strongest current has always been from *North-Bihar and Mid-India* (*Annual Report* 1927-28 : *Archæological Survey of India* : quoted in K. L. BARUA'S *Early History of Kāmarūpa*).

§ 14. Linguistic affinities would also confirm the findings of the archaeologists. There are homely Assamese words which often with slight variations in meaning shew parallel equivalents in Oriya, Bihari, Hindusthani and other western dialects. These might have descended from common sources and in some cases might also have been due to migrations of people from different centres of Northern India in different times.

§ 15. But there is a class of common Assamese words that have similar formations only in the southern and westernmost languages and dialects like the Marathi, the Bhātrī, the Bhuliā (the latter two being mixtures of Marathi, Oriya and Eastern Hindi). These formations do not seem to be shared by intermediate languages. In this connection the Assamese equivalents for *water* and *fire* seem to yield interesting results. Assamese *pānī* for *water* is common to all the dialects of Bihari and Eastern Hindi. But Assamese *zui* for *fire* has parallels only in *jiy* and *jiw* of the Bhātrī dialect of Oriya and in the Bhuliā dialect of Eastern Hindi, both across the Vindhyas. Other parallel formations are presented in the table below.

Assamese	Marathi.
khāk, savage hunger	*khaṅkha*, savage, miserly.
khaccā, knotty as a tie,	*khacca*, hard and fast.
khāvani, scraper	*khāvani*.

Assamese	Marathi
khāp, a notch	*khāp*.
jakarā- (*ohāi*), surplus rice kept over for a next meal.	*jakerā*, surplus articles.
tāṅigaram, edition of a book;	*tāṅigaraṃ*, improvement.
baraṅgani, subscription;	*bargani*.
etc.	etc.

Assamese	South Indian dialects
Beli, the sun;	*Ber* (Halabi); *Beir* (Nagpuriā)
Zon, the moon;	*jon* (Halabi); *jamha* (Bhuliā).
Carāi, bird *care* (< carai).	*carāe* (Bhulia). *carai* (Nagpuriā)
Son, gold	*son* (Halabi).
Rup, silver	*Rup* (Halabi).
Kon, who	*Kon* (Halabi).
Kāy, who (Kāmrup)	*Kay*, what. (Halabi).
āru, and	*aru* (Halabi), *āru* (Lariā).
mai, I	*mai* (Halabi)
ami, we	*ami* (Halabi).
chān *saru* } younger.	*san* *suru* } (younger).
gaṅamā-gāṭhuri, ornaments;	*gaṅamā-goṭhā-lā* (Lariā).
lēṭu, neck,	*teṇṭu* (Lariā)
dagalī, a kind of shirt	dagalā (Lariā).
etc.	etc.

Some of the above listed words are of Sanskritic origin. But they have been selected here with a view to their phonetic and semantic identity. These as well as the common words of unknown origin in vogue both in Assamese and in Southern India may be looked upon as pointing to some sort of racial contact rather than as instances of borrowing on either side.

§ 15. There is another class of words in the Kāmrupī dialect of the Assamese language. Their formations can be explained on the supposition that they originally carried a strong initial stress which differentiates the Marathi language from other modern Indo-Aryan languages which carry a penultimate stress (TURNER: *The Indo-Germanic accent in Marathi, JRAS.* 1916). It should be noted that in two distinct dialectical regions of Assam, two different systems of accentuation prevail. In the Kāmarūpa district a strong initial stress prevails as in Marathi, but in the eastern districts the prevalent stress is on the penultimate syllable. Often therefore two distinct formations from the same Sanskritic source are met with. Compare the following formations:

Skt. kuṭāha-; Mar. *kaḍhai*; Kamrupi, *kare* (< *karai*).
Eastern As. *karāhi*, a frying vessel.

Skt. *jāmāṭṛ-* ; Mar. *jāvai*, Kam. *jāve* (< *jāvai*)
Eastern As. *jāwāi*, son-in-law.

Skt. *kumāra-* ; Mar. *kũvar* ; Kām. and East. As. *kũwar*, a prince.

Skt. *nanāndṛ-* ; Mar. *nanad* ; Kām. and East. As. *nanad*, wife's husband's sister.

etc. etc.

Similarities of this type cannot be pronounced to be wholly fortuitous. They may strengthen the suspicion of racial contact or migration of a considerable batch of Aryan speakers from some regions where similar accentuation prevailed.

§ 17. All these divagations are called for by the absence of definite records about the early history of the Assamese *Kalitās*. These may heighten the suspicion raised by the similarity of pauranic tribal names. GRIERSON speaks of a certain mixed dialect called *Kalaṅga* in the feudatory state of Patna in the south-west of Orissa. Whether *Kalaṅga* might have anything to do with the pauranic *kala-* is not known. Cf. also place-name *Kali-Koț* in Southern Orissa.

§ 18. A few words need be said about the probable origin or the *Kulalupta* theory amongst Assamese *Kalitās*. The author of the article the "Kalitās of Kāmarūpa" (*JARS*. I. 3) speaks of a tradition "that the *Kalitās* were a powerful people who ruled a part of the country at the foot of the Himalayan mountains,—even now one comes across an old Assamese very occasionally who believes in the existence of such a kingdom and thinks that some day the *Kalitā-rāj* will rule over the whole of Kāmarūpa." This however seems to have reference to certain incidents in mediaeval Assamese history. Cf. §§ 20, 21.

§ 19. Near about the middle of the fifteenth century a dynasty of three powerful kings ruled in Kāmatā in western Assam. They are known as *Khen* or *Khyān* Kings. The dynasty was founded by a cowherd boy who on ascending the throne called himself Niladhwaj. It is said that Niladhwaj in his early years was the cowherd of a Brahmin who foretold that he would become king and helped him to overthrow the last degenerate descendant of the Pal family. On ascending the throne Niladhwaj made his old Brahmin master his chief minister and imported many Brahmins from Mithilā. Niladhwaj was succeeded by Chakradhwaj and the latter by Nilambar who was overthrown by Husain Shah in 1498 A.D. Nilambar was taken prisoner, put into an iron-cage to be carried to Gaur, but he escaped on the way and was never heard of again. It is popularly believed that he has ever since remained concealed. Buchanan HAMILTON says that the people of Kamrup look for his restoration when the usurpers, western barbarians, shall be driven out of the land (*Eastern Bengal and Assam District Gazetteers : Rangpur*, 1911. p. 23). Nilambar has thus become the king Arthur of Assamese folk-legends.

§ 20. The dynasty founded by Niladhwaj is called *Khen* or *Khyān*. The word *khen* or *khyān* has always remained a riddle with Assam historians. The author of the *Early History of Kāmarūpa* has in his perplexity cut

through the vowels and equated *khen* or *khyān* to *khān*, a Bengali Mahomedan title. Now *khen* is an Austric word for a *child* : cf. *Ken* (Pang) ; *Ki-yen* (Kerbat); *Khen* (Samre); C 102 ; *Khun* (Khasi). The Austric equivalent for an *orphan* is *Khun-rei* (Khasi); *Ke-non re-ni* (Sak.) O. 57.

§ 21. Niladhwaj was an orphan cowherd and on ascending the throne he must have made himself known as something like **Khen-rei* in glorification of the obscurity of his early years. In folk-etymology **Khen-rei* must have passed into something like * *Khen-rāy*, *Khen*-King.

The word *khen* or * *khen-rei* does not occur in modern Assamese, but from the large number of Austric words preserved in modern Assamese (cf. *NIA.* I. 265, 571), it may be presumed that it was then a living or at least, not an unknown formation.

§ 22. Royal families in Indian history have always been dressed up with a divine or respectable pedigree. Niladhwaj, an orphan, concealed the identity of his obscure parentage. And so perhaps he was called a *kula-lupta*, a learned coinage of the priestly panegyrists with an equivocal meaning. In reality it referred to the obscurity of his family but the priestly panegyrists must have scored by suggesting that he belonged to the Khatriya caste that had concealed its identity for fear of Paraśurāma. Many a caste has thus thrown the whole blame on Paraśurāma's shoulder for its comparative low position in society !

§ 23. Some of the adherents of the royal clan made themselves known as *khens*, just as the *koches* of western Assam made themselves known as *Rājbaṅśis* after the Koch kings had established themselves at Koch-Behar. Even now there are *khens* in the Rangpur district of modern Bengal, the stronghold of the *khen* kings. They numbered 12,000 in the census of 1911. "They are orthodox Hindus and are served by the same Brahmans as the Nabasakha group (of Bengal). Dr. Buchanan HAMILTON states that they are the only Kamrup tribe that the Brahmans of Bengal admit to be true Sudras which clearly shews the great power that their princes held. At the present day their chief occupations are cultivation and domestic service under high caste Hindus. *In Assam they are known in Kolitās* (*District Gazetteer* : 1911 ; *Rangpur*. p. 46).

§ 24. GAIT detects a considerable infusion of Aryan blood in their physiognomy (*History of Assam* p. 41), as he has done in the case of the *Kolitās* (cf. § 3). He also says that the great majority of them have been absorbed in the ranks of other communities but the few who retain the old name claim to be Kāyasthas (*Ibid*). But it has become a fashion for the *Kolitās* of Rangpur to make themselves known as Kāyasthas. *Kolitās* are unknown in Bengal and along with the transfer of Rangpur from Assam to Bengal, the *Kolitās* have mostly equated themselves to the Kāyasthas not to "abide questions" in social intercourse. MARTIN observes that "a numerous tribe called *Kolitā* who once had great sway here (Rangpur), as they still have in Assam, have in the more civilized parts assumed the title of Kāyostho and conceal their descent from the *Kolitās*" (*Eastern India*. Vol. iii. p. 528).

§ 25. If the *Kula-lupta* theory can thus be disposed of, the early history of the *Kalitās* themselves as a tribe remains largely a matter of uncertainty in the absence of further materials. The presence of *Kalitās* in Sambalpur coupled with probable instances of linguistic and other archæological parallelisms between Assam and South India noticed in the foregoing sections would seem to make the suspicion about their migration from the south not wholly unfounded. More than half the inhabitants of Assam is made up of Tibeto-Burman people. They are indigenous to the province. Genuine Kāyasthas constitute a handful and their ancestors migrated into Assam in historical times. Other caste like *Keuats, Kumārs, Suris* etc. have pan-Indian denominations and might as well belong here as come from elsewhere. It cannot be said that they were brought over by king Narakāsura to Aryanise the kingdom. The topmost position of the *Kalitās* amongst the fully Aryanised population seems to lend itself to the interpretation that they came in with the earliest Brahmins. But nothing definitely can be said till more materials are available. But as there are *Kalitās* also in other parts of India, it is hoped that better informed scholars will throw greater light upon this subject.

NOTES OF THE MONTH

According to an announcement (circular letter No. 2(c) dated 31st July 1939) issued by the Local Secretaries of the Indian History Congress, Calcutta, the Third Session of this Congress will be held in Calcutta on the 15th of December 1939 under the auspices of the University of Calcutta. It will be remembered that the First Session of this Congress was held at Poona in 1935 under the auspices of the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal and was organized by its energetic Secretary Prof. D. V. POTDAR with the help of scholars all over India. The proceedings and papers pertaining to this Session have already been published. The Second Session of this body was held at Allahabad under the auspices of the University of Allahabad in 1938. A short account of this session has already appeared in the pages of the *New Indian Antiquary* (pp. 57 f. of Vol. II). We are glad to find that the Calcutta University, which has done so much for the advancement of learning in India, should now come forward to organise the Third Session of this important body representative of the best intellect of the country and thus give a fillip to this national academic activity which, like the activity of the All-India Oriental Conference, has its origin in Poona. Though Calcutta may not claim the antiquity of either Poona or Allahabad with their historic associations it has made enviable history in the field of research in various directions during the last 50 years. We trust that learned bodies and scholars all over India will lend their whole-hearted cooperation to the organisers of the Calcutta Session in making it a success. The local secretaries of this session are :—(1) Prof. Hemachandra RAYCHAUDHURI, M.A., Ph.D., (2) J. C. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., and (3) Suvobhanachandra SARKAR, M.A. Besides the reading and discussion of original papers on historical subjects, there will be a Historical Exhibition, not to say, excursions to interesting sites to be arranged by the Congress. The delegate fee has been fixed at Rs. 5|- only. All correspondence may be addressed to the Local Secretaries (Senate House, Calcutta). We wish the ensuing Session of the Indian History Congress all success. It would be in the best interests of this activity if the volume of the Proceedings and Papers of the Allahabad Session is published by the time of the ensuing Session.

PAHLAVI VERSION OF GĀTHĀ USHTAVAITI

By

ERVAD M. F. KANGA, Bombay.

N. B. [ ] indicate glosses or explanations in the original text.
( ) indicate words and phrases inserted by the present writer to round out the grammatical structure of the English translation or to make clear the sense.

Introductory Remarks :

After the conquest of Ērān by the Arabs (651 A.C.) Ātar Frnabagh i Farrokhy-Zāt (761-833 A.C.), leader of the faithful, descended from Ātarpāt i Mīraspand, prepared the last edition of the Avestan Scripture, which in his time consisted of Avesta, the Asainti and the Pahlavi Zand (version and commentary) prepared by Ātarpāt i Mīraspand and his disciples. Owing to the calamity which befell Zartōsht i Ātar Farrabagh in the reign of Khalifa Mutawakkil (847-861 A.C.), the work of the restoration of the works accomplished by his father, was again demolished. His fifth lineal descendant Ātarpāt i Emīt (about 931 A.C.) resuscitated the work of Ātar-Farnabagh and prepared also the Pahlavi work, which he named " The Dēnkart of 1000 chapters " of which only 419 chapters are extant. At the time of the Dēnkart there existed a translation or rather a commentary in Pahlavi to all the Nasks except Nātar and Vashtag. The Pahlavi translation must have been again and again extended and supplemented after the time of Ātarpāt.

The character of Pahlavi translation is that of an interlinear version. It consists generally of the rendering of the text, word for word by means of a Pahlavi equivalent in the exact order of the original. The full sense of the whole passage cannot often be brought out in this way. This was felt by the translator or translators themselves and they have tried to keep out the interpretation by means of numerous interpolated and appended glosses, which often extended to long pedantic disquisitions. Sometimes the Pahlavist leaves the passage unexplained if no interpretation has been handed down by saying ' am nā rōshan.' Sometimes the translator is very free and several words of the original text are joined together and reproduced by a single word. This very close adherence to the original construction, together with the inflectional poverty of the Pahlavi language and the use of transcriptions in the case of obscure Avestan words enhances the ambiguity of the Pahlavi version and makes it clumsy as compared with the Pahlavi of independent treatises like 'Dēnkart' and 'Dātistān i Dēnīk.' The Pahlavist generally meets the difficulty by the use of particles which are the sole means of indicating the syntactical relation of a word in the sentence. At times they betray gross ignorance of grammar, e.g. av. mruyē. pres. 1st pers. sg. is rendered by gōv. pres. 2nd pres. sg. It should be borne in mind that the Pahlavi translations were made at a time when the language of the Avesta had become almost dead and the knowledge of the sacred text was on its decline. The translation of the minor yashts, Āfringān etc. seems to be of later origin and to be less reliable. There are more commentaries on the Vendidād than on the Yasna which is mainly liturgical. The most important is the Pahlavi version of the Vendidād, although it is far from attaining to the monumental greatness of the Indian commentaries of a Śaṅkara or Mallināṭha or the Kāśikā. It is also true that the more abstract and obscure an avestan passage, the less has been the attempt of the commentators to explain it. The commentators in making their version sometimes differ from each other in the matter of introducing interpretation of their own.

The Pahlavi interpretations are valuable, no doubt, but within due limits. To the Pahlavist the language of the Gāthās was as foreign as it is to us. Even though

these commentators were faithful and devoted Zoroastrians, still the religion as practised in the Sassanian Era was quite different from the Religion which was taught by Zarathushtra. The importance of the Pahlavi version lies in its vocabulary and in its cursory glosses, which although often expressed in awkward manner, still contribute essentially to the true understanding of the meaning, e.g. Vanāiarīm yasht Karda XX where comments make clear the purpose of the quotation in its context. The tradition often proves to be a safeguard for the elucidation of obscure ideas and for the interpretation of native thought, which might otherwise be unintelligible. Even the thorough-going linguist turns towards Pahlavi version for some light when the science of Philology fails to explain certain words. Cf. āsnō-bug-(Nighāyishn 5. 11.).

In most cases it is natural to suspect that through the carelessness of the copyist the Avesta sentence has been left out, and that this oversight has involved also a similar omission in the translation. The translator leaves out, without any reason, an avestan word, which all the mss. unanimously preserve, or he seems to have had before him an entirely different word. More than one independent version of the Pahlavi Khvartak Avistāk existed in oral and written tradition and Neryosang Dhaval had access to these at time when he prepared his Sanskrit version. He must have flourished somewhere near 421 A.Y. (1152 A.C.). He was a thorough master of Pahlavi. His rendering of the Pahlavi commentary is free in various places and the author has added much from his own knowledge. For the understanding of the Pahlavi version of the Avesta, Neryosang's Sanskrit version is of immense value.

The difficulties in understanding and interpreting the Pahlavi are enhanced by the following factors :—

(1) The Pahlavi translation of the Avesta contains many words which are scarcely noticed in the Pahlavi Books ;

(2) many Pahlavi words in the translation are mere transcriptions of the Avesta ;

(3) the conciseness of the style which requires so much to be supplied by the translator ;

(4) the obscurity or ambiguity of the Pahlavi writings ;

(5) interchange of ideogram or Semitic and Iranian words ;

(6) the usual confusion of ka, kē and ku and of hamāk and hamāy ;

(7) the ignorance and carelessness of the copyist ;

& (8) the absence of a complete "Index Verborum."

A correct method of Avesta interpretation must aim at uniting the two tendencies represented by ROTH and DARMESTETER respectively and at reconciling their contradictions. The traditional interpretation is not to be fully condemned because of its inherent defects nor are its mistakes to be accepted on simple trust. Study of Pahlavi is indispensable. The Pahlavi writers were certainly not versed in modern comparative method of research. Hence though the support of the Pahlavi is to be sought as far as possible, still the Pahlavi Version by itself has to be accepted with caution. Dr. MILLS remarks that the traditional renderings are neither to be slavishly followed nor blindly ignored. The correct viewpoint regarding the Pahlavi Version lies in the golden mean and it has long ago been pointed out by Dr. Hubschman. Dr. GELDNER holds that the scientific criticism and philological intuition should discriminate in every single case between the pros and cons of the Pahlavi rendering, without any preposession or prejudice. In essentials, the Judgment which Dr. HUBSCHMANN in 1872 passed upon its value, in various ways, should remain : "Die Ausbeute wird freilich eine verschiedene sein ; reich für den Vendīdad, befriedigend für den Jüngern yasna, aber dürftig für die Gāthās[1]." That is to say, the gain will of

1. *Avesta Studien*, von H. HÜBSCHMANN, Ed. Meyer, Geschichte, p. 502, gives a purely objective and accurate criticism of these methods.

course be various: abundant for the Vendidād, satisfactory for the later yasna, but scanty for the Gāthās.

YASNA HA XLIII 81.

TRANSLATION:

Obeisance (be) unto you, O Holy Gāthās!

(1) Happy is he whose happiness is for anyone whomsoever [i.e., happiness of any person whatsoever is from his happiness. There is someone who says thus: 'his happiness is owing to religion and owing to religion every person (has) happiness']. Ohrmazd grants it to him according to sovereignty of his will [i.e. according to His desire]. Durability and powerful-qualities [i.e. strength and abilities] are my desire in their coming from Thee. The gift for the preservation of holiness [that which He will give as reward for the preservation of holiness] Spandarmat may grant me. [May she bestow upon me] the radiant, devoted [pupilage] with the life of the good mind [i.e. immortality of Vohuman so that there may not occasion life-extinction for me].

(2) And thus to him out of all who is the man full of happiness shall the best happiness [reward] be given. Do thou declare [i.e. do thou say who the man of happiness is, for the manifestation is through Thee] O Beneficent Spirit Ohrmazd! [i.e. thou knowest who the blissful man is], (and do thou declare) what you give him a right and with the moderate thought of Vohuman [i.e. the Religion]. All the days [unto him] shall (happiness) be given with the delight of long life.

(3) Thus goodness [i.e. reward] may come up to him, the good man, who may teach [to others] our holy profitable path in this corporeal life and even that which is mental [within fifty-seven years] when the existence will be manifest [i.e., it is clear that Tan i Pasēn—the final material life shall take place] in which Ohrmazd dwells—(to the teacher) who is liberal, a good connoisseur, and one-like Thee, O Beneficent Ohrmazd!

(4) Thus I thought Thee valiant and beneficent when Thou Thyself helpest with might both-of-them [i.e. Thou dost increase the affairs of the spiritual and terrestrial worlds]. Thou givest Justice to the wicked as well as to the righteous [i.e. Thou makest manifest him who is absolved and him who is doomed] through this Thy warm fire since the strength of righteousness is through it [i.e. its leadership is good] and since the power of Vohuman [Sōshans=future benefactor] approaches me.

(5) Thus, O Ohrmazd! I thought Thee beneficent when first I saw Thy production in the world, and when Thou gavest the reward to the doers of deeds and even to those with speech: (that is) Thou gavest smiting to the smiter and the good devotion to him, the good. By means of Thy skill, the creatures will return even at the end.

(6) By means of Thy Beneficent Spirit the change comes [from wickedness to goodness] in the kingdom of Ohrmazd in the good mind through whose actions there is a furtherance of the settlements of righteousness. To those whom the spiritual leader [viz. Sōshans] teaches with perfect devotion,

Thy wisdom is not deceived by anything thereby.

(7) Thus I thought Thee beneficent, O Ohrmazd! When Vohuman came up to me. He asked me: "who art thou and from whom art thou? How is the sign of the day [i.e. the day] of the conference indicated [i.e. how shall I produce the sign?] about Thy settlements and Thyself?"

(8) Thus I spoke unto him: "I am Zartōsht firstly, an open-tormentor [i.e. I openly torment the wicked] and so long as I wish [I will take revenge on] him who is wicked [Garāk Mēnōk]. Thus there is the delight of him, the holy, from him who is powerful [i.e. I will rejoice him i.e., on account of his virtuousness I will lead him on to sovereignty]. When that virtuous condition takes place, [i.e. the final material-life takes place], sovereignty at will shall be given [i.e. sovereignty shall verily be given according to desire]. Thus O Ohrmazd, Thou are to be praised and to be appropriated [i.e. Thou art to be kept for one's self. There was (someone) who said: '(Thou art) to be made one's own'].

(9) Thus I thought Thee beneficent, O Ohrmazd! When Vohuman came up to me. He [who is Ohrmazd] asked me: 'What is thy desire for instruction' [i.e. for whom care will be required by thee when thou understandest?]. Thus unto Thy Fire am I bountiful with homage and I will think of righteousness as long as I wish.

(10) Therefore do Thou grant sanctity unto me since I invoke Thee with invocations with the accompaniment of perfect devotion when that which is perfect [is made one's own; i.e. even that should be so made one's own by the path of Justice as one shall perform the work-of-religious-instruction with-perfect-devotion. There was some one who said: 'secular-instruction']. And ask thou of us these questions which are Thine [The Religion], for, (it is) thy questioning by means of which thou wilt thus have courageousness [by those questions] since the powerful [Ohrmazd] will give unto thee courageousness according to wish [i.e. when thou shalt proclaim the Religion, courageousness will be thine].

(11) Thus I thought Thee beneficent, O Ohrmazd! When Vohuman approached me, when your word [i.e., Religion] is expounded with exposition. You spoke to me that its propagation amongst mankind was difficult [i.e. you said this: 'it is difficult to propagate the Religion']. So, I effect its accomplishment as you declared to me to be the best [Afterwards also I will do it].

(12) And what you said to me: 'thou wilt attain sanctity' (is) enough. Thus thou didst not ascribe disobedience to me [it was not on account of refusal to hear on my part when you spoke this that it was not proper to grant at present.]. You should rise up before the time when Sraosha the Holy [Vishtāsp] comes up to me, with whom is also that great Spiritual-leader [Zartosht], who [i.e. that Vishtāsp] shall give the benefit to the disputants justly.

(13) I thought Thee beneficent, O Ohrmazd! when Vohuman approached me; Grant me [as a reward] that which is the desire of him who is the announcer of the decree [of him who announces the decree to persons] at

the distant advent of life [at the Tan-i-Pasīn] into which none of you has penetrated through insight. To abide by His will is said to be Thy Sovereignty [i.e. Just as I stood (by your wish), no person stood by].

(14) Since benefit is given to a friend who is instructed [i.e. he confers on him benefit], [grant me] O Ohrmazd Thy rejoicing abundantly, which Khshatravar directed unto Thee with the help of righteousness: set up the wise leader [the Dastur], the proclaimer of the Religion [i.e. give us Zartōsht], together with all those who recite Thy 'mānthra' [i.e. together with the upholders of Religion].

(15) I thought Thee beneficent, O Ohrmazd! When Vohuman came up to me. The token with intelligence shall be made to increase for a man of contended mind [who ought to be content with the wicked at present] [i.e. shall be quickly remembered that as long as I abide by the token, so long I will do a thing which is proper to perform]. Let no man be a great proprietor of any wicked one whomsoever [i.e. they should not do this for rejoicing] who thus regard as harmful all Thy holy beings [i.e. they regard your (followers) as imperious].

(16) Thus I who am Zartōsht love Ohrmazd's spirit [i.e. I love Vohuman in reality], O Ohrmazd, to whom any bountifulness [i.e. wisdom] whatsoever has come, whose righteousness is bodily and full-of-life [i.e. I love him more vigorously]. The manifestation of the sun [is given as reward] to him whose is the dominion through perfect mind, and Vohuman will give [a reward] to him whose is righteousness in deed.

HA XLIV.

(1) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd! [i.e. I ask (Thee) aright. There is (someone) who says: 'I feel very confident.' And there is (someone) who (says): 'Ohrmazd says aright.' There is (someone) who says: 'asking for the correct answer.' There is (someone) who says: 'Do thou tell me at once.']. (Tell me) about that obeisance which is thus your obeisance [i.e. Religion]. O Ohrmazd! give me the contentment of a friend [i.e. a disciple], (who is) one-like you [i.e. for one-like-me, i.e. my contentment (will be) at that time when I shall have become Thine equal in efficiency as much as possible.] Thus we give Thee a friend through righteousness who is a co-worker [i.e. we present Thee a disciple through righteousness]. Thus He is approached unto us through Vohuman.

(2) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd! Which is the first excellence in the world [i.e. first they desire this thing, for (it is) the best]. To whom is the giving of the advantage according to desire [i.e. when they verily desire the benefit, he gives it] to him who seeks for both [viz. Avesta and the commentary, again and again]. For it is this that he shall cause to increase in virtue him who is a transgressor [i.e. a great sinner] when they hold it as righteousness. (Such a one is) for all [time] a leader in spirituality for both worlds through the friendship [for the Religion] [i.e. the celebration of the Yasna] O Ohrmazd!

(3) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd! Whose is the progeny [whose is the begetting of Ashavahist;] who is the first father of righteousness [i.e., who provided first nourishment for him]. Who gave the path to the Sun and the stars [i.e. who gave their path?] From whom is it that the Moon waxes and wanes save Thee [i.e. from whom is its waxing and waning?]. That is also my desire, O Ohrmazd and even other information [that I may know].

(4) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd! Who keeps the earth without support [i.e. there is no prop for the world] and without falling [i.e. I know this that it will not fall]. Who [created] water and plants? From whom is it when they yoke on the wind and the clouds swiftly [for activity]? Whose, O Ohrmazd! is the creation of Vohuman [i.e. the creation of vohuman—Whose is it?].

(5) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd! Who with good discrimination, created light and who, the darkness? Who with good discrimination produced sleep and wakefulness [i.e., diligence]? Who (created) the dawn, noon and night [i.e., who made dawn, noon and the period of night], which (are) the rule of him, the deliverer of Judgment through Judiciousness [i.e., who fixed that period when Sōshāns will arrive?].

(6) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd! Speak forth unto me both [the matter pertaining to the holy and the wicked], if it (is) thus manifest. [it is clear that Tan-i Pasēn shall take place. There is (someone) who says: How is it clear that, ... ?].* Whose is righteousness in action, his is the vigorous perfect mind. Vohuman assigns [a reward] to him who (attributes) sovereignty to Thee. For whom didst Thou create the labouring world, the producer of bounty?

(7) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd! who moulded the sovereignty with perfect devotion desirable [i.e. beseeming for duty and meritorious work]? Who created love when the father gets a son [i.e. when he takes care of him]? I regard these as from Thy great friendship [these creatures]. O Benificent Spirit! Thou art the creator of all [happiness].

(8) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd! [Tell me] about the five gifts which, O Ohrmazd! are Thy exposition [i.e. it is possible to perform the Tan-i Pasēn in that way] and also about the conference which (is conducted) by means of the word of Vohuman [i.e., when will the Religion be progressive?], about also the perfect intelligence (acquired) through righteousness in the world [i.e. about the matter pertaining to the righteous and the wicked], and (finally tell me) how shall the good joy come to this my soul by means of both these [when I execute well the concerns of the spiritual and terrestrial worlds]?

(9) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd! How shall I purify this my sanctified [i.e. pure] Religion? [i.e. how shall I promulgate the Religion?] which the truly wise has taught again and again with authority

*Some words are missing here in the text ed. by Spiegel.

[i.e., who teaches again and again this virtuous thing. The truthful with authority (will become) like Thee by means of the swift (gift) of Ohrmazd [i.e. by means of the Religion of Ohrmazd whose is the sovereignty and he maintains it justly] and he dwells in the same abode with Ashavahishta and Vohuman [i.e. in companionship (with them)].

(10) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd ! [Tell me] about the Religion which is the best of the existing ones, which helps my settlements with the furtherance of righteousness [whose wealth this Religion prepares from virtue], and which produces just words and actions through perfect devotion [i.e., he utters and does a thing with perfect devotion]. Whoever has the perscience of Mine [i.e., who understands the end of the matter with virtue] he (reaps) the fruit of Thy wealth [i.e., He also gives him the reward which he gives unto thee]. I am content, O Ohrmazd [since he does not give me the less].

(11) Tell me aright that which I ask of thee, O Ohrmazd ! When will the perfect devotion come unto them [i.e., when will my disciples be of perfect devotion] who declare this Thy Religion, O Ohrmazd ? Do Thou grant me the first announcement from them i.e., [do Thou grant me the first happiness from the Holy Immortals]. I shall protect all others from the afflictor [i.e., I will be separate from the Evil Spirit and the Dēvs]

(12) Tell me aright that which I ask of thee, Ohrmazd ! who is the righteous who held the conference and who is the wicked ? Who is the 'ganāk' and that' Ganāk ', which wicked one opposes me in thy benefit [i.e., in Thy Religion] ? Why is it I do not regard them as evil in their approach [i.e., why is it if I see them, I do not recognise them as dēvs] ?

(13) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd ! When shall one remove the Druj [viz., the Druj of Tyranny] from that by removal ? It is they who thus contend with obedience [in not doing the work of religious instruction] nor do they associate with righteousness since they do not expound it to them, [i.e., when they talk of a righteous thing to them, they even do not perform it]. They have no desire for conference with Vohuman. [i.e., a conference for the righteous cause is not requisite for them].

(14) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd ! When shall the druj [of apostasy] be delivered in the hands of him who has practised righteousness, who (i.e. drujas) destroy those who teach Thy Holy-Spell [i.e. who destroy the upholders of the Religion]. The army of the wicked [Evil Spirit] give strength to destruction. They are deceived. O Ohrmazd [afterwards they realise (and say) : we are deceived], they who are not coming [i.e., they do not come up to this Religion] and are producers of profainty [i.e. they render the words of others useless].

(15) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd ! If at that time, with the help of righteousness, Thou art manifestly the ruler [i.e. if at that time Thy sovereignity becomes complete] and when the imperishable (a-nasishn) army will arrive [i.e. when they will give back the souls to the

bodies] and those decrees which are Thine, O Ohrmazd! are expounded with exposition [i.e. the propagation of the Religion will be complete at that time], then upon whom from amongst them [will punishment be inflicted] and upon whom will the goodness [i.e. the sovereignity] be bestowed?

(16) Tell me aright that which I ask Thee, O Ohrmazd! Who is the smiter [of the sinners] with victory which is his through Thy protection and teaching [i.e. who shall effect punishment of the Sinners for Thy Religion?]. Thou shalt assign manifestly unto the chieftainship of the creation of the creatures in both the worlds [It is clear that I am to be regarded as a 'Dastoor' here and even there]. Thus shall the good Sarosh [Vishtāsp] come by means of Vahuman [i.e. he will come over to the Religion by means of Vohuman]. O Ohrmazd! my wish is for him [i.e. the advent of Soshyans is requisite] whose desire is that for everyone [i.e. everyone ought to wish for him].

(17) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd! When, O Ohrmazd! is your appointment of the Time [i.e. when shall the time of the Tan i Pasēn be]? When [shall they make complete] Your work [i.e. the duty and law of Thine] who too are the seekers of my word [i.e. when shall the Religion be completely promulgated?] (When will there be) the existence of a chief over Khordat-Welfare and Amurdat-Immortality. So it is according to Holy-Spell [i.e. they bestow the reward in such a way as is manifest from the Holy Spell (upon him)] whose allotment is owing to the accompaniment of righteousness.

(18) Tell me aright that which I ask Thee, O Ohrmazd! How shall I justly be deserving of that reward [i.e. how will it be my own without deceit..] of ten stallion horses and a camel. It is when, O Ohrmazd! I comprehend welfare and immortality. Thus both are bestowed by Thee.

(19) Tell me aright that which I ask of Thee, O Ohrmazd! (Tell me) as to him who does not give [what has come] as a reward to him who is the deserving one [i.e. Zartōsht] and as to one who gives to the just man [i.e. the virtuous man]. What shall first happen to him owing to that transgression [i.e. what is his punishment for that sinfulness at first]? I am cognisant of what it will be for him eventually [because of his wickedness].

(20) How have the dēvs, O Ohrmazd, ever been good rulers? Therefore I ask this how do they who are [the Kiks and the Karafs] keep back [i.e. how do they hinder men from the fulfilment of duty and meritorious deed] who speak about the beneficent animal that the Karafs] and the Usikhs [i.e. the dēvs] have given them to rapine. The Kiks too are unstupefied and repelling [i.e., they do not become stupefied by any impious thing of which they even speak that they did it], who even do not give us the reward for the work of righteousness [i.e., when they bestow it, they will not do any virtuous thing].

HĀ XLV

(1) Thus it is to be proclaimed [Religion]. Now hearing shall be

given and now it is to be listened to [i.e. it is to be listened attentively, learnt by rote and proclaimed] by those who also from near and who also from afar desire [to do the work of religious instruction and they shall do in the wise]. For, now all this is manifest that Ohrmazd created it [i.e. Ohrmazd created all the creatures], so that at the far off time [i.e. at the Tan i Pasēn] he who is the instructor of Evil [Gannāk Mēnōk] may not destroy the worlds and he [i.e. Gannāk Mēnōk] instils belief in his worst desire and wickedness through the tongue.

(2) Thus I proclaim in the world at-the-outset the Spiritual thing [the Gāthic Lore]. He of the Bountifulness, between the two, spoke thus to the wicked one: 'Not our thoughts [I do not think what thou thinkest; for I think that which is pious and thou thinkest that which is impious], nor our teachings [I teach what is pious and thou teachest what is impious], nor wisdom [for I keep wisdom with virtue and thou with vice], nor desire [for I have a pious desire and thou hast an impious one], nor words [I speak what is true and thou what is untrue], nor actions [because my actions are pious, thine impious], nor religion [for, my religion is the Gāthic Lore and thine sorcery], nor souls—these are not in harmony [for he who abides by my religion and he who abides by thy religion are not of the same plane].

(3) Thus I proclaim in the world that which is His [i.e. Ohrmazd's own] first [to regulate the disposition, i.e., every person ought to regulate his nature at-the-outset] which He, the Wise, Ohrmazd spoke to me thus: 'Whoever of you who do not practise this Mānthra in such a way as it ought to be contemplated and uttered, unto them there will be misery in the world up to the end.'

(4) Thus I proclaim in the world that which is His [i.e. Ohrmazd's own] best (thing) [to practise 'khvētōdas']. With the help of righteousness, the omniscient Ohrmazd established this [i.e. the practice of 'khvētōkdas']. He also practised it in the fatherhood of Vahuman [i.e., He practised 'khvētōkdas,' for the proper nourishment of the creatures]; so is his daughter of good deed and of perfect devotion [Spandarmat, i.e., she did not refrain from practising 'Khvētōkdas.']. She was not deceived [i.e. she did not shrink from the practice of 'khvētōkdas', because] she is an observer of everything as regards that which is Ohrmazd's, [i.e., all the duty and regulation will take place by means of the Religion of Ohrmazd].

(5) Thus I proclaim that which He declared to me the most beneficent [viz. to maintain the 'Dastobar'] (It is) the gift of the chanting of the word which is best for men [i.e., for men this one thing is good when they abide by Religion]. Whoso dedicates [his own body] for him My Sarosh [i.e. for him my 'Dastobar'] and teaches others (to do the same) will attain to Welfare and Immortality [with a view to seize the reward]. By the action of Vohuman [he comes on] to Ohrmazd [to seize the reward].

(6) Thus I announce that which is the greatest of all [viz. the performance of the worship of God], and the praise of holiness of Him, the very wise [i.e. of Ohrmazd Himself] (among those) that are. O beneficent

Spirit, Ohrmazd, do thou listen (unto me) [i.e., listen to me what I say] whose obeisance is by means of the conference with Vohuman [i.e., it is necessary to understand the intercession of God] by means of righteous conference. Do thou teach me His Wisdom that is the best [innate wisdom].

(7) By means of munificence [i.e. when I practise liberality] I seek His benefit. [I will make more perfectly my own] any whatsoever of the living ones, those who were and those who shall be, aspiring for the immortal-progress for the souls of the righteous [if at the Tan-i-Pasen it is not necessary to kill them again], and for the power while there is affliction to the wicked man. And thus (is) Ohrmazd, the Lord of His creatures.

(8) His praise and worship should be performed by us, for now this is clear to the eye [that happiness is ever from Ohrmazd]. By means of the deed and utterance of Vohuman [he will be] aware of the justice of Ohrmazd [i.e. of the Religion of Ohrmazd]. Thus shall I bestow his praise unto Him in the Abode-of-Song.

(9) With any help whatsoever of Vohuman we ought to propitiate Him [i.e. (propitiation) should be done with delight] who with content made for us even that which is uncomfortable comfortable [i.e. even the wicked has so much comfort from Ohrmazd]. O Ohrmazd! give us the worker for the Kingdom of Ohrmazd [ever working] and for cattle and men that (are) ours [i.e., he renders protection unto cattle and men and even ourselves] whose (source of) furtherance am I [i.e., I increase things]. On account of the devotion of Vohuman [i.e., on account of the righteous devotion which I possess] [grant us] courageousness through Vohuman.

(10) We ought always to magnify His Worship with perfect devotion who is renowned by another name as the Wise Lord, who taught [i.e. Spoke] unto His Ashavahisht and Vohuman (that there shall be) in His Kingdom Perfection and Immortality. To him stands [Spandarmat in daughterhood] who bestows strength and power [i.e. force and durability].

(11) They, the dēvs came and afterwards, men for practising contempt who despised this Thine [creation]; other than these there are saviours of the bountiful Religion, high-priests, chiefs and the King who think highly [of this Religion]. Ohrmazd is (their) friend, companion and the father.

HA XLVI

(1) To which land shall I turn [for a disciple, O Ohrmazd!], to whom shall I go for homage [for the desired object], since I have been given up by Kinsmen and confreres [i.e., I have been deserted by them]. Neither the workers and the companions nor even the wicked tyrant of the province [i.e. the governor of the province] please me. How (then) shall I propitiate Thee, O Ohrmazd?

(2) I am aware of that whereby, O Ohrmazd! I am ineffectual [i.e. I know why this incapability is for me]; since my flock is small [i.e., my wealth is little] and since also I have few men [i.e., my men and means are few; I know also why (this is so)]. To Thee I lament, do

Thou, O Ohrmazd, look it [i.e. seek for me a remedy] and grant me delight and desire which a friend gives to a friend, through the teaching of Vohuman [since I stand by the righteous teaching, give me] the wealth of righteousness.

(3) When (will) that dispensation (be), O Ohrmazd [i.e. when will that time come up] when the increaser of days [the performers of the Renovation] (will come) [i.e. in (that) day they will cause duty and meritorious deed to increase], and advance forth ostentatiously in the world through righteousness towards manifestation and through the act of teaching of the wisdom of the benefactors [just as is manifest from the Religion]. To whom shall that benefit come by means of Vohuman [i.e. they will give that reward on account of piety, (but) unto whom will they grant (it)?]. I love Thy teaching, O Ohrmazd.

(4) Thus they who are the wicked hinder him who is the doer of righteousness [who performs duty and meritorious deeds]. They hinder the beneficent animal from advancing [i.e. they prevent them from being given to others] in the district and the province. It is he of unlawful violence who through his own actions has died down [i.e. there will be life extinction for him] but owing to the sovereignty of Ohrmazd that has come, they are to be opposed [i.e., they are to be kept back from sin] and are to be killed. He (the agriculturist) makes more intelligently the provision for the beneficent animals [i.e. he takes care of the beneficent animals more wisely].

(5) Whoso in your sovereignty [in this world where is your Kingdom] shall not give [i.e. shall not grant a thing to him], he is to be believed as an afflictor [who comes to inflict wounds]. With the good knowledge of the creeds and also of love [he who inflicts punishment to the sinners shall be regarded as Thine Own i.e. as discreet and loving] He who is righteous in his upright living and also he who is wicked [i.e. every one shall be maintained with lawfulness]. Thus it is discerned [i.e. it is clear that that man is a good man] and that shall be announced to him [i.e. shall be considered by himself], who has been raised up, O Ohrmazd, from violence [i.e. from wickedness].

(6) He who does not give what has come to him to that man who approaches with a desire [i.e. who comes for duty and meritorious deed] is the creature of the Druj [i.e. he produces the creation of the Druj] and he (the good man) is frightened [i.e. terror is displayed by him and he is killed]. For he is wicked who gives the best-thing to the wicked; he is righteous who (gives) the best-thing to the righteous. [In doubt, whoso gives a thing unto the wicked shall be regarded as wicked and whoso grants (it) unto the righteous (shall be regarded) as righteous], until when they first have the religion, O Ohrmazd [until the time when Sōshans will appear, all shall thus be regarded].

(7) Whom hast Thou appointed for me and for those belonging to me [i.e. my disciples] as a protection, O Ohrmazd, when the wicked [Āhriman] holds me in hatred [i.e. who will afford me protection when he holds me with revenge], other than by Thy fire and Vohuman [for I know that (it is) on

account of you that he will render protection unto me], since by their actions we thrive righteousness, O Ohrmazd [i.e. who will render protection unto me when I perform duty and meritorious deeds?]. Do thou proclaim to me a 'Dastoor' of the Religion [pronounce this : maintain the Religion through a 'Dastoor'.].

(8) (It is the wicked one) who gives my settlements to him, the malicious (Evil Spirit) [i.e. who keeps wealth through the 'Dastoor' of the heretics —who will inflict punishment on him?]. Through his deeds I am not the expeller of him with endless wound [i.e. he inflicts wound on body, life and soul, i.e. it is not possible to inflict full punishment]. In the opposing arrival in relation to both (the worlds) [when he does not perform well the things of the spiritual and terrestrial worlds] (Sarosha the Holy) comes with torment [for that renegade]. To his body [to (that) man] a ruler shall arrive [who will chastise them] who is a protection for this (saintly man) in (his) good living [i.e. his law is this that he shall afford protection to the creatures for piety] and not in evil living. At any time whatsoever, Ohrmazd is a tormentor [of the wicked].

(9) Who is that who teaches first liberality to me [i.e. who will afford discipleship to me first] since I raise him high in Thy esteem, as a lord bountiful in action and holy? Just as Ashavahisht [dedicated his body in discipleship] to Thee [who will dedicate (it) to me] and just as Ashavahisht spoke to him the Creator of the beneficent animal [i.e. it is necessary to dedicate]. I seek both these of Thee through Vohuman [as reward].

(10) O Ohrmazd, those who are men and women shall give in the world [discipleship] to me through Thy most excellent knowledge [through Thy Religion], with devotion towards him the devoted [Zartōsht], by means of the sovereignty of Vohuman [for the virtuous sovereignty which is mine], whom (i.e. those men and women) also shall I impel for your worship [for your Religion]. They all will walk forth towards the Chinvat Bridge [i.e. they are the disciples of Zartōsht and are ever worthy-of-Garothmān].

(11) They who are the Kiks and Karaps unite for sovereignty [i.e., for an impious sovereignty]. By (their) worst actions they destroy the existence of mankind [i.e. they destroy the place beyond], and they bring into torment their own souls and their own religion. When they come to that place on the Chinvat Bridge [they give (themselves) to torment and annihilation]. Their existence is in the abode of the Druj Saecula-saeculorum [until the Tan-i Pasēn].

(12) When Righteousness arises among the descendants and grandsons of the Turanian (and when) they are brought forth by the Frayānas it is said [that there will be acceptance (for them) there]. With perfect devotion they promote the settlement [with diligence]. Thus they dwell together with Vohuman [in piety]. They are said to be rejoicing Ohrmazd [i.e. they speak that thing, thereby will there be delight].

(13) That man who gives willing service towards Zartosht the Spitāmān and seeks-to-please him among mortals, is worthy for being praised [when they

make him renowned. Thus Ohrmazd shall give life to him [in the place beyond]. He shall grant progress to the settlements through Vohuman [i.e. he will cause (them) to increase]. I always regard him [i.e. Vīshtāsp] as a good companion on account of your righteousness [i.e. as a friend of piety].

(14) O Zartōsht, who to thee is the righteous friend for this great magianship (or great covenant) [i.e. for this pure virtue?]. For whom is thy desire for the giving of praise [i.e. for whom is thy religion necessary when thou dost proclaim it?]. Such is Kai Vishtāsp, the hero, who when he praises Ohrmazd will proselytise even those of his house [i.e. will bring over to Religion the members of his family]. Them [who are of the Spitamans] I call to the words of Vohuman [i.e. I will incite them on to this Religion].

(15) O you who are Haŏchatapa's and you who are the Spitama's I will proclaim to you that you may distinguish the offering as well as whatever is no offering [i.e. you shall distinguish the righteous thing from the wicked]. For those deeds of yours righteousness is given unto you [as reward], of which Ohrmazd gave in abundance [viz. that reward].

(16) O Frashoshtar, thither do thou go with the offering [i.e. offering is to be made in the Abode-of-Song], thou who art of the Hvova and who wilt have satisfaction with them [i.e. his is the desired reward]. His existence is in happiness [i.e. thither is his happiness]. It is there where Best Righteousness is with perfect devotion, there where is the desired sovereignty of Vohuman, there where Ohrmazd dwells in (His) abode at will.

(17) Thus that moderation shall be proclaimed by you [i.e. your religion shall be proclaimed]; Dastoor Jāmāsp of the Hvov (will not speak of) immoderation [i.e. he will not speak of that which is not manifest from the Religion]. With several offerings he proceeds to your homage with the devotion of Srosh [i.e. he declares your Religion and even devotes himself to the code-of-religious-instruction]. He distinguishes from the offering what is no offering [i.e. he gives to him whom it is necessary to give]. Wise is his moderation; this is in accordance with the truth of Ohrmazd [i.e. he is versed in the Religion of Ohrmazd].

(18) Whoso performs by himself what is best for my Religion i.e. for my discipleship] [i.e. for him in the world this one thing is best] and who (gives) unto me strength [i.e. gives wealth to me], him Vohuman will teach [i.e. will give him the reward]. Hostility (I promise) to him who creates hostility against us. O Ohrmazd and Ashavahist, I will propitiate you according to (your) desire. I will select it [i.e. Religion] with wisdom and also with thought.

(19) He who acts with righteousness towards me openly on account of that, has shown towards Zarathushtra what is his foremost desire [i.e. his desire is more than the deed]. He is deserving of reward in both the worlds. Whoso makes an acquisition for me [i.e. gives me something], with him is for all time the labouring universe. That too is my satisfaction, O Ohrmazd, when I am cognisant of this [Thy Religion].

REMINISCENCES OF MAUKHARI RULE IN KARNĀTAKA

By

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The Maukharis have played an important part in the history of ancient India. Scholars who have tackled their history[1] have given us the origin and extent of the Maukhari kingdom in northern and central India, their extinction at the hands of the monarchs of the north, and the occasional references to the Maukharis in Tamil literature and records.[2] But no definite attempt has been made till now to see whether the Maukharis had anything to do with Karnāṭaka. It is the object of this paper to show that a branch of the Maukharis ruled over a part of Karnāṭaka in the twelfth century A.D., and that the Maukharis have left permanent traces of their long stay in Karnāṭaka in the culture of southern India.

The Maukhari family was called according to Bāṇa, Maukhara and Maukhari.[3] This fact is significant in our estimate of the Maukharis in Karnāṭaka.

The earlier opinion of Dr. Hemchandra RAY CHAUDHURI that there were only two distinct groups of the Maukharis, *viz.*, one founded by Harivarmā in the Jaunpur and Bārā districts of the United Provinces, and the other established by Yajñavarmā in the Gayā district of Bihar,[4] has been rectified by Mr. Edward PIRES, who tells us that the Maukhari dynasty consisted of three groups—the two mentioned already, and the third which ruled in Magadha before the time of Harivarmā and Yajñavarmā.[5] One Bāṇa's testimony supported by that of inscriptions, it has been rightly concluded that the Maukharis were a family of the highest importance, and that their rule might have extended from Magadha perhaps as far as the Sutlej.[6] Passing through many vicissitudes, the Maukhari royal came to an end with Yaśovarmā, the king of Kanouj, and the contemporary of the Kashmir king Lalitāditya. The latter killed the Maukhari king and uprooted his family.[7]

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1. FLEET, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III. Inscriptions of Early Gupta Kings and their Successors*, pp. 219-232; Hemachandra RAY CHAUDHURI, *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 363, 371 (2nd ed. Calcutta); Edward PIRES, *The Maukharis*. (Madras, 1934).

2. ARYAMUTHAN, *The Kaveri, the Maukharis, and the Sangam Age*, p. 7 ff. (Madras, 1925); Kanaksabhai PILLAI, *Indian Antiquary*, XIV, p. 331.

3. Bāṇa Harṣacarita, pp. 141, 146 (PARAB'S ed.). Cf. RAY CHAUDHURI, *op. cit.*, p. 371, n (1).

4. RAY CHAUDHURI, *ibid*, p. 371.

5. PIRES, *ibid*, pp. 14-19.

6. PIRES, *ibid*, p. 19.

7. PIRES, *ibid*, pp. 145, 154-155.

One would suppose from the above detailed account of the Maukharis that there was nothing to connect them with Karnāṭaka. A few inscriptions and folk-lore, however, enable us to assert definitely that one branch of the Maukharis ruled over a part of Karnāṭaka in the middle ages. Of the inscriptions the earliest of course is the famous Candravaḷḷi stone of the Kadamba king Mayūraśarmā. In this important record it is mentioned that king Mayūraśarmā defeated, among others, the rulers of the Maukharis called merely Mokari in the inscription. Dr. M. H. KRISHNA, who was the first to bring this record to the notice of the scholars, opined that Mokari or Maukhari was the country near the town of Gayā in south Behar whose territory might at this time have extended farther south, its western neighbour being probably Pāriyātra and the southern neighbour, the Pallava Empire.[1]

The late Dr. K. P. JAYASWAL altogether denied that the name Mokari existed in the above Candravaḷḷi record.[2] Mr. PIRES commented on this record by asserting that the Kadamba king defeated a Maukhari ruler of Magadha.[3] How Mayūraśarmā could have defeated a Maukhāri king of Magadha cannot be made out. Had he really conquered a Magadha king, then, the names of at least some of the territories through which Mayūraśarmā passed before reaching Magadha would have been enumerated. Since this is not done, and since there is nothing in the record to suggest that Mayūraśarmā ever went to Magadha, we may dispense with the assumption that the name Mokari in the Candravaḷḷi record refers to a Magadha ruler.

As regards Dr. KRISHNA's assumption that the Maukhari territory might have extended farther south than Bihar, bordering on the Pariyātra and Pallava territory, we may note that this is too vague to suggest anything about the location of the Maukhari principality subverted by Mayūraśarmā.

It is more probable that the Maukhari principality mentioned in the Candravaḷḷi record under the simple name Mokari refers to a Maukhari kingdom in Karnāṭaka itself, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Punnāṭa. This is inferred from the coupling of the names Punnāṭa and Mokari together in the inscription. We know that the kingdom of Punnāṭa lay to the extreme south of modern Mysore.[4] The Maukhari principality, therefore, could have been only contiguous to the Punnāṭa kingdom in Karnāṭaka itself.

Nothing about this Maukhari principality of Karnāṭaka is known till we come to the twelfth century A.D. It is only in the Hoysala period that we have definite evidence of the existence of a Maukhari ruler of some standing in Karnāṭaka proper. Our information about this branch of the Maukharis is based on the Sampenahaḷḷi Īśvara temple stone inscription found at Channarāyapaṭṭaṇa, and dated A.D. 1174; the damaged Hulikal stone inscription found

1. *Mysore Archæological Report* for 1929, p. 56.
2. JAYASWAL, *op. cit*, pp. 220-221.
3. PIRES, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 18.
4. SALETORE, "The Ancient Kingdom of Punnāṭa" in *Indian Culture*, III. No. 2, pp. 303-317.

near the Kauḷeśvara temple at Hulikal, Tiptūr tāluka, and dated A.D. 1179; the Attihaḷḷi stone inscription found near the Malleśvara temple Channarāyapaṭṭaṇa tāluka, dated A.D. 1184; and the damaged *vīragal* found at Malligāvulu near the Bhaireśvara temple, Hassan tāluka. All these records are in the Mysore State.

The Hulikal stone inscription is made up of two parts—one assigned to A.D. 1173 and the other dated A.D. 1179. The latter is our record. It falls in the reign of the Hoysaḷa king Ballāḷa II, who is referred to in the earlier part of the record. We are informed in this inscription that Bammaḷa Devī was the chief queen (*mahā-devī*) of that Hoysaḷa ruler. Her praise is thus sung in the same record—She was the king's "other half, a mirror to the faces of co-wives, a rutting elephant to co-wives, the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvarī."[1]

The above record proves the high social status of the queen—she was a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvarī. The praise bestowed on her in the Hulikal record is confirmed in the Attihaḷḷi inscription in the following words:—"She was the wife of king Ballāḷa Deva, a second Lakṣmī; well-versed in all arts; as wise as Bṛhaspatī; Vācaspati incarnate; the Philosopher's stone (*cintāmaṇi*) praised by all; a crest-jewel of dancing; a lion to the elephant haughty co-wives; a past mistress in singing, playing music, and dancing; a whip for the backs of co-wives; and a mirror to the faces of co-wives."

The same Attihaḷḷi record tells us that her father was Mokhari Laḍḍayya, who was the son of Vallipayya and Ambāyi. And Laḍḍayya's wife was Somavve, the daughter of Caṇḍayya and Malli Devī.[2]

No further details about Mokhari Laḍḍayya are given in the Attihaḷḷi inscription; but in the Hulikal stone inscription we have the following information about him:—

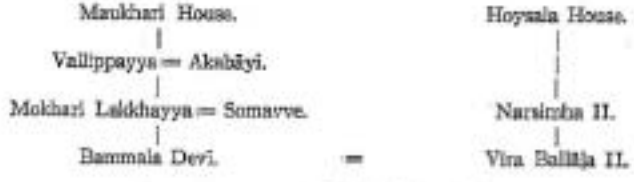
"Possessed of all wealth and good qualities, having the confidence of his lord (the king Ballāḷa II, a dweller at the lotus feet of Vīra Ballāḷa, Mokhari Lakkhayya was ruling Huli... in Nirgundanāḍ." And Mokhari Lakkhayya's right-hand man was Kalle Nāyaka.[3] The Hulikal record does not mention the relationship between Mokhari Lakhayya and Bammaḷa Devī; but from the Attihaḷḷi inscription we know that she was his daughter. Both these records prove that she was an extremely accomplished lady, and that her father was a trusted feudatory of the Hoysaḷa king Vīra Ballāḷa II. Although we are unable to gather more details about this principality over which Mokhari Laḍḍayya ruled, yet we know that it was in the Hoḷalkeri tāluka of the Chitaldoorg district. To identify the city which is mentioned Huli...in the above Hulikal record is not possible for the present for want of definite data.

But that Mokhari Lakkhayya's daughter Bammaḷa Devī was, indeed,

1. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, XII. Tp. 35, p. 48.
2. *E. C. V.* Cn. 254, p. 231.
3. *E. C. XII.* Tp. 35, p. 48.

the crowned queen of king Ballāḷa II is further proved by the Malligāvuḷu *vīragal* which has been assigned by Dr. KRISHNA to the end of twelfth century A.D., and which relates that king Vīra Ballāḷa resided at Mahavaḷeya-durga with the *piriyarasi* (senior crowned queen) Bammala Devī.[1] The Sampigehaḷḷi stone inscription confirms the royal position of Bammala Devī, by informing us that the queen Bammala Devī was ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom, along with her husband the king Vīra Ballāḷa in Dora-samudra.[2]

From the above inscriptions we gather the following dynastic account of the Hoysala-Maukhari alliance :—



Turning from royal personages to ordinary men, we find that in about A.D. 1250 a boundary stone marking the southern limit of the land of the god Sangeśvara of the Kedareśvara temple at Haḷebīḍ (Dorasamudra), was set up by Mokharinkhayya, which is evidently an error for Mokhari Nokkayya.[3]

Let us now see whether there is any trace of the Maukharis in other parts of Karnāṭaka. The Maukharis have passed into folk-lore and left behind them a permanent mark in Hindu music. The Maukhari name is commemorated in one of the folk-songs of the Tuḷu Holeyas called the Mundālas, which I published in full elsewhere. It speaks of Aitu Mukhāri as having had a great house at Urvā, one of the northern suburbs of Mangalore in South Kanara. He was a leader of his caste. He guarded his great house well. Once while at Kankanāḍi, another suburb of Mangalore, he saw his bride. He was a dutiful and industrious tenant, who served his landlord both as a farmer and a messenger. He used to talk standing to his landlord but to his caste people, he spoke sitting. When his time came, he put his back to the earth (*i.e.*, died) and went to the side of God.[4]

The name Aitu in the above song in Tuḷu is clearly the Dravidian form of the Sanskrit Āditya ; but how Aitu Maukhāri came to live in the distant

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1. *Ibid.* V. Cn. 229, p. 223. This lady Bammaḷa Devi is not to be confounded with her namesake, who was the queen of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhan Deva.

2. *M. A. R. for* 1916, p. 48. It cannot be made out whether we have to refer the territorial division called Mukkara-sāḷ-sīme, mentioned in record dated A.D. 1660 [M. A. R. for 1916, p. 67], to the Maukharis. The name may also stand for Muṣkara. B. A. S.

3. Cf. SALETORE, *Indian Antiquary, LVI*, pp. 13-17, 74-78.

4. Cf. ARGAL, *Dakṣiṇa-Kannaḍa jilleya prācīna itihāsa*, p. 345.

province of Tuḷuva cannot be made out at present. But Tuḷuva even now claims a Mukhāri family.[1]

We may observe in this connection that the Karnāṭaka music, according to Rāmāmātyā, contains a *rāga* called Mukhāri which had the characteristic of being a *śuddha svara*. The ancient Maukhāris contributed, therefore, not only to our political history but also to the cultural side of our heritage.

1. RAMCHANDRAN, "The Evolution of the Theory of Music in the Vijayanagara Empire" in the *Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar Commemoration Volume*, p. 401. See also the same scholar N. S. RAMCHANDRAN's *The Rāgas of Karnatic music* q.v (Madras, 1928). On similar Non-Āryan rāgas, read O. C. GANGULY, Non-Aryan contribution to Indian music, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, XIX*, pp. 263-272. I may also add here that in the Prakrit dialect called Konkani we have a word called *mukkāri*, meaning "forward." Has it anything to do with the enterprising Mukharis, who came to the south from distant Gayā and Kanouj?

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ĀDILSHĀHI KINGDOM OF BIJAPŪR AND THE PORTUGUESE AT GOA DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

By

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Factors determining the relations :—

Bijāpūr was one of the five sultanates that arose in the Deccan on the break up of the Bahmanī Kingdom towards the close of the fifteenth century. It was founded by Yūsuf ʿĀdil Shāh in 1490. During his reign the Portuguese arrived in India, having rounded for the first time the Cape of Good Hope ; and soon they came in contact with the kingdoms on the Malabār Coast.

The relations between Bijāpūr and Goa can best be described as being peaceful without being friendly. No doubt attempts were made more than once by the ʿĀdilshāhī Sulṭāns to dislodge the Portuguese from Goa. But all their efforts, with one solitary exception, were futile and hostilities usually ended with an agreement of peace between the neighbours, negotiations for which were always initiated by the Muhammadans. There were sound reasons why the kings of Bijāpūr followed a policy of conciliation towards the Portuguese. Bijāpūr was always at war with its neighbouring sultanates and the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar ; and in their warfare cavalry formed an important unit of the army. It was, therefore, imperative for Bijāpūr to maintain an efficient cavalry always ready for action. This necessitated a regular supply of horses which had to be imported from Arabia and Persia. And when the Portuguese came to India and became masters of the Arabian Sea, the Deccan sultanates and Vijayanagar vied with each other to obtain the friendship of the Portuguese and to ensure for themselves a constant supply of horses to keep their cavalry in efficient fighting condition. Goa was the most important port in the Deccan, and once its masters, the Portuguese were strategically in a very strong position. The Muhammadans, though excellent traders, were weak fighters at sea and their attempt to drive the Portuguese out of Indian waters was frustrated. The Sulṭāns of Bijāpūr recognised this weakness and strove to maintain the friendship of the Portuguese. The Portuguese on their part knew the weakness of Bijāpūr and the other maritime powers of India and were ever ready to use it to the best advantage. Bijāpūr's competitor for the friendship of the Portuguese was the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar. In fact it was one of its officials that first instigated Albuquerque to conquer Goa from Yūsuf Ādil Shāh, hoping that in return the Portuguese would send all horses arriving at Goa to Vijayanagar. But Bijāpūr, aware of the implications of the friendship between

the Portuguese and the Hindus, chose to give up its claim to Goa rather than suffer a shortage of horses for its cavalry which, as Albuquerque so shrewdly observed, was "the principal spring of its defensive policy."[1]

Moreover, when the Portuguese became masters of the Arabian Sea they imposed stringent restrictions on other traders. It was impossible for the Muhammadan ships, Indian or Arab, to navigate the Arabian Sea without permits from the Portuguese authorities. In issuing these permits, they prohibited the Muhammadan traders from carrying pepper, arms and other ammunitions of war,[2] and also arrogated to themselves the power of searching any ship suspected of being engaged in 'contraband' trade. Albuquerque even went to the extent of asking the sultān of Ormuz to show preference to the Portuguese ships over the Muhammadan.[3] The trade in horses, therefore, could only be carried by the Portuguese or by the ships of a state which was friendly to them.[4] After the loss of Goa, the port of Dābhol was left to Bijāpūr, but it could not be used to import horses into the kingdom, if Bijāpūr was at war with the Portuguese.[5] The Portuguese had thus acquired a virtual monopoly of this most important trade and the sultāns of Bijāpūr had no choice at all but to seek their friendship.

There was another factor which influenced Bijāpūr's policy towards the Portuguese. When Bijāpūr was at peace with the Portuguese, the Muhammadans were allowed to ply their trade between the 'Ādilshāhī ports and Persia and Arabia. Their ships brought Pardesi emigrants from overseas into the kingdom, to join its armies and enhance its strength, as in the days of the Bahmanīs.[6] Hostility with the Portuguese meant not only complete stoppage in the supply of horses, but also a reduction in the number of Pardesi recruits in the 'Ādilshāhī army. Peace with the Portuguese, if not their friendship, was, therefore, absolutely essential for Bijāpūr.[7]

Description of the horse trade :—

The Persian chronicles are completely silent about the trade in horses between Bijāpūr and Persia and Arabia, but the European travellers from Marco Polo onwards give us interesting information about it. Apart from its military importance, this trade was extremely lucrative to the Portuguese and in controlling it they were serving a double purpose : they could dictate the relations between Bijāpūr and Goa and could collect handsome revenue

1. Commentaries IV., 126.
2. Barbosa II., 227.
3. Biker I., 8a.
4. Cf. Linschoten I., 54.
5. Cf. Commentaries III., 40.
6. The Muhammadans of the Deccan were divided into two parties, the "Pardesis" or foreigners who came from Persia, Turkey, Arabia and the Deccanis who were the domiciled Muhammadans. See *Cambridge History of India*, III, 404.
7. Cf. "Cabayo desires your peace...because in losing Dābhol he is altogether lost, for by no other way can horses come in, nor white men to reform his camp." Letters III., xli 'white men' refers to the Pardesi Muhammadans coming into the Deccan.

by way of customs duty on the horses that came into Goa to be carried into the Deccan sultānates and Vijayanagar.

It is difficult to determine accurately the number of horses that were annually brought to Goa. According to Barbosa the number varied between one to two thousand.[8] It is certain, however, that almost all the horses required by Bijāpūr passed through this port. The trade was a private one carried by Arab, Persian and sometimes Indian merchants. The horses were unloaded at Goa where dealers came from Bijāpūr, Vijayanagar, Ahmadnagar and even Golconda to buy them[9] and carry them to their respective kingdoms to be sold to the various cavalries.

The horses were carried in ships that came to India with other merchandise. A cover of hides was spread over the cargo when loaded and on the top of this were placed the horses.[10] The number carried in each ship depended on its size. The Portuguese ships being bigger than the Muhammadan ships could accommodate a greater number. The Portuguese ship in which Cæsar Frederick travelled from Ormuz to Goa (1563) carried a cargo of eighty horses. However, not all the horses that embarked at Ormuz or Aden reached their destination. Nearly ten per cent or sometimes more of their number perished on the voyage. This fact no doubt influenced the price of horses sold at Goa.

The average price of a horse sold in Goa was in the neighbourhood of £150, but prices ranged from £100 to £200 per horse according to the breed and Arabian horses fetched more price than Persian. Sometimes a specially good horse fetched even a higher price.[11] What was of importance to the Portuguese, however, was the duty paid on these horses. They were allowed to be landed into Goa free of duty, but when they were being taken away by the dealers who bought them, the Portuguese authorities levied a duty of forty pagodas on each horse.[12] And when, after the fall of Vijayanagar, this trade showed a decline, the Portuguese sought to revive it by abolishing customs duty on the merchandise of those ships that also imported horses.[13]

Portuguese beginnings in India :—

The concentration of the horse trade at Goa attracted to that port the rest of the trade, since the ships that brought horses also brought merchandise. This was what the Portuguese were aiming at ; they had come to India to

8. Barbosa I., 94.

9. Barbosa I., 178 ; Pyrard II., 67.

10. Marco Polo I, 117, cf. Sir Bartle Frere, Governor of Bombay : "Till the last few years when steamers have begun to take all the best horses, the Arab horses bound for Bombay almost all came in the way Marco Polo describes." *Ibid* note 3.

11. All accounts are agreed on the high price of horses at Goa and give approximately the same figures. Marco Polo I., 83 ; Varthema, 126 ; Barbosa I. 93, 94, 178 ; Nuniz, Sewell, 307 ; Cæsar Frederick, Hakluyt X. 92 ; Linschoten I., 54 ; Pyrard II. 67 ; Mandelslo, 8.

12. Barbosa I., 178 ; Cæsar Frederick, Hakluyt X., 92 ; Couto IV. vi. 6.

13. William Barret, Hakluyt II., 410.

capture the trade of the Arabian Sea. The renaissance in Europe had equipped them to take advantage of the natural opportunities opened to them by the geographical position of Portugal on the Atlantic sea-board. In 1498 Vasco da Gama arrived at Calicut, having rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and the discovery of a sea-route to India was accomplished.

At first the Portuguese had merely sent out annual fleets to India in the hope that they would destroy the Muhammadan shipping and obtain for themselves the trade of the Arabian Sea. This was soon found impossible. The new Portuguese policy was, therefore, to build fortresses and to hold the strategic centres from which they could command the seas and control the trade either at its source or at its destination, preferably at both. By 1505 the Portuguese, under Almeida, had built forts at Cochin and Cannanore and were thus able to get a hold over the trade of the Malabār coast. But Almeida's policy, conceived in caution, was not calculated to establish Portuguese supremacy in the Arabian Sea. He was content with holding the Malabār coast. As against this Albuquerque built up visions of Portuguese supremacy not only in the Arabian Sea but also in the Spice islands of the Far East. He conquered Calicut and Goa, the two ports on the Malabār coast through which most of the trade passed. In the Persian Gulf he occupied Ormuz and though he failed to fortify Aden, it did not materially affect his policy, for he had already occupied the island of Socotra which controlled the bottle-neck entrance to the Red Sea.

Almeida's activity had alarmed the Muhammadan powers surrounding the Arabian Sea. They combined and defeated the Portuguese fleet off Chaul. But Almeida struck an effective counterblow, shattered the confederacy in a naval battle off Diu and rehabilitated the prestige of the Portuguese. They were henceforward supreme in the Arabian Sea.

Portuguese conquest of Goa :—

The sulṭān of Bijāpūr had taken an active share in the Muhammadan alliance that had defeated the Portuguese fleet off Chaul.[14] Moreover, the Portuguese suspected that he was trying to reconstruct the confederacy recently vanquished at Diu.[15] The Portuguese could hardly expect better justification to declare hostilities against Bijāpūr. Almeida made this clear. In 1508 on his way to Diu he halted at the 'Ādilshāhī port of Dābhol, at this time second in importance only to Goa as a trade centre but negligible as a naval base. As a reprisal against Bijāpūr's share in the Portuguese defeat at Chaul, Almeida decided to attack it. The Muhammadans were driven out and the Portuguese occupied the harbour (December 30, 1508). Almeida himself slept in the principal mosque of the town that night. Next morning the victors set the buildings of the town on fire and returned to their ships.[16] Bijāpūr's utter weakness to defend its coast became evident.

14. Tuhfat, 91-92.
15. Barbosa I., 176-77.
16. Faria I., 142-44; Osorio I., 343-44; Barbosa I., 166.

Albuquerque succeeded Almeida as the governor of the Portuguese possessions in the East. He at once launched the forward policy which he advocated and prepared for an expedition to the Red Sea. He was, however, persuaded by Timoja, a naval officer of Vijayanagar, to abandon the project and to turn his attention to the nearer port of Goa.[17] Albuquerque did not require much persuasion; he had already marked Goa as a future Portuguese possession. Strategically the position of Goa had every possible advantage from the Portuguese standpoint. It offered the combination of a natural harbour and a natural fortress, which would sooner or later be necessary at some place on the coast, if Albuquerque's policy of making India the principal region of the commercial activity of the Portuguese in the East was to succeed. Goa was more favourably situated than Calicut or Cochin so far as the trade of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf was concerned, and it was for this reason that Albuquerque desired to possess it. It was, at this time, the most important port on the Malabār coast, both on account of its trade and its situation. Its proximity to the Deccan sultānates and Vijayanagar gave it added importance as a commercial centre. Almeida's policy was to have a strong navy without desire to hold the ports. Perhaps that is why when Dābhol had nearly surrendered to him in 1508, he did not establish a factory there nor demand any other territorial concessions. But Albuquerque's policy was different, he wanted not only a strong navy, but also the possession of the ports which commanded the trade of the East. The conquest of Goa, therefore, was an essential factor in Albuquerque's policy. He sailed from Cannanore to attack Goa early in 1510. It proved an easy prey. The fortress of Panjim which guards the harbour was carried by assault and the city surrendered on February 17, 1510.[18]

It redounds to the credit of Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh that he decided to recover Goa. Undaunted by the proved superiority of the Portuguese, in May of the same year he forced his way into the island of Goa. Fortune favoured him. His courage and determination won for him the admiration of the inhabitants of the port. Loyal to Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh, they rose in an insurrection against their new masters. Albuquerque was advised by his officers to withdraw to the ships. Once in their ships the Portuguese were safe. They set sail for Cannanore and Goa was recovered by Bijāpūr.[19] But this advantage was short-lived. In October 1510 Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh died and this paved the way for Albuquerque's final conquest of Goa.

It will be remembered that Albuquerque's policy in the East depended for its success upon the holding of certain strategic posts—Ormuz to command the entrance to the Persian Gulf; Malacca to control the spice trade at its source and Goa which gave him the command of the Malabār waters. At the time of Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh's death Albuquerque was in Cannanore reorganizing his fleet for another attack on Goa. When he heard of the death of

17. Faria I., 162.
18. Ferishta II., 21; B. S. 22; Osorio II, 4; Perstage, 41.
19. Ferishta II., 21; B. S. 22; Faria I., 165-67; Tuhfat, 101.

Yūsuf and also ascertained that almost all the garrison at Goa had gone to Bijāpūr to attend the coronation ceremoney of Ismā'īl, he decided to strike, and set sail for Goa early in November. On the 25th of that month he stormed the harbour, gained an easy entrance into the city and became master of the place.[20] Thus was Goa conquered by the Portuguese and it remains in their possession to this day.

Peace with the Portuguese was essential even if it meant the loss of Goa. Albuquerque had definitely gained the upper hand and had also discovered the utter weakness of Bijāpūr in naval warfare. He threatened to attack Dābhol and Sangmeshwar, two of the 'Ādilshāhī ports, if attempts were made to recapture Goa. There was also the danger of the Portuguese interfering with the supply of horses if hostilities continued. In fact Albuquerque was in communication with Vijayanagar on this topic. Kamāl Khān, the regent at Bijāpūr had, therefore, no choice but to recognise the Portuguese occupation of Goa. On his part Albuquerque agreed to maintain peace and to allow horses to pass into the 'Ādilshāhī kingdom as before.[21]

Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I and the Portuguese :—

For twenty-five years relations between Bijāpūr and Goa remained friendly. In 1545 prince 'Abdullāh, the brother of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I, made an unsuccessful attempt to usurp the 'Ādilshāhī throne, and had to fly to Goa to escape the wrath of his brother. This ultimately brought Bijāpūr and Goa into conflict. Ibrahīm offered to cede to the Portuguese the districts of Salsette and Bardez, adjoining Goa, in return for the person of the rebel prince. Martim Affonso, the Portuguese governor, refused the request as it violated the standards of hospitality. He, however, suggested that in return for the two districts he would send the prince to Malacca. But Affonso was deterred by his advisers from fulfilling even this condition as they considered 'Abdullāh a useful instrument to hold Ibrāhīm in check and to extort from him further benefits. The result was that the prince was carried from Goa to Cannanore and back to Goa.[22] At the same time the Portuguese took possession of Salsette and Bardez.

Too late Ibrāhīm discovered that he had been outwitted by the Portuguese. In the meanwhile Martim Affonso had left for Portugal and his place was taken by Dom João de Castro. Ibrāhīm had to start negotiations over again. But the Portuguese attitude was firm and he failed to have his way. The utmost Dom João de Castro was prepared to do was to undertake to keep the prince in Goa and to prevent him from communicating with the sultān of Ahmadnagar or other powers hostile to Bijāpūr. In return Ibrāhīm had to relinquish his claims to Salsette and Bardez. Ibrāhīm accepted these terms only to violate them when he found the Portuguese engaged on the

20. Ferishta II., 24 ; Letters III., viii.

21. Commentaries IV., 125-28 ; Letters II. xxvii., IV. civ ; Whiteway, 134-35 ; Ferishta II., 24 ; B. S. 27.

22. Faria II., 87 ; Andrada, 28-29 ; Whiteway, 285-86.

Gujarāt coast. He led his army into the districts in dispute and occupied them.[23]

When the news of the 'Ādilshāhī incursion reached Dom João de Castro, he had concluded his campaign on the Gujarāt coast and was returning to Goa. He retaliated by surprising the Bijāpūri port of Dābhol, looted it and hastened towards Goa. He succeeded in driving the Bijāpūrīs out of Salsette and Bardez in spite of their repeated attempts to hold the districts. In addition the Portuguese governor decided "to strike where the blow might be most felt" and dispatched a fleet to sack 'Ādilshāhī ports, with the result that every port between Srivardhan and Goa was plundered and burnt.[24]

These incidents once again bring clearly to our notice the utter weakness of Bijāpūr—as also of the other Muhammadan powers of India—at Sea. Only forty years before this the combined fleets of Egypt, Gujarāt and the Deccan had been unable to drive the Portuguese from Indian waters. On the other hand the newcomers had succeeded in obtaining a firm footing on the Indian coast by the conquest of Goa. Apart from the transient and solitary success of Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh in recovering Goa for a time, all other efforts made by the kings of Bijāpūr to oust these European intruders from their island possession had been unsuccessful. The Portuguese, too, knew their advantage well and made strategic use of it to retain the possession of Goa and the lands surrounding it. Whenever the 'Ādilshāhī army threatened Goa, the Portuguese in their turn would retaliate by attacking the Bijāpūri possessions on the coast. In the present struggle when the troops of Bijāpūr overran Salsette and Bardez, not only were they driven back, but the Portuguese further retorted by devastating Dābhol and other ports. Thus Bijāpūr could not dictate terms to the Portuguese at Goa, who were fully aware of their superiority at sea and ever ready, if need be, to blockade the 'Ādilshāhī ports. It was this fear that always prompted the kings of Bijāpūr to placate the Portuguese. And in this campaign also we find that it was Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh who made the initial move for peace.

Apart from a desire to safeguard his coastline and maritime trade Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh had another reason for starting negotiations with the Portuguese. During 1546 and 1547 Dom João de Castro had concluded with Vijayanagar and Ahmadnagar separate treaties.[25] This forced on Ibrāhīm the necessity of concluding a similar agreement with the Portuguese. But Dom João de Castro did not live to see the success of his policy.[26] It was his successor Garcia de Sa who signed the treaty (August 22, 1548) by which Ibrāhīm finally resigned his claim to Salsette and Bardez.[27]

These two districts adjoining Goa were the first and the only territorial acquisitions of the Portuguese on the mainland of India. Otherwise their

23. Andrada 30-31, 213; Faria II., 117-18; Danvers I., 475-77.
24. Andrada, 38-40, 213-14, 223-28; Faria II., 120-21; Danvers, 479.
25. Biker II., 184-87, 188-91.
26. He died on June 5, 1548. Whiteway, 320.
27. Biker II., 192; Faria II., 132.

ambition was limited to the possession of ports and the command of the coast. They could use their unopposed freedom on sea to approach the shores and enter the ports of India to establish their oceanic sovereignty of trade. But they made little effort to extend their conquests into the interior of the country. The Indian states with whom the Portuguese came into contact were far too strong on land for them to entertain any hopes of large conquest of territory. Moreover, the Portuguese nation was too small to wage successful land warfare in India with a view to establishing a military empire. For impotent though the Indian states might have been on water, they were much too formidable on land to go to pieces under the attack of a handful of Portuguese.

Bijāpūr and Ahmadnagar : Alliance against the Portuguese :—

But the Portuguese occupation of Goa was a source of perpetual humiliation to the Ādilshāhī kings. Repeated treaties and affirmations of mutual friendship did nothing to lessen its rancour. The battle of Talikota had brought home a new lesson to the Deccan sulṭānates, the advantage of concerted action. And this encouraged Bijāpūr and Ahmadnagar to make one final effort to dislodge the Portuguese from the Deccan coast. So long as the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar threatened Bijāpūr in the south, peace with the Portuguese was essential as they held control over the horse trade ; for hostilities between Bijāpūr and Goa meant a complete diversion of this trade in favour of the Hindus. But after the fall of Vijayanagar the strategic importance of Goa as the centre of this trade naturally declined. Undoubtedly 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh had this fact in mind. In 1570 he entered into negotiations with Murtazā Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar. The Zamorin of Calicut also was drawn into the alliance. It was decided that the confederates were to attack simultaneously the Portuguese possessions in their respective kingdoms.[28] This plan to divide Portuguese strength was both sound and attractive in theory, but it proved of very little effect when put into practice. The Portuguese successfully drove back both the sulṭāns and the Zamorin and once again proved the superiority of their maritime strength.

In January 1570 the offensive against the Portuguese began. Murtazā Nizām Shāh advanced on Chaul and laid siege to the place.[29] The 'Ādilshāhī attack on Goa was more difficult. Chaul was a solitary Portuguese outpost in the Nizāmshāhī kingdom, accessible by land, whereas Goa was separated from the mainland by the Goa creek and Rāchol river.

The Portuguese viceroy had already sent part of his garrison and fleet to the relief of Chaul. Numerically the Portuguese defence was no match for the Bijāpūrīs. But they held the creek and the river and made a gallant

28. Faria II, 281 ; Danvers I., 551 ; Tuhfat, 162. Cf. Geddes, 26-27 ; Ferishta does not mention that Ahmadnagar and Bijāpūr entered into a league. The campaigns against the Portuguese are chronicled separately in the history of each kingdom. Ferishta II. 79, 262.

29. Danvers I., 554 ; Ferishta II., 262.

stand against the 'Ādilshāhi attack led by 'Alī in person.[30] For the better part of a year he invested the island in vain.

In the meanwhile a squadron of the Portuguese fleet had returned from the Malabār coast after defeating the Zamorin.[31] This the viceroy sent against Dābhol. The Portuguese fleet sacked Dābhol and once again impressed on the 'Ādilshāhī king the fact that the friendship of the Portuguese was essential for the safety of Bijāpūr ports.

The siege of Chaul fizzled out after seven months.[32] The Zamorin had already been defeated. Fresh Portuguese ships arrived from the Persian Gulf and Portugal.[33] 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh was forced to acknowledge his inability to reduce Goa and the hostilities were suspended. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh even sent his ambassadors into Goa to renew the treaty of friendship between Bijāpūr and the Portuguese.[34]

This was the most serious confederacy of the Deccan powers that had ever taken up arms against the Portuguese. But from the outset it was bound to failure. The Portuguese were undoubtedly superior at sea to all the confederates put together. And the sack of Dābhol, on more than one occasion, showed that any hostilities with the Portuguese were bound to lead to counter attacks on Deccan ports, and on the maritime trade of the Deccan kingdoms.

The union of Portugal with Spain and the subsequent decline of Portuguese supremacy in the Eastern seas has little bearing on 'Ādilshāhī history. The trade of the Arabian Sea, once lost to Muhammadan shipping was never recovered by it. The decline of the Portuguese saw the rise of two other European powers, the Dutch and the English, who competed for the supremacy of the lucrative Eastern commerce. Portugal held fast to her coastal possessions in India, but slowly faded out of the picture of Deccan politics.

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30. Faria II., 282-83 ; Danvers I., 552.
31. Faria II., 288 ; Danvers I., 555.
32. Ferishta II., 262-63 ; Danvers I., 560-68.
33. Danvers I., 557 ; Faria II., 296.
34. Biker II., 26 ; Faria II., 296 ; Ferishta II., 79.

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THE RELIGIOUS SECTS OF SOUTHERN INDIA MENTIONED BY ARAB GEOGRAPHERS

By

S. MUHAMMAD HUSAYN NAINAR, Madras.

Arab writers furnish a certain amount of information on the caste, religion and custom of the people of Hind. The details on these subjects are gathered principally from the works of authors who cover the period from about the 9th to the 10th century A.D. and occasionally from writers of later period.

The accounts of these writers, as it happens, refer chiefly to the coastal cities of the Indian peninsula, Ceylon, and other islands of the East Indies. As the trade of Southern India with Arabia, Persia, Rome and Egypt on the west and East Indies and China on the East, was very extensive at this period, it may be deduced that the people with whom the Arabs came into contact were preponderately of south Indian origin and culture, and that the information refers chiefly to the people of Southern India.

Only four writers Ibn *Khurdādhbeh*, Idrīsī, Abul Faraj and Qazwīnī speak about the religious sects. But Abul Faraj alone has given us more original information on various religious sects than any other writer before or after him.

Ibn *Khurdādhbeh* (844 A.D.) writes that there are forty-two sects among the people of Hind. Of these some believe in God and His apostles, some deny the apostles, while others deny everything.

Idrīsī (1154 A.D.) bases his information in Ibn *Khurdādhbeh* and gives additional facts. Some, he says, acknowledge the intercessory powers of graven stones,[1] others worship heaps of stones[2] on which they pour butter and oil. Some pay adoration to fire[3] and cast themselves into the flames. Others adore the sun and prostrate themselves to it believing it to be the creator, and dictator of the world. Some worship trees, others pay adoration to serpents which they keep in stables and feed as well as they can, considering them as means of divine favour. Lastly, there are some who give themselves no trouble about any kind of devotion and deny everything.

ABUL FARAJ (988 A.D.) writes that the people of Hind have no unanimity of opinion concerning their idols. One sect says that the idol is the re-

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1. *al-Aḥjār-al-Manḥūta.*
2. *al-Aḥjār-al-Mukaddasa.*

ELLIOT (Vol. I, p. 76) translates it as 'holy stones.' It is not correct. *Kuds, Mukkaddas* what is collected together of wheat, etc. heaped up.

This may refer to the erection of unhewn stones for worship on the wayside by travellers and in places that are far off from regular temples by people generally of the working class. A deification of some soul which they have in mind, is supposed to take place in the stone, and it is made an object of worship.

3. An exogamous sect of the Kurubas and Gollas, and sub-division of the Pallis or Vanniyans. The equivalent Aggi occurs as an exogamous sect of Boya. The Pallis claim to belong to the Agnikula Kshatriyas, i.e. to the fire race of the Kshatriyas. See *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, THURSTON.

presentation of the creator. Another sect says that it is the representation of His messenger to him. Again they differ on this last point. Some hold that the prophet is one of the angels; another group says that he is a man. Yet another group says that he is a demon; while another group considers that it is the representation of Būdāsaf[1]—one who came to them from God. Each sect has its own special rites for worshipping and exalting the idol. Some whose words may be relied upon have reported that each sect has a representation which they worship and adore. The word *budd* is the generic noun and the idols *ayuān* are species. The supreme idol is represented as a man sitting on a throne, without any hair on the face, with a receding chin. He has no garments and he has a smiling appearance. He holds his hand in a position which indicates number thirty-two. It is heard from reliable men that in each house is found its image[2] made of materials which vary according to the resources of the individual, either in gold set with precious gems, or in silver, or brass or stone or wood. They worship it as it faces them, east to west or west to east. Generally the idol is kept with its back to the east, and the worshippers face eastwards. It is related that this image has four faces and it is made with such geometrical precision and skill that in whichever direction they face it, they can see its full face. The front is clearly seen and nothing is invisible. It is said that the idol of Multan is of this kind.

They have an idol called Mahākāl.[3] It has four hands, its colour is

1. *Būdāsaf*—Is this a reference to Vāsudeva cult?

2. These refer to the family idols kept in a room apart, and worshipped morning and evening. They are often objects of exquisite skill and beautiful to behold. A story is told of a Muslim princess of the royal family at Delhi who died broken hearted because she was not allowed to retain the idol which was presented to her to play with after it had been carried off by Malik Kafur from the temple at Śrīrangam and which the Hindus successfully reclaimed.

See *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, by Dr. S. K. Ayyangar.

4. The term *Mahākāl* may refer to Śiva as *Mahākāla* or his consort *Mahākālī*—the exalted goddess Kālī.

The impersonation of female energy in the form of Mother Earth appears among the non-Aryan tribes in the cult of the village goddesses (*grāmadēvatā*) some of whom are purely local or tribal, while others, like Kālī or Māriyamma, though they still retain some local characteristics, have become national deities. Even in the Veda, Prithivī appears as a kindly guardian-deity but with her, by a process of syncretism, has been associated the non-Aryan Mother-cult.

In its benevolent manifestation the cult of the Earth-goddess is shown in that of the Rajput Gauri, "the brilliant one". In other cognate manifestations, she is known as Śākambharī, "herb-nourisher," or Āśāpūraṇā, "she who fulfils desire." Cults of her malignant aspects are specially common in South India. Such is that of Ellamma, "mother of all," whose ritual includes animal sacrifice, and the brutal rite of hook swinging, intended as a mimetic charm to promote vegetation, the plant springing as the victim rises in the air; Māriyammā, "plague mother" at whose shrine an officiant known as Potraz "ox king," tears open the throat of a living ram and offers a mouthful of the bleeding flesh to the goddess as in the murderous orgy which was a feature of the Dionysiac ritual or Piḍāri, the Tamil form of Skr. Viṣāri "poison-remover", a passionate, irascible goddess with a red-hot face and body, and

sky-blue, and its head is covered with hair which is not crisp. Its face has a grinning expression. The stomach is uncovered but the back is covered with the skin of an elephant from which drips blood, and the two feet of the elephant are tied before it. In one of its hands there is a big snake opening its mouth, and in the second is a stick; and in the third is the head of a man, while the fourth is raised. It wears two serpents as ear-rings; two huge serpents twisted round its body, a crown made of skulls on its head and a collar similarly fashioned. They believe that Mahākāl is a powerful Spirit, deserving worship on account of its great power, and its possession of all the qualities, good, benevolent, bad and adverse, which enable it to give or refuse, or to be kind or wicked.

Dinikitiya.[1] These are worshippers of the sun. They have an idol placed upon a cart supported by four horses. There is in the hand of the idol a precious gem[2] of the colour of fire. They believe that the sun is the king of the angels deserving worship and adoration. They prostrate themselves before this idol, walk round it with incense, playing the lute and other musical instruments. There are estates endowed for this idol, and a steady income. It has priests and other employees to look after its temple and estate. There are three services for this idol in a day with different rituals. The sick and lepers and those who suffer from skin disease, palsy and other grave illnesses, stay there spending their nights. They prostrate themselves, make humble supplications to it and pray for the cure of their illness. They do not eat or drink, but remain fasting. They continue to do so until they see a vision in sleep which says "You are cured; you have attained your desire." It is

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on her head a burning flame; when drought or murrain prevails, she is propitiated with fire-treading and the sacrifice of a bull; lambs are slain in the route of her procession and the blood, mixed with wine, is flung into the air to propitiate the powers of evil. *Enc. of Ethics and Religion*, Vol. 6, p. 706.

1. *al-Dinikitiya*—Abul Faraj.

Compare *al-Dinikitiya* Nuwayri Part I, p. 49.

Dinikttiya—Dinakṛt—sun, *Dina* (day) (he does). Dinakṛt+yya the Arabic termination to form the *nomina relativa* or relative adjective. Thus the word should have been Dinakritiyya, those who are devoted (associated) to the worship of the Sun.

Gustav FLUGEL on the authority of REINAUD derives it from *Aditi-Bakti*, adoration d'Aditi (der Sonne). This view is incorrect. *Āditya* is the Sanskrit word for the sun but *Dinakara*—is more often used in Tamil for the sun. Abul Faraj might have got his information from the Tamils.

The *Sauras* are those who worship *Sūryapati*, the sun-god only. There are few of them to be met with nowadays, though at one time they were numerous. They differ but little from the rest of the Hindus in their general observances, although there are certain peculiar practices which they observe. The cult of this deity which prevails among the non-Aryan races is probably not based on imitations of the practices of the Aryans.

For further details, see *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.

2. This refers to Sūryakāntam—a kind of gem, crystal, lens or burning glass; the sunstone said to emit fire when placed in the sun's rays. WINSLOW. *Tamil English Dictionary*.

said that the idol speaks to the sick in sleep and that they are cured and restored to good health.[1]

Jandrikiniya.[2] They are the worshippers of the moon. They say that the moon is one of the angels deserving honour and adoration. Their custom is to set up an idol, to represent it, on a cart drawn by four ducks. In the hand of this idol is a gem called jandarkit.[3] Their cult is to prostrate themselves to it and worship it and observe fasting for half the month, not breaking the fast till the moon rises, when they bring food, drink, and milk to the idol, pray solemnly, look at the moon and ask what they desire. If it is the beginning of the month, and the crescent moon appears, they assemble on the roof, watch the crescent moon, burn incense and pray to it. Then they descend from the roof to eat and drink and rejoice. They do not look at it except with good faces. In the middle of the month, after breaking the fast,

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1. The narration as it reads, seems to be a confusion of two accounts, one of that of a sect devoted to sunworship and another of a well-known temple resorted to by the sick and ill. The latter may refer to the Suryadeul or the Sun Temple at Konark. "The vimana of this great temple", says R. D. BANERJEE in his *History of Orissa*, (Vol. II, p. 380), "collapsed sometime between the date of the completion of Ain-i-Akbari and the British conquest of Orissa. Even Fergusson saw a portion of it about 120 ft. in height in the second quarter of the 19th century. According to tradition, the great temple of Konark was built by Narasimha I. This tradition is corroborated by statements to the same effect in the inscriptions of his descendants Narasimha the 2nd and the 4th. It is said locally that Narasimha I was cured of leprosy and dedicated this temple out of gratitude to the God.

2. *al-jandrikiniya* Abul Faraj. Compare Nuwayri Part I, p. 57.

Jandrikiniya—Candra + *kānti* Skr. + *iya* the Arabic termination to form the relative adjective. The original word seems to be Candrakāntiyya, "those who are devoted to the worship of the moon possessed of a bright gem." The word as it stands in the text is a corruption of the original Candrakāntiyya.

G. FLUGEL again on the same authority derives it from *Candrabhakti* "adorateurs de Tchandra" which is incorrect. In this connection it may be noticed that in the description of the sect Dinikitiya we read also of a gem of the colour of fire placed in the hand of the idol, though they do not call that gem by any name as they do here, i.e. jandakrit. Considering this fact the original name of the sect *Dinikitiya* should have been *Dinakri-Kāntiyya*, "those who are devoted to the worship of the sun" possessed of "gem."

Worship of the moon in one or other of her aspects either alone or in conjunction with other rites is common in India at the present day, and such worship has in all probability never been interrupted. There are, however, no exclusive votaries or sects who make the moon their chief deity.

The phases of the moon are often decisive for the work of the fields; and the economy of the household, with its various anniversaries and important events is similarly determined by the moon's position and aspects.

Among the seasonal festivals, the moon feast always held a high rank, and even the Buddhists preserved a memory of it in the Uposatha festival, though reduced in that sober organisation to a Sabbath day observance.

For further details see *Encyclopædia of Ethics and Religion.*

3. Candra-kāntam is a kind of mineral gem, the moon-stone, said to emit moisture, when placed in the moonlight, and believed by some to be a congelation of the moon's rays.

they dance and play on musical instruments before the moon and the idol.

Arakamiyya[1] are those who abstain from food and drink.

Bakrautiniya[2] are those who fetter their bodies with iron. Their practice is to shave off the hair and beard and not to cover their body except for the private parts. It is not their custom to teach or speak with anyone apart from those of their religion. They command the followers of their creed to give alms to humble themselves. Those who join the sect are not fettered with iron till they attain a rank which entitles them to do so. The fettering of the body is from the waist as far as the chest, lest the stomach should split, which might happen, they believe, on account of the excessive knowledge they acquire and the force of their meditation.

Kankâyatra.[3] The members of this sect are scattered throughout the country of Hind. Their belief is that if a man commits a grave sin, he must travel to the Ganges from far or near, wash in it and thus become clean.

Râkmarniya.[4] They are supporters of kings. Their cult is rendering assistance to kings. They say "God, exalted be He, made them kings. If we are slain in the service of kings, we reach paradise."

There is another sect whose practice is to grow long hair, which surrounds their face and covers the head, the hair on all sides being of the same length. These people do not drink wine. They have a hill known *kawr'an* to which they go on a pilgrimage. They have, on this hill, a big temple in which is an image. On their return journey from the pilgrimage, they will not enter inhabited places. If they see any woman they flee from her.

Qazwînî (1203-1283 A.D.) says that there are various sects among the people of Hind. Some believe in the creator but not in the prophet. They are the Brahmans. There are some who believe in neither. There are some who worship idols, some the moon and some others, fire.

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1. *Anašana* Skr. Fasting.

2. This may be a reference to Pakavarpattan, one devoted to the deity, being one of the six names given to such as are ripe for emancipation.

3. Gaṅgâyâtrâ—pilgrimage to the Ganges. According to the Hindus, the Ganges or Gaṅgâ, as she is called, is a divine being, wife of Śiva. In the *Râmâyaṇa*, a story is found which explains her descent from her heavenly home. The same work also explains why the waters of the Ganges are so efficacious that people come from all parts of India once in a lifetime, at least, to wash away their sins. There is a fulness in the promise to those who bathe in its flowing waters; it is that all sin—past, present and future—is by that act at once removed.

There are many works (Prayer to Bhâgîrathî: Gaṅgâ Bâkyâbali) which teach of the benefits which Gaṅgâ can confer on mortals. *Modern Hinduism*, W. C. WILKINS.

4 Râkmarniya—The first part of the word presents no difficulty. It is Râjâ, king. The second part is a word that has relation with Tamil Mânam, honour, favour, price, self-respect, shame, strength, etc. This word generally takes certain prefixes. *abi*, *anu*, *ava*, *uva*, *san*, etc. and differs a little in meaning according to the connection. When it is joined to the word Râjâ it will take the form Râjâ-apimâni or Râjâpimâni, loyal and faithful to the king. Thus the word must have been Râjâpimâni + yya, the Arabic termination being added to form the relative adjective. It is a long word and one not easy for a foreigner to grasp, hence the mangled form we find in the text.

A NOTE ON THE BIOGRAPHIES OF HAIDAR ALI AND TIPU SULTAN

By

K. N. V. SASTRI, Mysore.

Every student of Indian History is familiar with the following biographies of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan :—(i)

Hyder Shah, by M.M.D.L.T., 1784.
Hyder Ali Khan and Tippu Sultan, by Ch. STEWART, 1809.
Historical sketches, by Col. Mark WILKS, 1810 and 1816.
Haidar Naik and Tippu Sultan, by Kirmani (Trn. by MILES).
Tipu Saib, by TORRENS, 1785.
Tippoo Sultan, by E.I.C. Officer, 1799.
Letters of Tipu Sultan, by Wm. KIRKPATRICK 1811.
The country of Tipu Sultan, 1800.
Tippoo Sultan, by Meadows TAYLER.
The Tiger of Mysore, by G. A. HENTY.
Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan, by L. B. BOWRING.
Tales of Haider Ali by C. HAYAVADANA RAO.
Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan, by B. L. RICE, in the *Mysore Gazetteer* 1877.
Haidar Ali by H. A. ROBSON 1781.
(ii) in Kannada :—
Haidar Ali by H. APPANNA SETTI, 1897.
Tipu Sultan Lavani.
(iii) in Persian manuscripts (I. O.) :—
Hyder Naik (2 Accounts).
Tipu Sultan (4 books).

There are also books in German and French—e.g. SPRENGAL'S *Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan* and MICHAUD'S *Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan* (now translated into English).

I venture to think that the following are not so well known or accessible to the generality of students although the specialists may own copies of them or borrow them in the British Museum or the India Office. I am satisfied that neither the Imperial Library nor the Imperial Records Office contain all of them :—

C. P. BROWN'S *Memoirs of Hyder and Tippoo*. 1849. (A Translation of Ramchandra Rao's original book in Marathi).

A MOEN'S *Haider Ali Khan*. 1781.

Historical Account of Nawab Hyder Ali Khan, from 1763, in Dutch. 1774? (A translation in English is with me).

Anecdotes relative to the rise of Heider Ally, by E. J. C. PEIXOTE (Br. Museum Add. Ms. 19287).

Haidar Nama 1784 ? in Kannada.

The Records of Sringeri Mutt. 1927 *in Kannada* (N.P.).

The Vamsha Rabakara, and *The Vamshavali of Mysore Kings.* 1887 and 1922 respectively in Kannada.

Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan, in Urdu. (by independent authors).

Haider Ali. (in Persian).

Haider Ali (in Vol. 248), and *Tipu Sultan* (in Vol. 251), of H. Misc. (I.O.L.).

Haider and Tippu, in Mackenzie Collections, Volumes 41 and 42.

Dalrymple's account of Tipoo Sultaun, in 1790.

The Poona Residency Correspondence Records about Tipu Sultan have been lately published by the Bombay Government. In companionship with MOSTYN'S *Diary* and MALET'S *Embassy*, and the Calendars of Persian Correspondence, this series will be of tremendous value for chronology of events.

I may mention also three important publications within Mysore which are of indirect value for a new biography of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan ; the first is the revised edition of WILK'S *History of Mysore* by Sir Murray HAMMICK (1930 and 1932) ; the second is the new edition of *Mysore Gazetteer* Vol. II, part IV, (1930) by Mr. C. HAYAVADANA RAO ; and the last is *Modern Mysore* by Mr. M. SHARMA RAO (1936). These three works throw some new light upon the subject.

At the same time I should not forget to remind the students that there are a number of smaller secondary and indirect writings on the subject. But this is not clearly the place for mentioning them, partly because they are not direct biographies and partly also they are helpful more for elucidating the ideas, principles and policies of the father and son than for constructing regular biographies.

One wonders how many more there are and can be. The Madras Record Office should contain a number of sketches in the body of the proceedings of foreign, military and commercial departments.

All these new sources like the old and familiar ones can be easily classified under one or the other principle. But the grouping of all according to regions may yield interesting results :—

(*a*) The Dutch records, for instance, tell us of the intricate relations between the Europeans and Malabar, Cochin and Travancore Rajas and princes on the one side and Haidar Ali on the other. The facts which they contain are not to be found in such detail in any other source.

(*b*) The Mysore records which are in Kannada give us a description of Haidar probably as he himself wished to be known but certainly as his contemporaries at the capital (Scringapatam) and in important towns saw and heard of him. The narrative in *Hyder Nama* is detailed and comprehensive. Yet the mission of Schwartz is not mentioned at all in it.

(c) The Maratha accounts are objective, critical, and largely political.
(d) The Portuguese memoir is full of anecdotes.
(e) All "English" biographies are political and military in their outlook. A few of the later among them are repetitions or echoes of the foregoing; because the military officers who wrote history of India in this period were corresponding with one another and copying statements word by word.
(f) Persian sources are highly subjective in their character. Urdu books, which have been written lately, are compiled from the Persian sources and tradition.
(g) The one book on Tipu Sultan in Bengali is similarly a compilation from the older Persian books.

I think the time has arrived to re-construct once again the lives of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan on the basis of fresh facts presented by the numerous new sources and studies, having regard particularly to the quarters from which the information has arrived.

Incidentally it is worthy of note that Colonel Mark Wilk's account of Haidar Ali is substantially correct. When the usurper Nawab's and his son's history will be re-written, it will differ from Wilk's only in the angle of vision.

Perhaps this requires an explanatory illustration. The new angle of vision referred to will take for granted that Mysore State under Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan was a power in the Dekhan. Because she was no longer a small state confined to the comfortable corner at the junction of the Eastern and the Western Ghats or removed far from the highways of the Mughals and Marathas in this part of India.

Many words are not needed to show that, owing to the discovery of several records and publication of original works on the subject, the biographies will be naturally more detailed. The parentage of Haidar Ali, his military exploits, his administrative measures, anecdotes about his daily life and personal character, and his foreign policy are known in detail more to us than to the past historians. Equally is Tipu's internal policy revealed to us with a wealth of information.

These are formidable enough, but fortunately Indian Historiography has helped to re-arrange, re-interpret, and emphasise the facts in a novel manner. Consequently questions like the following which remained unanswered till now appear to be capable of solution:

(i) What was the ambition of Haidar Ali in his life?
(ii) To what office did Haidar nominate his son at the moment of his death? What was given to Tipu Sultan by the ministers of Haidar at Trichinopoly?
(iii) What was the genius of Tipu Sultan?

(iv) Why did Tipu attack Travancore? Why did the English go to the help of that state?

In conclusion, further research is possible on the subject of this note in the following directions:

(i) Exploration of the Mackenzie Collections in Madras and London.

(ii) Collection of records and documents and books in the possession of families and individuals within Mysore and outside (especially of Nawabs of the latter places).

(iii) Study of Persian Records at the Cairo Record Office.

(iv) Discovery of papers in the archives of the Nizam's Government, as well as of Cochin and Travancore states.

(v) Investigation at the archives at Goa, Paris, Batavia and Berlin whose E. I. Companies were conspicuous in the eighteenth century.

(vi) Study of tradition, anecdotes and monuments in the parts of India which once belonged to Mysore.

MUSLIM ADVENTURERS IN THE KINGDOMS OF TANJORE AND MADURA

By

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Introduction.

In the troubled times following the irruption of the Bijapur and Golconda forces into the Carnatic, about the middle of the 17th century, several Muslim adventurers rose into prominence in the kingdoms of Tanjore and Madura which contrived to survive the first attacks of the Deccani Muslims and of the Maratha general Shahji Bhonsle, who followed in their wake. The latter half of the 17th and the first half of the 18th centuries may well be deemed to be an epoch of comparative confusion and anarchy in South India. Able and ambitious soldiers of fortune seized what prizes came to their hands; a chain of accidents placed the Maratha, in the place of the expectant Muslim, on the Nayak throne of Tanjore. Gingi fell first into the hands of Bijapur and then into the grip of Sivaji's house, and finally into the Mughal vortex. Madura survived longer under the indigenous rule of its Nayak line; and Mysore escaped the grip of the roving soldier of fortune till Haidar Ali came upon the scene. Most of these adventurers are buried in oblivion; and they and their deeds are blended into a barbaric past of which scarcely a vestige remains now. They however created armies, overturned princes and ruled provinces, wielding power "not within the reach of modern endeavour." A humble attempt is made here to bring out three typical men of this group who played a prominent part in the setting stage of South Indian independent Hindu rule.

I. *Rustam Khan.*

Rustam Khan was a typical adventurer of the latter half of the 17th century. He rose to power as a cavalry officer with considerable influence. He was at first the favourite of Chokkanātha Nāyak of Madura (1659-1682), who had adopted him, brought him up with care and confided to him a position of power.[1] The kinsmen of this person were advanced to positions of trust in a short space to such an extent, that the defences of the Madura fort itself were entirely entrusted to his Muhammadan followers; and, in the sequel, Rustam confined the king himself to his palace, put a guard over him to prevent his leaving it and contrived to usurp all authority.

Chokkanātha had become greatly unpopular on account of the failure of his war against Tanjore and of the encroachments of the Mysore power on

1. *Vide* 'The History of the Carnataca Governors who ruled over the Pāṇḍiya Maṇḍalam,' in TAYLOR, 'Oriental Historical Manuscripts,' in the Tamil Language translated with annotations.; Vol. II, Madras, 1835.

the northern frontier of the kingdom. He was deposed, after a time, on the plea of insanity and imprisoned; and his brother, Muthulinga, was set up in his place. According to Nelson,[1] the ministers headed by the crafty Govindapayya did this act. Muthulinga however, proved as bad a ruler as his brother. The curses of the people went forth against both the *kartta* i.e., the Nayak and the ministers. To add to their misfortunes, there was a deluge on account of a super-abundance of the monsoon rains, followed by a pestilence (1677-78). Father Andre Freire in his letter to Father Paul Oliva, dated Vadugarapatti, 1682,[2] says that Rustam Khan who was in the Nayak's service and commanded his cavalry, took advantage of a walk, which Muthulinga took outside the fortress, rebelled against him, closed the gates of the citadel and seized the government. "To make a show of justice, he took Śokkalinga out of the prison and declared him king; but, in reality, he reserved to himself all authority and all the privileges of royalty. Supported by his cavalry, he imposed his yoke on the whole kingdom without anybody daring or wishing to make opposition; the usurper, not content with seizing all the treasures of the palace, appropriated the wives of the two kings, two of whom committed suicide to avoid this dishonour. This new tyranny weighed heavily on the kingdom for nearly two years, and came to an end only through a new disaster."

About the end of 1680, the Mysore forces under Dalavai Kumara Raya invested Trichinopoly; and Rustam Khan was inveigled into an ambuscade soon after the commencement of the siege when his cavalry was annihilated almost to a man. The Khan himself was forced to flee for his life within the city walls; and scarcely were the gates closed behind him and he began congratulating himself on his narrow escape, when Chokkanātha, Govindapayya and a few others fell upon him and his escort of Muhammadans and cut them down almost to a man. The circumstances of the extirpation of this adventurer are not given in full in the Jesuit Letters; nor do we know the names of those who were instrumental in accomplishing the deed.[3]

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1. *The Madura Manual*, p. 201.
2. *La Mission du Madure* III. 301, translated by R. S. Iyer.
3. The Oriental Historical Manuscripts above referred to and the Memorandum regarding the Sethupathis of Ramnad, supplied by Ponnuswami Thevan, which Nelson made use of in the compilation of his *Manual*, both leave us no doubt that Govindapayya, who is called the veteran intriguer and the Sēthupathi Kiļavan and Chinna Kattira Naiker of Kaṇṇivāḍi, were mainly instrumental in bringing about this restoration of Chokkanātha back to power.

From another chronicle (entitled 'Record of the Affairs of the Carnatalca Governors'), we learn that when Chokkanātha was shut up in Trichinopoly in his palace, Govindappa Aiyar, who was the principal minister of state, sent a secret message to the Sēthupathi of Ramnad, the chief feudatory of the kingdom and to another powerful feudal noble, by name Chinna Kattira Nayak of Kaṇṇivāḍi and told Rustam Khan that he was about to summon all the poligars in order to adjust their respective revenues. He then arranged a meeting at the revenue-office when the two feudatories came with their followers fully armed. There was a *mêlée* in the revenue-office itself in which Rustam Khan and his followers were all

Father Andre Freire thus makes the following reflection upon this domestic revolution in Trichinopoly: "Ever since the fatal policy of Tirumala Nayak who invited the Moghul army to help the three Nayaks in revolt against Bisnagar, this part of India has been incessantly delivered to all the disorders of anarchy and to the ravages of the most disastrous wars. Far from profiting by their reverses and rectifying their faults, seeking their safety in union and in the wise administration of their kingdoms, these princes have weakened themselves by their mutual treasons, and drained the source of the wealth by a tyranny, of which nothing can give you an idea. Already (the sovereign of) Bisnagar, the Nayak of Gingi, and that of Tanjore are despoiled of their dominions. The Nayak of Madura is on the verge of succumbing to the same fate."

The Nayak of Madura, though delivered from his domestic enemy, was still threatened and almost literally surrounded by four armies, namely that of Kumara Raya, the Mysore Daḷavāi, who actually invested Trichinopoly; (2) that Kiḷavan Śethupathi, which came ostensibly to the help of the Nayak, but in reality, to make what plunder it could out of the disturbed situation; (3) the army of Ekoji of Tanjore; and (4) another army under Arasumalai, general of the Satara king, Śambhāji. The two Mahratta armies according to the evidence available were in reality anxious to repulse the army of Mysore and to seize all the dominions of Madura for himself. Kumara Raya made a wise suggestion to the Nayak offering peace to him and promising to preserve his kingdom and even going to the extent of offering help for the restoration of the ancient Nayak lines on the thrones of Tanjore and Gingi, both of which were then in the hands of Maratha rulers. Thus

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killed. The traditional story of the death of Rustam Khan is thus given in the following quotation:—

"Accordingly Chinna-Kattira-Naicker, and the Sethupathi, both came to the interview in the manner of marching to a battle. Seeing this array, Rustam Khan said to Govindapalyer, "Why do they come in this kind of way?" Govindapalyer replied, "They are come just in their customary manner." On receiving this answer Rustam Khan said to Govindapalyer, "Well, bid them come to-morrow, and the thing for which they are come being all accurately settled, they may be sent away." Govindapalyer said, "Very Good." And looking at Chinna-Kattira-Naicker and the Sethupathi, he winked with his eye; and then passed over on this side of them. On the instant a volley from two thousand muskets was discharged on Rustam-Khan and the rest of the Mahomedans, which killed the whole of them at once. Chinna-Kattira-Naicker immediately went to the house wherein Chokkanatha-Naicker was confined; and, opening it, desired Chokanatha-Naicker to come outside. But Chokanatha-Naicker replied, "If you bring the head of Rustam-Khan, and place it before me, I will come; but until then I will not come." Chinna-Kattira-Naicker said, "Amongst a thousand Mahomedans, how can one of them be distinguished from the other?" Chokanatha-Naiker continued, "You may know him by this mark, his having an impostume on his ear: that is he." He was distinguished by this sign: and his head being cut off, it was brought and placed before Chokanatha-Naicker, who then came forth from his prison. (page 187, *O. H. M.* Vol. II).

Madura was the scene of confusion worsened by the treacherous conduct of Rustam Khan.

II. *Saiyad Khan.*

In the Tanjore kingdom, the years 1736-39 constituted a dark era of anarchy, domestic dissension and rebellions of pretenders. In this epoch a Muhammadan adventurer, by name Saiyad Khan, played a prominent and infamous part; closely connected with this revolution was the rise of Chanda Sahib of the Navayat family of Nawab Sa'dat Ullah Khan of Arcot to great influence in the affairs of the country.

To make the history of this troubled period clear, the following account is given. Tukoji Raja died about the year 1735. He had five sons: (1) Bāva Sahib; (2) Saiyāji; (3) Annā Sahib; (4) Nāna Sahib; and (5) Pratāp Singh. Of these the first two were legitimate and the last three illegitimate. Nos. 3 and 4 died before their father; and Bāva Sahib who succeeded, died about a year after.

The reign of Ekoji II (or Bāva Sahib) of Tanjore, son of Tukoji (1728-36) lasted only for one year at the end of which, he succumbed to a conspiracy set on foot against him, probably by Saiyad, who was the killedar of the Tanjore fort and who played the part of king-maker in the following years. Bāva Sahib's widow, Sujana Bāi, was now raised to the throne by the ministers.

But soon a pretender under the name of Savai Shahji, generally known as Kāttu Rāja (Forest King) came forward and, with the aid of the Muhammadan commander of the Tanjore Fort, succeeded in usurping the throne. He was soon deposed in favour of Saiyāji, the second son of Tukoji; and the latter had in his turn to give place to Pratap Singh. The pretender Savai Shahji was in reality the offspring of a slave woman named Rupi, to Sarabhoji, the second son of Ekoji, counterfeited as the son of one of his queens. A previous counterfeit prince had already been disposed of. This second counterfeit was set up by one Koyanji Ghangte[1] (Koyaji Kattigai?) who alleged that he was the Savai Shahji and was the lawful heir to the throne. He was afterwards called Kāttu Rāja, because when he was proclaimed as Raja, he came from the Udaiyārpāḷaiyam jungle whither he had been taken by Ghangte for the purpose of securing the aid of its poligar for him. This pretender later secured the aid of the English at Fort St. David and of the Dutch at Negapatam. This prince was deposed by Saiyāji, the legitimate son of Tukoji. The *Tanjore District Manual* alleges that

1. This was a relation of the ruling family. An extract from the Family History of the Rajahs of Tanjore (Appendix No. 1 in *A Report of the Case of Kawachee Boye Sahiba versus the E. I. Company* by J. B. Norton Madras, 1858) confirms that the pretender got help from the English and the Dutch and persuaded the army at Tanjore and its killedar, to admit him into the fort in Salm, 1660. He deposed Sujana Bai, but reigned only for a few days. His name was Soobhaniya (p. 76).

there were two rulers between Bāva Sahib's wife and Pratap Singh, *viz.*, Savai Shahji, the son of Sarabhoji, and the other Saiyaji, the son of Tukoji. The latter has been consistently ignored in the pedigrees kept up by Pratap Singh who was after all an illegitimate son. And hence there was a likelihood of the identification of the two as one.

Mill distinctly speaks, on the authority of an authentic manuscript of Tanjore, of the pretended son of Sarabhoji and of Sahujee (evidently Saiyaji) the youngest of the sons of Tukoji and attributes all the revolutions to the Muhammadan commandant, Sayid, whose execution was the first act of Pratap Singh's reign.[1] Wilson, in his note on Mill who declared that Orme was misinformed—as he considered both Shahji and Pratap Singh to have been sons of Sarabhoji—says that Saiyāji, as Duff calls him, was a legitimate son of Tukōji. Mr. Dodwell in his note[2] says that the attempt of the Tanjore Manual was to reconcile the versions of Orme and Elias Guillot, the Dutch Governor of Negapatam in 1739, which was strongly in favour of the identification of the two persons Shāhji and Saiyāji; and the Dutch were exceedingly well-informed on all Tanjore affairs. He says: 'I take it that the Shahji who reigned from 1737 to 1739 claimed to be a son of Sarabhoji; whether he was or not I cannot pretend to decide, nor yet whether the person whose uncle visited Pondicherry was the actual prince who reigned.....I think it probable that the man who now was approaching Dupleix and who, at the close of the year 1748, was to visit Fort St. David with more success, was the Shahji who had reigned over Tanjore.' The native tradition embodied in the *Tanjore District Manual* distinctly says that the first pretended son of Sarabhoji was got rid of by the order of the latter himself when he came to know of the deception. The second counterfeit was set up many years afterwards by one Koyanji Ghangte (Koyāji Kāttigai of the Diarist) who was the brother of the pretender's alleged mother. This is corroborated by other information also. Moreover, the Abbé Guyon the historian of French India, says that Pratap Singh stifled his rival Saiyāji in a bath of milk; and if that should have been true, the pretender Savai Shahji should have been a different person and not the same as had been killed by Pratap Singh in 1740.

The name given to the pretender in the Fort St. David records is Sahajee Maha Raja. The Marathi inscription in the Big Temple at Tanjore calls him Savai Shāhji and Kāttu Rāja. According to the Marathi inscription, he obtained help even in 1738 when he deposed Sujana Bai, from the English at Fort St. David and the Dutch at Negapatam under specious promises. Another writer, Mr. K. R. Subrahmanian,[3] is inclined to support the view that there was no Saiyaji at all and that the same person, Shahji, superseded Sujana Bai for a while at first and afterwards perma-

1. Book IV, Chap. ii, p. 88 of Vol. iii. (*History of India*) ed. 1848.
2. Pp. 350-351 of Vol. iv of the *Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai* (Madras, 1916).
3. *The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore*, (1928) : pp. 44-45.

nently. The Dutch *Memoir* of 1739, Ananda Ranga Pillai's *Diary* for 1748 and the English account of the claims of Shahji in 1749—all say that he was the legal heir and not Pratap Singh. But the first of these sources only proves that the Dutch, having supported Shahji, pretend that he was the legal heir. The French Dubeah only wrote that he was informed of the claims of Shahji as the son of Sarabhoji; and the English records of 1749 could not prove the legitimacy of their candidate. None of these sources mentions Saiyāji; and a French record of 1749 accuses the English of having attempted to pull down the reigning prince Pratap Singh and place a phantom in his stead. So the writer concludes that there was only one person, Shahji, the Kāttu Raja; and there is no reason to suppose that Tukoji had a legitimate son, Saiyaji, who ruled for a year before Pratap's accession. This epoch was marked by the dominance of Saiyad Khan, the killedar of Tanjore fort and by the emergence of the Navayat captain, Chanda Sahib.

The accession of Sujana Bai, the queen of Ekoji, is a well established fact. She ruled for about two years from Saka 1658 to Saka 1660, *Pingala* to *Kālayukthi*, when the pretender Kāttu Raja was admitted into the fort as the ruler. During her reign, Saiyid Khan was the most powerful person in the kingdom and did as he pleased with the disposal of the entire forces. When the Kāttu Raja,[1] the pretended son of Sarfōji, was placed upon the throne Saiyad Khan imprisoned Sujana Bai and impaled her favourite minister Siddoji and his two brothers before the gate of the fort. The historian Mill, ascribes all the revolutions between the death of Bāva Sahib and the accession of Pratap Singh as well as the latter event to the machinations of the Muhammadan captain. The deposition of Saiyaji who was placed on the throne after Sujana Bai, the pretender, Kāttu Raja, having been expelled in a few days is ascribed by Mill to Saiyad Khan. But Orme says that this act and Pratap Singh's enthronement were due to the general concurrence of the people of the kingdom. Pratap Singh's first act was to put to death the Musalman commander, who was universally detested for his rapacity and cruelty.

III. *Chanda Sahib and the Fall of the Nāyak line of Madura.*

Nawab Sa'adatullah Khan was of the tribe of Navāyat, who had originally settled from Arabia in the Deccan and rose to distinction in the time of the Bahmani branch Sultanates. Sa'adatullah Khan was first Diwan to Nawab Daud Khan and he was for twenty years *nāib* to the Nazim of Arcot and for five years the Nāzim himself. He invited his kinsmen from the Konkan and bestowed on them numerous jagirs and forts. Sa'adatullah thus made his younger brother Ghulām Ali, the Jaghirdar of Vellore. Ghu-

1. The Kāttu Raja, when he was driven out, approached the French for help, promising the cession of Karikal. He is called variously Shahuji, Shahji, Savai Shahji and Kāttu Raja. He is said to have returned in 1738 and ruled for about a year. About that time he prevented the French from landing at Karikal and it was this act of his that brought Chanda Sahib into the scene. He gave away Karikal to the French in order to avoid deposition by Chanda Sahib.

lām Ali had two sons, Baqir Ali, who resigned the Nizāmat of Arcot to which he was raised after the death of his uncle Sa'adatullah, but soon afterwards gave up his throne to his younger brother Dost Ali. Dost Ali had one son, Safdar Ali Khan, who subsequently succeeded to the Nawabship and five sons-in-law, all of them being his own Navayat kinsmen. The third of his sons-in-law was Husayn Dost Khan, who was the *diwan* of the Nizamat and a man of great energy and contrived not merely to get possession of Trichinopoly and to end the rule of Nāyaks but also to interfere forcefully in the affairs of Tanjore with a view to its subsequent subversion.

Madura was at that time ruled by Queen Mīnākshi, the surviving widow of Vijayaranga Chokkanatha (1706-1732). She was a high-spirited and ambitious, but short-sighted, ruler. She was opposed secretly by Bangaru Tirumala, whose son Vijayakumāra was adopted as her son by the queen. According to the Telugu chronicle, "History of the Carnatic Lords," Vijayakumāra, the boy-prince was installed as the Kartta, and Mīnakshi was to be his guardian and regent. According to another version, Gangaru Tirumala, refused to give his son to the queen for adoption, assumed the state of ruler himself and set up his state from a new palace. Still another chronicle says that the majority of the people were on the side of Bangāru Tirumala then in the actual administration of the kingdom. Thus the kingdom was distracted by violent party quarrels; the palace and the treasure at Trichinopoly, the then capital, were in the hands of Mīnākshi; while the court and the administration were in the hands of Bangāru. The queen was egged on in her opposition to Bangāru by her brothers, Venkata Nāyak and Perumāl Nayāk, while the crafty Venkatarāghvāchārya, the Dalavai, supported Bangāru.

In 1734, Dost Ali, the Nawab of the Carnatic sent his son Safdar Ali along with his son-in-law Chandā Sahib on a military campaign to the south. Dost Ali had been planning even earlier to interfere in the affairs of the Nāyak kingdom; but some delay occurred owing to the troubles caused by the measures antecedent to Dost Ali's permanent occupation of the Nizamat. The "History of the Karnātaka Governors" attributes the expedition of 1734 to the positive connivance of Rani Mīnākshi who is said to have actually written to Chandā Sahib for assistance, whereupon Bangāru Tirumala wrote to Safdar Ali, who was jealous of his brother-in-law.

The Telugu Chronicle however is comparatively obscure on this point. It says that Safdar Ali having advanced to Trichinopoly and settled the dispute left the place after instructing Chandā Sahib to bring thirty lakhs of rupees. The latter persuaded or frightened Mīnākshi into giving him a crore of rupees whereupon he swore on the holy Quran that he would not use any sort of treachery towards her and would not endeavour to depose her. According to the testimony of Orme the army of Safdar Ali and Chandā Sahib moved by way of Madras and Pondicherry; and it was during their passage to Madura that Chandā Sahib laid the first foundations of his connection with the French Government of Pondicherry.

The course of events and the intrigues that led to Chandā Sahib's capture of Trichinopoly and the death of Rani Mīnākshi are obscure. The Telugu Chronicle would say that Chandā Sahib as soon as he received the money, entered the fort while the Rani having sent her adopted son and Bangāru Tirumala for safety to Madura, camly awaited the course of events in Trichinopoly. Chandā Sahib now persuaded the queen to believe that he would make her the undisputed ruler of the kingdom and left for Arcot. Meanwhile, Rani Mīnākshi divided the kingdom into two parts, retaining for herself both the banks of the Cauvery as far as Karūr and Dhārāpuram; while Madura, Tinnevelly, Dindigal and the other southern districts and the palayams attached to them like Rāmnād, Sivaganga etc. were to be under the control of Bangāru Tirumala.[1] Chandā Sahib came again to Trichinopoly in 1736 and placed his own soldiers over the palace and began to manage the affairs of the Trichinopoly country. He then proceeded against Bangāru Tirumala, took possession of the Dindigul province and fought a bloody battle at Ammaiyappāḷaiyam with Bangāru's forces. Bangāru taking the young prince with him retired to Sivaganga while the invader secured Madura and the adjoining country. "Mīnākshi-Ammāl, at Trichinopoly, having received intelligence of all these things, observed, 'Chandā Sahib, after having sworn that he would not act treacherously, and receiving from me a crore of rupees, nevertheless has, traitor-like, conquered the kingdom for himself. The next thing which he will do is to kill me. Better to die by my own hand than by his.' In consequence of this conclusion she swallowed poison, and obtained divine bliss."

The version of the Tamil Chronicle is much more clear and possibly more reliable as to the course of the intervention of the Muhammadans. It says that when Safdar Ali came down to Trichinopoly in 1734 he was merely anxious to settle the dispute between Bangāru and the queen and he was bribed to give the award in favour of Bangāru and returned after entrusting the execution of the award to Chandā Sahib. Chandā Sahib's plan was first to overthrow Bangāru Tirumala in the name of Mīnakshi so that there should be no rival to the queen whom he could easily set aside subsequently; next to depose Mīnākshi and to proclaim himself as the ruler of Trichinopoly in the name of the Nawab and finally perhaps to make himself completely independent even of Arcot. Thus Mīnākshi should be used for the destruction of Bangāru Tirumala; then the Nawab's authority should be utilised for the destruction of Mīnākshi; and finally, his own independence should be built up on the basis of his own prowess. Therefore he returned to Arcot in 1735 in order to get reinforcements and to explain his plans to the Nawab. He seems to have acquiesced for the time being, in the plans

1. In this way, the Chronicle says, both persons ruled the kingdom for five years from Virodhikrit i.e. from 1731. This however makes the arrangement operative from the beginning of Rani Mīnākshi's rule and would not admit of her having quarrelled with Bangāru, which is attested by other sources.

of the partition of the Nāyak kingdom effected by the Rani Mīnākshi as a measure of safety. The partition should show that Mīnākshi was clever enough to perceive that the boy-prince should properly be entrusted to the care of Bangāru Tirumala who would be the final defender of the kingdom. Chandā Sahib thought it diplomatic to acquiesce in this arrangement of the Rani.

It is maintained by Wilson that Chandā Sahib acted during all this time with the connivance of Mīnākshi and not against her and that Bangāru's going away to Madura was the result of his desire to escape from the clutches of Chandā Sahib and the Rani who was acting in collusion with him. After the battle of Ammaiyapāḷaiyam where the Musalmans inflicted a decisive defeat on his troops, Bangāru fled from Madura and lived in the interior of the Ramnad country under the protection of the Setupati and the Sivaganga chief. Chandā Sahib no longer felt it necessary to show any regard for Mīnākshi. He placed the Trichinopoly Fort under his own guard, removed the queen's followers from it, secured the treasury and seized the administration. Then came the tragic end of Mīnākshi.

The *Tuzuk-i-Wālājahi*, an 18th century historical Persian work, written under the patronage of the Nawabs of the Anwar'u-d-din family, thus speaks of the treachery of Chandā Sahib. "Husayn Dost Khan, the third son-in-law (of the Nawab) went there in the guise of peace. Swearing on the word of Allah, the King, the Great Knower, he spun the thread of relationship of a brother to her, made it into a noose of punishment and deceived her. He cut the throat of the times, broke his plighted word, and tinged his scimitar with blood. Finally in the *sarai*, known as *Diluai mandap*, adjoining the fort of Trichinopoly, he broke (his covenant with her) yielding to his prolific vicious nature, took possession of the fort, and set the mischief afoot. The Rani became aware of the deceit, being too weak to take revenge, the power went from her hands. Thus wounded in heart and helpless, she burnt herself according to the custom of the Hindus. But a spark that would in time burst into flame and burn out life and punish this cheat was being kindled in secret in the cotton-like confidence of this faithless liar; because the Rani at the time of her jumping into the fire kept the holy book (Quran) in her bosom with faith. The cheat, in his ignorance of the right path, went against the practices of Islam, chose the objects of this transitory world, and took a false oath in the holy book simply to create more confidence in his assertions, while strengthening the friendship, establishing brotherly relationship, and making covenant of union and amity. The holy Quran, the praiseworthy book, was so miraculous in its power that the fire while it burnt her whole body did not reach the bosom. It produced its effect thus: The Khan during the days of our Hadrat-i-A'la, got his capital punishment at the hands of a Hindu in the same *sarai*, and in a similar deceitful manner. In spite of all these undesirable actions, his death is called a martyrdom because of the favour of Islam, of his love for the family of the Prophet of all creation, (May God bless him!) his generous and noble habits, and his

murder by a Hindu. The knowledge of these things is only in Allah [1] "

Chandā Sahib's tragic end has been regarded as a deserved *nemesis* for his treacherous behaviour to Rani Mīnākshi by all historians—The Pondicherry Diarist, the contemporary Ananda Ranga Pillai, gives us the day-to-day information of the events that hastened his end.

Bad news from Srirangam reached the Diarist's ears on the 8th June in the shape of Chandā Sahib having written to the Governor M. Law had gone over to Muhammad Ali Khan and the English and ruined everything. D'Auteuil who had advanced to Valikandapuram was attacked by Birki Venkat Rao with the Maratha troops, the Mysore faujdar and some English who were encamped at Samayavaram and forced to retreat to Ranjangudi, being unable to reach Srirangam; but Mutabir Khan, the *faujdar* of that place, would not admit them and, on the other hand, helped the enemy to get in their rear and attack them. D'Auteuil surrendered without striking a blow. On June 15th, Ranga Pillai heard that Chandā Sahib had tried to escape, as a faquir, from custody, but had been seized; and when the news reached Fort St. David a salute was fired and sugar was distributed to the people. The next day he learnt that Chandā Sahib, Shaikh Hasan, Law and others were surrounded in the Srirangam temple and could get no provisions; and, in despair, Chandā Sahib offered to pay a certain sum of money to Manoji Appa of Tanjore and Murari Rao, on condition that he was to be escorted by Murari Rao. But Muhammad Ali's people found him out, and declared that they would take him to the fort of Trichinpoly; but the people of Murari Rao and the Tanjore folk protested that they had given a *cowle* or safe conduct to Chandā Sahib and carried him off in haste. Later, he was detained at the Dalavai Mantapam and not taken to Tanjore, but sent on to Manoji Appa's camp, his head was cut off; and the head and the body were carried on a camel to Muhammad Ali at Trichinopoly. Dupleix found fault with Law for giving up Chandā Sahib to Manoji Appa without insisting on getting a Maratha noble as hostage and being merely satisfied with asking the Tanjore general to take an oath, which he did by proxy and broke so soon afterwards.

Wilks wrote that Law was "justified by the fairest considerations of the natural interests committed to his charge in recommending Chandā Sahib to incur any risk, rather than surrender to the English; and he unhappily trusted to the desperate faith of a Mahratta." According to Orme, Chandā Sahib knew that the Tanjore general, Manackjee, was at open variance with his prime minister and might be inclined to safeguard him, following only his personal interests, and he followed the overture with so much interest and seeming compliance, that both Law and Chandā Sahib thought that they had gained him over to their interest. When Law demanded a hostage, the Tanjorean answered that a hostage would be no real check on intended treachery,

1. Part I. Translated into English by S. M. H. NAINAR (Madras, 1934) pp-70-71.

and that, by giving one, the secret would be divulged and the escape rendered impracticable, and he promised under an oath taken on his sabre and poniard, that he would send away Chandā Sahib with an escort of horse to Karikal. As soon as the victim entered his quarters, Manojee had him imprisoned in a tent and put in irons. The next morning (1st of June *O. S.*) there was a conference in Major Lawrence's tent between the Major, Muhammad Ali, Manoji and the Mysore general, when the proposal that the English should have the custody of the prisoner, was violently opposed by the other three parties. To Manoji the Mysorean promised money, the Nawab threatened resentment and Murari Rao held out the fear of an attack; and he saw no method of saving the situation except by putting an end to the life of his prisoner. On the morning when Law surrendered at Srirangam, he had a conference with Lawrence, convinced him that the English were resolved not to interfere any farther in the dispute. The executioner was a Pathan, one of the Tanjore general's retinue.[1]

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1. ORME: *History of Hindustan.* Vol. I. Pp. 236-42. 4th ed.

WILKS says that his death was looked upon in this light by all Mussalman writers; but he had a manuscript which stated that Chandā Sahib was murdered "at the instigation of Muhammad Ali." He however believes that the Maratha general, Manoji, would not have thus disposed of his prisoner and incurred the disgrace of open perifidy, had it not been for his fear getting involved in further disputes. He thinks that, in the mock conference held before Major Lawrence, the native chiefs were secretly agreed and that the Major was to be deterred from interfering by showing that he would thereby incur the resentment of all the confederates. (Vol. I, p. 177 *History of Mysore*) 2nd ed.

MALLESON is of the opinion that "it is clear from Orme's version that Lawrence had it in his power to have saved Chandā Sahib, and did connive at the death of the unfortunate man." (*History of the French in India*: p. 328 note).

H. H. WILSON only justifies the conduct of Lawrence by maintaining that the English were at that time not so well assured of their power as to pretend to dictate to the native princes. (Note on P. 87 of Mill's *History of British India.* Vol. III, 1858).

VENKASAMI RAO says that Mankoji, the famous general of Raja Pratap Singh, who undertook a successful expedition against the Maravas, shortly afterwards made himself "infamous by faithlessly and inhumanly disposing of Chandā Sahib at Trichinopoly." Pratap Singh's chief minister, Sadhoji, was a great enemy of Mankoji. (*The Tanjore Manual*; pp. 733 and 789).

The Madras Council Consultation of Monday, the 15th June, 1752, merely records a letter from Major Lawrence "advising that the allies not agreeing who should have Chandā, to prevent disputes, his head was cut off and carried into Trichinopoly; that Shaik Hussan is a prisoner in Syringham to whom he had promised protection."

Prof. DODWELL points out (in note 3, p. 66 of his *Dupleix and Clive*) that, according to Saunders' letter to Dupleix of Aug. 22, 1752, Lawrence seems to deny that any conference was held; he adds that he does not attach much value to this as he expresly says the opposite in his narrative.

THE MĪNAS IN TRADITION AND HISTORY

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The Mīnas have been celebrated in the tradition and history of our country from the earliest times down to the collapse of the Marāṭha power in A.D. 1818. The meaning of the word Mīna, by which they were known even in the beginning of the nineteenth century, deserves first to be ascertained. The word Mīna means fish in Tamil (*mīn*) as well as in Kanarese (*mīna*) while in Sanskrit it is understood to mean the same although it is generally represented by the word Matsya. It is therefore evident that the word Matsya is the Sanskritized form of the Dravidian expression *Mīn* or *Mīna*, meaning fish and probably represents the totem of a people who must have adopted the emblem of the fish as a symbol of their tribe.[1] The existence of the Mīnas as a militant tribe has been traced to the times of the Mohenjo Dāro.[2] But it is clear from the evidence in the *Ṛg Veda* that the term Matsyas represented definitely a people, whose home was in the south or south-west of Indraprastha and to the south of Śūrasena or Mathurā.[3] Owing to this reference Dr. MACDONELL said : "There are possibly in the Rigveda some survivals of totemism, or the belief in the descent of the human race or of individual tribes or families from animals or plants."[4] This remark has met with severe criticism. Dr. A. Berriedale KEITH, for instance in this connection observes that "mere animal names prove little as to totemism, which is not demonstrated for any Aryan stock."[5] He has been supported by Dr. B. C. LAW who adds : "Nor is there anything in the account of the Matsyas to show that the fish was an object of worship among them, nor was ever regarded with any special veneration. The fish incarnation of Viṣṇu has nothing to do specifically with the Matsya people. There is, therefore, no valid reason for thinking that such Indo-Aryan names as Matsya (fish), Aja (goat), Vatsa (calf) have anything to do with totemism."[6] These conclusions arise from the assumptions that first, the Matsyas were either an Āryan or an Indo-Āryan tribe, secondly that the fish, either as an emblem or an incarnation of Viṣṇu, was not honoured among them, and lastly that the name Matsya must have been adopted by them to preserve their belief of their descent from the fish. But there is no definite proof to establish that the Matsyas were of Āryan descent and little

1. It may be noted that *Mīna* is also a word in Sanskrit meaning Matsya. Of its etymology we are uncertain. In general the word *Matsya* is used for fish. R. N. S.
2. *Cf.* HERAS, Mīnāḍ, *Indian Culture*, III, pp. 708-15.
3. *Ṛg Veda*, VII, 18, 6.
4. MACDONELL, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 153.
5. KEITH, *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (Anecdota Oxoniensa), p. 200, f. n.
6. LAW, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, p. 65. For a discussion on the Matsyas see pp. 65-79.

indeed is known of their social life, either in early or in later times, to support the other conclusions.

The Antiquity of the Matsyas.

The Matsyas, who were no other than the Mīnas themselves, can be traced to remote antiquity. They are mentioned, for example, in the *Ṛg Veda*, where an account is given of their spoliation. It is recorded how "Turvasa, who was taking precedence (at solemn rites) was desirous of performing a sacrifice; for wealth the Matsyas were attacked (by him)".[1] That they were really a people is borne out by Sāyaṇa[2] as well as other texts. The *Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad* refers to the Uśīnaras, Vatsas, the Matsyas, Kuru-Pāñcālas, Kāśī-Videhas.[3] The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* mentions the Matsyas along with the Śalvas, the Kuru-Pāñcālas, Aṅga-Magadhas, Kāśī-Kośalas, and Vatsa Uśīnaras.[4] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* depicts their wealth. It relates how one of their kings Dhvasan Dvaitavana, "where there is the lake Dvaitavana" performed a horse sacrifice. "Fourteen steeds did king Dvaitavana, victorious in battle, bind for Indra Vṛtrahan, whence the lake Dvaitavana took its name."[5] Manu points to them as a fighting class[6] while in the *Mahābhārata* they are said to be the allies of the Śālvas.[7]

The Matsyas were well-known in Buddhist literature as Macchas. Of the sixteen traditional Mahājanapadas extant during the times of Buddha, the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* mentions Maccha as one of them.[8] They are again referred to in connection with the stay of the Buddha at Nadika in the *Janavasabha Suttanta*.[9] They witnessed, according to the *Vidhura Paṇḍita Jātaka*, the dice-play of the Kuru king with the Yakkha Puṇṇaka.[10] From these references it is clear that in Buddhist thought they were well known as a people, occupying a specified territory and having a certain measure of civilization.

The Origin of the Matsyas.

These Matsyas according to the epics had a rather strange origin. In the *Mahābhārata*[11] a king named Matsya is said to have been born from the womb of a fish along with Matsyagandhi Satyavatī. Girikā, the wife of Vasu whose seed, when carried by a hawk, fell into the waters of Yamunā (Jamna) in which Adrikā, once an Apsaras, swallowed it and gave birth to these twins,

1. *Ṛg Veda*, VII, 18 : 6.
2. MACDONALD and KEITH, *Vedic Index*, II, p. 121.
3. *Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad*, IV, I, Trans. MAX MULLER, Sac. Books of the East, I, p. 300.
4. *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, 2, 9, p. 30. Bibliotheca Indica.
5. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 5, 4, 9, SBE, XLIV, p. 398.
6. *Mahābhārata* (ROY'S *Edn.*), Virāṭa Parva, Sec. 30; *Virāṭa Parva* (RAGHUVIRA), 29. 2. 130.
7. *Manusmṛtiḥ*, VII, 193, SBE, XXV, p. 247.
8. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, I, p. 213, Ibid. IV, pp. 252, 256, 260.
9. *Digha Nikāya*, II, p. 200.
10. COWELL, *The Jatakas*, VI, pp. 137, 280.
11. *Mahābhārata*, Ādi Parva, Sec. 63, pp. 174-5 (Roy's edn.); *Ādi Parva* (SUKTHANKAR), 57, 33-55, 248-50.

one of whom was the truthful monarch Matsya. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* also refers to this king Matsya, born of Uparicara Vasu and a fish.[1] This explanation of the origin of the Matsyas was not intended to point to the origin of the Matsyas as a people ; " The birth of Matsya here" says Dr. B. C. LAW " is here entirely a personal myth and has no connection with the people called Matsyas."[2] Such an explanation, it may be said, of course was not at all meant to reveal the origin of the Matsyas but it was evidently implied to give a touch of sanctity to the lineage of the king called Matsya. In fact an exactly similar practice was adopted in the case of the birth of Satyasārtaṃḍa, the founder of the Matsyas of Oḍḍāḍi.[3] It is consequently possible that once the Matsyas believed that the founder of the Matsyas, or at least one of their most prominent kings like Matsya himself, was born of a fish, apart from its religious significance, it must have been evidently used by them either as a totem or at least as a symbol. This presumption, of course is only a possibility for it cannot be proved, but that even a modern dynasty like the Jethavas of Saurāṣṭra employed the fish as a dynastic symbol can be seen from their shrines at Bhumlika, in western Kaṭhiawāḍ.[4]

The Characteristics of the Matsyas.

It is no wonder that the Matsyas, being wealthy, only desired to protect their wealth and consequently became celebrated as a race of fighters. In the *Mahābhārata* king Suśarma of the Trigarttas tells Duryodhana that they were defeated more than once by the Matsyas and the Śālvas, who were their allies.[5] Manu advocates that they should be placed in the front line of battle when he says : "(Men born in Kurukṣetra, Matsyas, Pāñcālā and those born in Śūrasena, let them fight in the van of the battle, as well as (others who are) tall and light."[6] No wonder such was the advice suggested by Manu for we find its fullest justification in their exploits which are revealed in the *Mahābhārata* as a race of warriors.

The Wealth of the Matsyas.

The Matsyas probably developed the fighting instinct out of sheer necessity which arose from their desire to protect their only wealth—cattle. The *Mahābhārata*, for instance, throws some light on the nature of such wealth which was owned by one of their kings named Virāṭa in his kingdom known as Matsya. It is related how Sahadeva, clad in a cowherd's dress, speaking the dialect of cowherds, came to the cow-pen of Virāṭa's city. Beholding him the king was struck with his personality and on discovering his identity, observed : "I have a hundred thousand kine divided into distinct herds. All those together with their keepers I place in thy charge. Henceforth my beasts will

1. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Ch. 99.
2. B. C. LAW, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, p. 67.
3. *E. I.* V, p. 106. *J. A. H. R. S.* V, Pt. II, No. 4, p. 249.
4. *I. A.*, VII, p. 161. The Kādambas of Kalinga, the Pāṇḍays of Maḍura and the Pāṇḍyas of Uccangi had also the matsya *lāñchana* or Fish Crest. R.N.S.
5. *Mahābhārata*, Virāṭa Parva, Sec. 30; *Virāṭa Parva* (RAGHUVĪRA), 29. 2. 130.
6. *Manusaṃhitā*, VII, 193, *SBE*, XXV, p. 247.

be thy keep."[1] From this assurance of king Virāṭa it may be concluded that the Matsyas were essentially a pastoral people, whose greatest asset lay in cattle, which they organised into herds, over which they appointed keepers, who, as will be seen presently, always kept the king informed of any mishap to these animals.

The Trigartta-Matsya Battle.

Owing to their possession of such enviable wealth in the shape of cattle, the Matsyas were always an object of attack. In the age of *Ṛg Veda* they are ranged with the other foes of the great Sudās.[2] In the *Mahābhārata* period their greatest foes appear to have been the Trigarttas with whom they once fought a deadly battle. The real cause of the Trigartta invasion appears to have been the constant depredations of the Matsyas in the kingdom of the former but owing to the existence of their great commander Kīcaka, the incursions were never attempted. On the death of this Matsya Sūta, the Trigartta king Suśarman, saw the best opportunity of wreaking his revenge by allying himself with the Kauravas. So he thus addressed Duryodhana : "My kingdom hath, many a time, been forcibly invaded by the king of the Matsyas. The mighty Kīcaka was that king's generalissimo. Crooked and wrathful and of wicked soul, that wretch, however, hath been slain by the Gandharvas. Kīcaka dead, king Virāṭa, shorn of pride and his refuge gone, will, I imagine, lose all courage. I think we ought now to invade that kingdom, if that please thee, O sinless one, as also that illustrious Karṇa and all the Kauravas ! The accident that hath happened is, I imagine, a favourable one for us. Let us, therefore, repair to Virāṭa's kingdom abounding in corn. We will appropriate his gems and other wealth of diverse kinds, and let us go to share with each other his villages and kingdom. Or invading his city by force, let us carry off by thousands his excellent kine of various species. Uniting, O king, the forces of the Kauravas and the Trigarttas, let us lift his cattle in droves."[3] On Karṇa's supporting his proposal, king Duryodhana speedily commanded his brother Duḥśāsana that Suśarma should proceed first to the city of Virāṭa with his forces and coming on the cowherds, seize that wealth of his cattle. Then the Kauravas too in two divisions would capture the thousands of those excellent kine.[4]

Accordingly Suśarma seized the "cattle by thousands", on hearing which Virāṭa, his brothers Satānīka and Mahadīnāśva, and his eldest son, the heroic Śaṅkha, putting on strong coats of armour and corslets, yoked unto their cars with white steeds and rushed to meet the Trigarttas. In the terrible battle which followed king Suśarma "having by energy, oppressed and defeated the whole army of the Matsyas, impetuously rushed towards Virāṭa himself, endowed

1. *Mahābhārata*, Virāṭa Parva, Sec. X, p. 24 ; *Virāṭa Parva* (RAGHUVĪRA), 9. 1-14. 48-49.
2. *Ṛgveda*, VII, 18. 6.
3. *Mahābhārata*, Virāṭa Parva, Sec. XXX, p. 74 ; *Virāṭa Parva* (RAGHUVĪRA), 29. 1-13. 130-1.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 75 ; *Ibid.* (RAGHUVĪRA), 29. 14-26. 131-133.

with great energy. And the two brothers, having severally slain Virāṭa's two steeds and his charioteer, as also those soldiers that protected his rear, took him captive alive, when deprived of his car. And afflicting him sorely....Suśarma placed Virāṭa on his own car and speedily rushed out of the field. And when the powerful Virāṭa, deprived of his car was taken captive, the Matsyas, harassed sorely by the Trigarttas, began to fly in fear in all directions." Then at Yudhiṣṭhira's instance Bhima rode forth and seizing Suśarma by the hair and lifting him in wrath, dashed him to the ground. At this his army "stricken with panic broke and fled in all directions," and the writhing Suśarma was set free in great contempt.[1]

Soon after Duryodhana with his counsellors, in his turn fell on the kingdom of Virāṭa, speedily drove away his cowherds and captured his cattle. Virāṭa's son Uttara with Arjuna as charioteer, sped forth to meet these invaders, but on seeing them and their mighty host arranged in battle order, his heart sank. Complaining, that his father had gone away to fight the Trigarttas, leaving no troops for his assistance, he suggested to his charioteer a retreat, but Arjuna would not hear of it. In the mighty battle which followed, the Kurus were routed, the kine were recovered and the Matsyas returned in triumph to Virāṭapura.[2] Virāṭa finally overcame the Trigarttas, regained his kingdom and along with the sons of Pāṇḍu came back to his capital where his daughter Kṛṣṇā was wedded to the saviour of his realm, Arjuna.[3]

This account of the Matsya-Trigartta battle shows that the Matsyas in the epic age had a monarchical constitution, some measure of civilisation and were evidently a pastoral people.

The Home of the Matsyas.

Where then did these Matsyas dwell from the earliest times? In the *Ṛg Veda* their home is laid to the south or south-west of Indraprastha and to the south of Śūrasena.[4] As noticed earlier the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* places them between the Vatsas and the Kuru-Pāñcālās but Manu, however, is more explicit and relates that on "the plain of the Kurus, the (country of the) Matsyas, Pāñcālās and śūrasenakas, these (form) indeed the country of the Brahmarṣis."[5] Such being the case in the *Padma Purāṇa*[6] and the *Viṣṇudharmottara Mahāpurāṇa*, this land of the Matsyas is called one of the *janapadas* of Bhāratavarṣa.

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, however, points to the exact place where the Matsyas had their habitation since early times: This text relates how the Matsya king Dvaitavana performed a horse-sacrifice near the lake Dvaitavana, where he bound for Indra Vṛtrahan fourteen horses, after a victorious battle,

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1. *Mahābhārata*, Sec. XXXIII, pp. 80-84; *Ibid.*, (RAGHUVĪRA), 3032. 134-149.
2. *Mahābhārata*, Virāṭa Parva, Sec. XXXVIII, pp. 93-97, *Ibid*, LXV, pp. 165-67; *Virāṭa Parva* (RAGHUVIRA), 33 ff.
3. Ibid.
4. *Ṛg Veda*, VII, 18, 6.
5. *Manusaṁhitā*, II, vv 19-20. *SBE*, XXV, pp. 32-33.
6. *Padma Purāṇa*, Ch. 3.

whence the lake became known as Dvaitavana[1] evidently after the king himself. *Mahābhārata* reveals that the Dvaitavana lake existed in the Dvaitavana forest, near the river Sarasvatī. Arjuna suggested to his brother Yudhiṣṭhira that there were some delightful and secluded spots for residence during their exile: "Surrounding the kingdom of the Kurus, are many countries, beautiful, and abounding in corn, such as Pāñcāla, Cedi, Matsya, Śūrasena, Paṭaccara, Daśārṇa, Navarāṣṭramalla, Śālva, Yugandhara, Surāṣṭra, Avanti and the spacious Kuntirāṣṭra".[2] The exact location of this territory becomes now more precise when Yudhiṣṭhira stated that their priests, charioteers, and cooks should all say, when any inquiries were made about them: "We do not know where the Pāṇḍavas have gone leaving us at the lake of Dvaitavana."[3] Subsequently "girding on their swords, etc. they proceeded "in the direction of the river Kālindī..to the southern bank of that river."[4] Then they "passed through Yakrollama and Śūrasena, leaving behind, on their right, the country of the Pāñcālas and on their left that of the Daśārṇas." Then they "entered Matsya's dominions leaving the forest, giving themselves out as hunters" and Yudhiṣṭhira observed "just on emerging from this forest, we arrive at the city."[5] From this information it is clear that the Matsya country was situated between the country of the Pāñcālas on the left and the Daśārṇa dominion on the right and that it embraced all the expanse beyond the Daitavana forest. The Macchās are generally mentioned with Sūrasenā[6] in Buddhist literature.

RAPSON has already pointed out that the *Brahmarṣi-deśa* of Manu, according to whom the Matsya country formed a portion, included the eastern half of the modern Patiala State and the Delhi division of the Punjab, the Alwar State and the adjacent territory in Rajaputana, the region lying between the Ganges and the Jamna and the Muttra District in the United Provinces.[7] According to CUNNINGHAM "In ancient times the whole of the country lying between the Aravali hills of Alwar and the river Jumna was divided between the Matsya on the west and Śūrasena on the east, with Daśārṇa on the south and south-eastern border. Matsya then included the whole of the present Alwar territory, with portions of Jaipur and Bharatpur. Bairāṭ and Mīchārī were both in Matsya-deśa; while Kaman, Mathura and Bayana were all in Śūrasena. To the east were the Pāñcālas, who held Rohilkhand and Antarbeda, or the Gangetic Doab."[8] The Daśārṇa had its capital called Vidiśā, identified by Cunningham with modern Bhilsā or rather Besnagar, the hoary capital so near Bhilsa, situated on the Vetravatī, the

1. *Viṣṇudharmottara Mahāpurāṇa*, Ch. 9.
2. *Mahābhārata*, Virāṭa Parva, Sec. I, p. 2; *Virāṭa Parva* (RAGHUVĪRA), 1. 7-10.5.
3. *Ibid*, Sec. II, p. 7; *Ibid* (RAGHUVĪRA) 4, 5. 17-18.
4. *Ibid*, Sec. V, p. 11; *Ibid* (RAGHUVĪRA), 5, 1-2. 26.
5. *Ibid*, p. 12; *ibid* (RAGHUVĪRA), 5. 4-6. 27.
6. *Digha Nikāya* II, 200.
7. RAPSON, *Ancient India*, pp. 50-51.
8. CUNNINGHAM, *Ar. Sur. of India Rep.* XX, p. 2; *ASI WC* 1909-10, p. 44-5; BHANDARKAR, *The Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 53.

river now called Betwā, which rises close to Bhopal and flows into the Jumnā, east of Ujjain.[1]

This region, once known as the home of the Matsyas, has precisely been the home of the Mīnas, who occupy even at present Mewāt, in Rajputana, now comprised in the Alwar and Bharatpur States and the British district of Gurgaon.[2] Their pastoral habits, their martial nature and the identity of their names, leave little room for doubting that the Mīnas or the Mewattis or Mēwāsis known to history were no other than the Matsyas of the Sanskrit texts and the Macchas of Pāli literature.

The Matsyas in History—The Hindu Period.

But strangely enough this Sanskritised name of the Mīnas as the Matsyas survived from the times of Manu to the days of the Pālas in the ninth century. But it was strange that Kauṭilya, who speaks of the Mallas, does not refer to the Matsyas and what exactly happened to them during the critical period of the accession of Candragupta Maurya. If, on Hiuen Tsiang's testimony, the identification of Pariyatra with Bairāt, or the Matsya country is accepted, then we may say that the Matsya country was included in the empire of the Sātavāhanas. The Nasik *praśasti* informs us that Gautamiputra conquered Pāriyāta (i.e. Pāriyātra) among other countries.[3] The Candravalli record of the Kādamba Mayūrāsarmān says that he conquered Pariyātrika in circa A.D. 258. When the Guptas came into power, especially in the days of that great conqueror Samudra Gupta, if his conquest of the forest kingdoms[4] meant the absorption of the Daśārṇa country as well,[5] then probably the Matsyas were not spared in the sweep of this amazing conquest. Such a mastery was again the boast of the Parivrājaka Mahārāja Hastin, who likewise refers to his victory over the forest people.[6] The apparent inference which can be drawn from such an absence of any contemporary reference is that, before the rise of the Mauryas, the Matsyas had evidently sunk into such an utter insignificance that they played no prominent part in the history of the period and were consequently forgotten in the annals of those days.

But this does not mean that the Matsyas ceased to exist as a political force in the history of northern India. Although little is heard of them during the Gupta period, it cannot be said that the Matsyas perished as a political force for Hiuen Tsiang, the famous Chinese traveller, found that in the seventh century the Matysa kingdom was ruled by a king, whose dominion he describes at some length. "Going again" says he "from this south-west

1. CUNNINGHAM, *Stūpa of Bārhut*, p. 132. (1879 ed.); SALETORE, *Wild Tribes in Indian History*, p. 108; See also PARGITER, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 296, and p. 297, note and p. 295.
2. CUNNINGHAM, *op. cit.* p. 24.
3. *Ep. Ind.* VIII, p. 60.
4. *M. A. R.* 1929, pp. 40, 58.
5. FLEET, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, No. 1, p. 13.
6. *Ibid*, No. 25, p. 116.

(She-to-T'u Satadru) we come to the kingdom of Po-li-ye-to-lo (Pāriyātra-Viraṭa). This country is about 3,000 li (500 miles) in circuit and the capital about 14 or 15 li (2½ miles). Grain is abundant and late wheat. There is a strange kind of rice grown here, which ripens after sixty days. There are many oxen and sheep, few flowers and fruits. The climate is warm and fiery, the manners of the people are resolute and fierce. They do esteem learning, and are given to honour the heretics. The king is of the Vaiśya caste; he is of a brave and impetuous nature, and very warlike. There are eight saṅghārāmas, mostly ruined, with a very few priests, who study the Little Vehicle. There are the Deva temples with about a thousand followers of different sects. Going from this 500 li or so, we come to the country of Mo-t'u lo (Mathurā)."[1] This description of Hiuen T'siang tells us when he visited these parts of Northern India, that the people of this Matsya country were, as they were before, pastrol, warlike and monarchial. This land was situated between Śatadrū, which has been considered to be the name of kingdom of which Sarhind was probably the chief town[2] and Mathura, well-known as the ancient Śūrasena. Its characteristics described by this famous traveller, have survived to the present day, for as Cunningham said: "This is still the case with Jaypur to the south of Bairat which furnishes most of the sheep required for the great Muhammadan cities of Delhi, and Agra and their English garrisons. Bairat, therefore, may have been included the greater part of the present State of Jaypur."[3] In fact, Cunningham has even fixed the limits of this kingdom as follows: "On the north from Jhunjnu to Kot Kasim, 70 miles; on the west from Jhunjnu to Ajmer, 120 miles; on the south from Ajmer to the junction of the Banās and Chambal, 150 miles, and on the east from the junction to Kot Kasim, 150 miles, or in all 490 miles."[4] The main entrance, he adds, to the valley is on the north-west along the bank of a small stream which drains the basin, and forms one of the principal feeders of the Bāna Ganga. The valley is about 2½ miles in diameter and from 7½ to 8 miles in circuit.[5] It is interesting to note that in such a tract during the seventh century Buddhism was obviously on the wane, its few adherents were the followers of the Hīna-Yāna, while its rival, the Hindu religion claimed about a thousand followers and some temples.

The Pāla-Matsya Relations

But in the eighth century the Matsyas once more flashed into the political limelight. That they were certainly existing as a people of importance and probably of independence, can be made out from a reference to them in the Khalimpur plate of the Pāla ruler, Dharmapāladeva. It states that "he

1. Hiuen Tsiang, Siyūki—*Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, p. 178 (BEAL). On *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, I, p. 300 (WATTERS).
2. CUNNINGHAM, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 393.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid*, p. 391.
5. CUNNINGHAM, *op. cit.* p. 391.

installed the king of Kanyakubja, who was readily accepted by the Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gāndhāra, Kīra kings, bowing down respectfully with their diadems trembling and for whom his own golden coronation jar was lifted up by the delighted elders of Pāñcālas."[1] This exploit of Dharmapāla has been fortunately clarified by the Bhāgalpur record of Nārāyaṇapāla, which adds: "This mighty one (Dharmapāla) again gave the sovereignty, which he had acquired by defeating Indrarāja and other enemies, to the begging Cakrāyudha, who resembled a dwarf in bowing—just as formerly Bali had given the sovereignty (of the three worlds) which he had acquired by defeating Indra and his other enemies (the gods, to the begging Cakrāyudha (Viṣṇu) who had descended to earth as a dwarf."[2] From this account, however, it cannot be maintained Dharmapāla "conquered or overran eastern Punjab and Sindh (Kuru and Yadu), W. Punjab and N. W. Frontier provinces (Yavana and Gāndhāra) Kangra (Kīra), Malwa (Avanti) and North-Eastern Rajputana (Bhoja and Matysa)"[3] Nor is it in any way true that "the empire of suzerainty of Kanouj was acknowledged even in its decline over a very large extent of territory."[4] Such conclusions are not warranted by existing evidence, which apparently shows first, that Dharmapāladeva placed his nominee on the Kanyakubja throne, secondly, that he obtained the formal sanction of the Matsya and the neighbouring states which he intended to use as buffers between his newly created puppet territory of Kanouj and the kingdom of the Gurjara Pratīhāras and thirdly, that the Matsya country was surviving between the land of the Bhojas—the Bhojakta which was the counterpart of modern Berar, as can be seen from the copper-plate of Pravarasena II,[5] and the Madrakas, who occupied the tract between the Ravi and the Chenab in the Punjab with its capital called Sākala, the modern Sailkot.[6]

The date of this Pāla Matsya agreement.

Now when could this installation of Cakrāyudha, and to safeguard it the Pāla agreement with the Matsyas and their kindred tribes, have taken place? The dates assigned to Dharmapāla, Nāgabhaṭa II, and Govinda III are circa A.D. 769-815, 815-833, and 794-814[7] respectively. The Bhāgalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla,[8] which records the installation of Cakrāyudha by Dharmapāla, does not point to any date when that ceremony took place. But it is evident that at this period the Matsyas must have been independent, more or less, for the simple reason that had they not been so there would not have been any necessity for Dharmapāla to obtain the approval of the

1. *E. I.* IV, No. 34. pp. 248, 252.
2. *IA* XV, p. 307: "*Jitvendrarāja-prabhṛtīn arātīn upārjjita-prema Makōdaya-Śrīḥ, dotta-pumāḥ sā valin-ārthaitre Cakrāyudhay-ānati Vāmanāya*" p. 306.
3. R. D. Banerji, *Mem. As. Soc. Bengal*, V, No. 3. p. 51.
4. C. V. Vaidya, *History of Med. Hindu India*, I, p. 341.
5. Fleet, *op. cit.* No. 55, p. 236.
6. *Cf. J.A.S.B.* (new Series) XVIII, pp. 257-68.
7. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, I, p. 287.
8. *I.A.* XV, p. 307.

Matsyas and their kindred tribes at all. According to the *Harivaṁśa* Indrāyudha, the predecessor of Cakrāyudha, was ruling in the *śaka* year 705, viz. A.D. 783-84[1] and in the light of extant evidence Dharmapāla must have installed Cakrāyudha between the years A.D. 783-84 and 813-14. But from the Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla, however, the date of this installation may provisionally be determined, for the lines 60-61 of this inscription say that this record was engraved "in the increasing reign of victory, the year 32, the 12th day of Mārga."[2] Dr. KIELHORN, on palæographic grounds, has assigned it to the ninth century.[3] As the epigraph itself is dated in regnal years, a practice not unknown to Pāla monarchs, and as Dharmapāla's earliest ascertained date is circa A.D. 769, this installation of Cakrāyudha and its concomitant the agreement of the Pālas with the Matsyas and similar lesser powers, must have taken place in A.D. 801.

Nāgabhaṭa's conquest of the Matsyas and others.

If this provisional date of the triumph of the diplomacy of Dharmapāla in the politics of Kanouj and the tribal areas is tentatively accepted, then the later fate of the Matsyas can be followed with some confidence. It is possible that the Matsyas and others enjoyed a spell of independence, for there is no evidence at present to prove that until their contact with the Gurjara-Pratīhāra ruler Nāgabhaṭa II, they were conquered by any other ruler. This king evidently could not bear to see a puppet like Cakrāyudha over Kanouj with a number of buffer states like the Matsyas, the Kirātas and the rest in between. Therefore he started an expansionist policy and forcibly seized "the hill forts of the kings of Anarta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turuṣka, Vatsa, and Matsya" as recorded in the Gwalior *praśasti* of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king Bhoja, which is assigned to the ninth century after Christ. Then he must have defeated Cakrāyudha, "whose lowly demeanour was manifest from his dependence on others", among whom were the Matsyas and his arch-supporter and patron "the lord of Vanga" Dharmapāla.[4]

This conquest of Nāgabhaṭa II must have taken place within the first decade of the ninth century, owing to certain circumstances of this period. The Rādhanpur plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch Govinda III, dated *Śaka* 730 (A.D. 808), for example, tell us that Dhora (Dhruva Nirupama his predecessor drove into the "trackless forest Vatsarāja (the predecessor of Nāgabhaṭa II) who boasted of having with ease appropriated the fortune of Gauḍa".[5] The Wani-Dindori grant of Govinda III, dated A.D. 806-7 repeats this triumph of Dhruva.[6] His successor Govinda II overran the South by his expedition to Kāñcī, before he attacked the princes of the north and from

1. *Harivaṁśa*, *I.A.* VI, p. 80, *Ibid*, XV, p. 141 : "*Śakeṣvabdaśateṣu saptasu dikṣu pañcottareṣūttarāsu.*"
2. *E. I.* IV, No. 34, p. 244.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ep. Ind.* XVIII, No. 13, pp. 104, 106.
5. *Ibid*, VI, No. 23, p. 248.
6. *Ind. Ant.* XI, p. 161.

the British Museum copper-plates issued in A.D. 804 it is clear that at this time he was encamped at Rāmeśvara *Tīrtha*,[1] but according to the Radhanpur plates, he "again drew to himself the fortunes of the Pallavas, his enemies having submitted" only in A.D. 808.[2] Probably as this record suggests *before* this victorious campaign in the South in A.D. 808 was undertaken, Govinda III had already defeated his northern enemies. This can be seen from the record referred to above. For it says that in this year, after the rains had ceased, Govinda III, from his camp "pitched on the ridges of the Vindhya," on hearing from his spies that the "Gurjara" had fled "in fear, nobody knew whither", *moved towards his own country*, and then went with his forces "to the banks of the Tungabhadra" to storm the capital of the Pallavas.[3] If this unnamed Gurjara could be identified with the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king Nāgabhaṭa II, who along with the Kosala ruler Candragupta are said to have been defeated by Govinda III in the Sanjan plates of Amōghavarṣa dated *śaka* 793 (871), then it may be inferred that Nāgabhaṭa II must have defeated Cakrāyudha and subjugated the Matsyas and others between A.D. 801 and 808. But as the British Museum copper-plates of Govinda III, dated A.D. 804 reveal [4] that he was encamped at Rameśvaram during his southern expedition in this year[5] whereas his Rādhanpur plates state that he "again drew to himself the fortunes of the Pallavas" after the flight of the unnamed Gurjara only in A.D. 808, it is possible that Nāgabhaṭa II defeated Cakrāyudha with the Matsyas and the rest between the years A.D. 801 and 804, because, as Govinda III did in A.D. 808, before turning his attention to the South, he must have seen that he had no enemies in the Vindhyan region to molest his own territories as he would be cut off during this expedition from his home after the rains. This is only a presumption, but if he actually did so and there is no reason why he should not have adopted such a course, then Nāgabhaṭa II could not have been at peace after A.D. 804 and much less would he have dared to attack Cakrāyudha, the Matsyas with the rest and made these enemies in addition to Govinda III.

Whether or not in this onslaught on Nāgabhaṭa II and Candragupta, Govinda III, who is said to have carried away in battle their "fair and unshakeable fame" fell on the Matsyas as well, cannot be decided with certainty. Possibly there is an allusion to them in the rather vague assertion that he "intent on the acquisition of fame, uprooted, like śāli corn, *other kings*, in their own dominions, who had become destitute of all fortitude, and afterwards reinstated them in their own places."[6] This information may be interpreted to mean that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III, defeated the allies

1. Ind. Ant. p. 127.
2. *Ep. Ind.* VI, No. 23, p. 250.
3. *Ep. Ind.* VI, No. 24, p. 250.
4. *Ibid*, XIII, No. 26, p. 253, v. 22, also p. 240.
5. *Ibid*, XVIII, No. 26, p. 223. Note: Dr. ALTEKAR, in his *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times* p. 64 thinks that the expedition of Govinda III against Nāgabhaṭa II must have taken place "sometime in 806-807 A.D."
6. *Ibid*, v. 22.

Nāgabhaṭa II and Candragupta and the chiefs of neighbouring tribes like the Matsyas and the others, most of whom must have been reinstated in their own dominions. Little is heard of the Matsyas after the defeat of Nāgabhaṭa II, but there is little doubt that they continued to survive as a comparatively insignificant people until the advent of the Muslim invasions of Northern India in the early days of the eleventh century.

The Mīnas in History—The Muslim Period.

It has been noticed already that from very early times the Mīnas or as they are styled in the epics, the Matsyas, had adopted the practice of kings as leaders of their tribe down to the days of the Pālas, the Gurjara-Pratīhāras and possibly also of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the ninth century. There is no evidence to prove that, after their conquest by the Gurjara-Pratīhāra ruler Nāgabhaṭa II, probably in the first decade of the ninth century, they resorted to any form of republicanism. If Al'Utbi can be relied upon, it may be stated that not only were the Mīnas monarchical but also independent. In his *Tārīkhī Yamīnī* he relates how Sultan Mahummad of Ghazna fell on them. "The Sultan" he observes "again resolved on an expedition to Hind, and marched towards Nārain, urging his horses and moving over ground hard and soft, until he came to the middle of Hind, where he reduced chiefs, who, up to that time obeyed no master, overturned their idols, and put to the sword the vagabonds of that country, and with delay and circumspection proceeded to accomplish his design. He fought a battle with the chiefs of the infidels, in which God bestowed upon him much booty in property, horses and elephants, and the friends of God committed slaughter in every hill and valley. The Sultan returned to Ghazna with all the plunder he had obtained."[1] From this account it may be seen that Utbi, the only contemporary authority to refer to this expedition in detail, omits the date on which it took place but places it between the expeditions to Bhīmnagar and Ghūr viz. A.H. 399 and 401, and it may therefore be inferred that this raid on Nārāin must have taken place in A.H. 400—A.D. 1009. Ibnu'l-Athīr, whose account has been claimed to be "very authentic and trustworthy"[2] says that this attack took place in the October of this year[3]. Utbi, however, does not mention either the route followed by the Sultan or the locality of the forts or even the name of the Rāja, but it is obviously the Rāja of Nārāyanpura who is referred to in this connection. Firishtah too refers to this exploit of Mahammud of Ghazna in these words: "At length he continued his march along the course of a stream on whose banks were seven strong fortifications, all of which fell in succession: these were also discovered to be some very ancient temples, which according to the Hindoos, had existed for 4000 years".[4] Although Firishtah says that

1. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, II, p. 26.
2. Muhammad Nazim, *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, p. 9.
3. *Ibnu'l-Athir*, IX, p. 149; Muhammad Nāzim, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
4. Firishtah, *The Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, I, p. 59 (Briggs).

the Sultan fell on this place after destroying the temples of Mathurā, he is wrong in stating that the expedition was undertaken in A.D. 1017 (A.H. 408) owing to Utbi's more reliable evidence.

This locality that was stormed by Muhammad of Ghazna has been identified by CUNNINGHAM[1] to be Nārāyaṇapura, a town twelve miles to the north-east of Bairāt, the ancient Virāṭapura.[2] In the *Jami-U-T Tawarikh* of Rushīd-D-Din it is said that from Kanouj, travelling south-west to "Nārāṇa the capital of Guzrat", the distance was eighteen parsangs, while from Nārāṇa to Mahura (Mathurā) it was twenty-eight parsangs.[3] Firishtah too says that after destroying the shrines of Mathurā Mahammud fell on the seven forts, evidently of Nārāyaṇapura.

That this expedition was an accomplished fact can be proved with the assistance of other contemporary accounts. Not only does Utbi refer to it but it is also mentioned in the *Jami-U-T Tawarikh* noticed above and by the poet Ghadā'iri in a *qaṣida* as preserved in Unsrī wherein he says :

"I received two purses of gold on the victory of Nārāyan,
I will get one hundred such purses and bags on the conquest of Rūmiya."[4]

The results of this invasion were fatal to the inhabitants of Nārāyaṇpura and the surrounding places. Rushid-ud-din declares that this city was "destroyed" and "the inhabitants removed to a town on the frontier".[5] But though Utbi refers to no such disaster, he observes that the ruler of Nārāyaṇapura who was defeated and whose town was plundered "became satisfied that he could not contend with him (the Sultan). So he sent some of his relatives and chiefs to the Sultan supplicating him not to invade India again, and offering him money to abstain from that purpose, and their best wishes for his future prosperity. They were told to offer a tribute of fifty elephants, each equal to two ordinary ones in size and strength, laden with the products and rarities of his country. He promised to send this tribute every year, accompanied by two thousand men, for service at the court of the Sultan. The Sultan accepted his proposal as Islam was promoted by the humility of his submission and the payment of tribute. He sent an envoy to see that these conditions were carried into effect. The ruler of Hind strictly fulfilled them and despatched one of his vassals with the elephants to see that they were duly presented to the Sultan. So peace was established, and tribute was paid, and caravans travelled in full security between Khurassan and Hind."[6] Therefore the results of this defeat of the Rāja of Nārāyaṇapura were that his kingdom became a tributary state, and the peace effected gave an impetus to the trade between Khurassan and India.

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1. CUNNINGHAM, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 394. (1924 ed. S. M. Sastry)
2. ELLIOT and DOWSON, *op. cit.* I, pp. 58-59. Note : Nārāyaṇapura was never the capital of Gujarat.
3. Unsuri, Diwan (ed. TEHERAN), p. 100 ; MUHAMMAD NĀZIM, *op. cit.* p. 102. fn. 2.
4. ELLIOT and DOWSON, *op. cit.* I, p. 59.
5. ELLIOT and DOWSON, *op. cit.* I, p. 36.

Balban and the Mewattis.

This domination of the Muslims over the Mīna territory must have sapped their strength and crushed their spirit as a fighting people, for hereafter the Mīnas do not figure in history as a people fighting under militant kings. From this time onwards they evidently took to a life of provocation, plunder and pillage. The Muslim historians began to style the Mīnas living in Mewat, in Rajaputana, now comprised in the Alwar and Bharatpur states as Mewattis. From their hilly regions they swept on the rich cities. According to Firishtah in A.D. 1259, 10,000 Mewattis with 200 of their chiefs were captured and made prisoners, besides a great number of common soldiers "because the Rajas and Rajputs of Mewat had begun to create disturbances; and having collected a numerous body of horse and foot plundered and burnt them."[1] But this destructive policy could not subdue them. Therefore in A.D. 1265 Ghiyās-ud-din Balban wanted to make an end of them. He ordered an army specially for destroying "a plundering banditti of Mewattis who had occupied about eighty miles south-east of the capital (Delhi) towards the hills, from whence they used, in former reigns, to make incursions even on the gates of Dēhly. It is said that in this expedition above 100,000 Mewattis were put to the sword; and the army being supplied with hatchets and other implements, cleared away the woods for the circumference of 100 miles. The tract thus cleared afterwards proved excellent arable land and became well cultivated."[2]

This version of Firishtah deserves to be verified by an independent account like that of Zia-ud-din Barni, from whose narrative Firishtah obtained his information. He relates how Balban, towards the end of the first year of his reign was busy "in harrying the jungles, and in rooting out the Mewattis whom no one had interfered with since the days of Shams-ud-din. The turbulence of the Mewattis had increased, and their strength had grown in the neighbourhood of Delhi, through the dissolute habits of the elder sons of Shams-ud-din and the incapacity of the youngest, Nasir-ud-din. At night they used to come prowling into the city. In the neighbourhood of Delhi there were large and dense jungles, through which many roads passed. The disaffected in the Doab, and the out-laws of Hindustan grew bold and took to robbery on the highway, and so beset the roads, that the caravans and merchants were unable to pass. The daring of the Mewattis in the neighbourhood of Delhi was carried to such an extent that the western gates of the city were shut at the afternoon prayers, and no one dared to go out of the city in that direction after that hour whether he travelled as a pilgrim or with the display of a sovereign. At afternoon prayer the Mewattis would often come to the Sour-hauz, and assaulting the water-carriers and the girls who were fetching water, they would strip them and carry off their clothes. These dar-

1. Firishtah, *op. cit.* I, p. 244 (Briggs)
2. Firishtah, *op. cit.* I, pp. 255-56. The statements of Kafi Khan always deserve the closest scrutiny, for he was wholesale plagiarist. In this connection please see Sri Ram SHARMA, *A Bibliography of Mughal India*, p. 53, (1939).

ing acts of the Mewattis had caused a great ferment in Delhi. In the first year of his accession the Sultan felt the repression of the Mewattis to be the first of his duties and for a whole year he was occupied in overthrowing them and in scouring the jungles, which he effectually accomplished. Great numbers of the Mewattis were put to the sword. The Sultan built a fort at Gopāl-Gīr and established several posts in the vicinity of the city, which he placed in the charge of the Afghans, with the assignments of lands (for their maintenance). In this campaign one hundred thousand of the royal army were slain by the Mewattis, and the Sultan with his sword delivered many servants of God from the assaults of violence of the enemy. From this time the city was delivered from the attacks of the Mewattis. After the Sultan had thus routed the Mewattis and cleared away the jungle in the neighbourhood of the city, he gave the towns and the country within the Doab to some distinguished chiefs, and ordered them to slay these marauders, imprison their women and children, to clear away the jungle and to suppress all lawless proceedings. The noblemen set to work with strong forces and soon put down the risings."[1]

From this version of Barni it may be seen that Firishtah recorded a fairly correct account of the destruction of the Mewattis by Balban. But Firishtah states that 100,000 of the Mewattis were slain whereas Barni observes that the same number of the royal troops were killed by them. The latter account cannot be dispensed with as unreliable especially because Barni has been considered more authentic than Firishtah. The policy of Balban, of parcelling out the lands of the Mewattis with the establishment of officers over them, was adopted by Sultan Mahmud III of Gujarat in the 16th century in an attempt to exterminate the Girassias[2] with almost similar results.

The Mewattis and Firuz Shah.

The fond hopes of Barni and the expectations of Balban that these rebels were "brought into submission" unfortunately never materialised, for soon after their old risings they flared up again. In A.D. 1423 during the reign of Firuz Shah, when he was marching against Alap Khān near Gwalior, "the Mewattis and Nasrat Khan, with their horse and foot, plundered the baggage of Alap Khān and brought many of his men, both horse and foot, back as prisoners."[3] This fact reveals that the Mewattis by this time adopted a change in their tactics of dealing with the Muslim rulers by simply joining hands with one or the other of the disaffected nobles and attacking whomsoever they could lay their hands upon. In the very next year A.D. 1424 news was brought that the Mewattis had broken into rebellion and so the Sultan marched into Mewat, ravaged and laid it waste. The Mewattis sought refuge in the mountains of Jahora, their great stronghold. As this fort was considered impregnable and as fodder and grain were also scarce, the Sultan returned to Delhi. In A.D. 1425 he again marched against Mewat, while Jallu and Kaddu, grand-

1. Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 103-5.
2. Sikandar, *Mirati Sikandari*, p. 239. (F. L. Lutfullah.)
3. Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.* IV, p. 60.

sons of Bahadur Nahir and several Mewattis, destroying their own territories, entrenched themselves in the mountains of Andwar. When attacked by the imperial forces for several days, they fled into the mountains of Alwar and their fort of Andwar was destroyed.[1] These measures of Firuz Shāh reveal that, during this period it became a settled policy of the emperors of Delhi to stamp out the ravages of the Mewattis whenever and wherever they occurred. Their strongholds were attacked and destroyed with the hope that the Mewattis, would, despoiled of their homes, and subject to a life of almost starvation, some day take to a peaceful and settled life.

But these stringent measures had not the desired effect. Once more in A.D. 1433 as the Mewattis disturbed the peace again, the Sultan, marching towards the mountains of Mewat, arrived at the town of Taori. On hearing this Jala Khān Mewatti, one of their leaders, shut himself up with a large force in the fort of Andaru, which they had probably captured and fortified anew, and considered still their strongest citadel. But as soon as the Sultan prepared to storm this fort and, in fact before his forces approached it, Jala Khān set fire to the stronghold and escaped towards Kutila. The greater part of the provisions, materials and grains which had been stored for the siege fell to the lot of the royal forces.[2]

From these accounts of the imperial attempts to tame the turbulent Mewattis, it may be seen that probably most of the Mewattis had either become Muslim converts or had Muslim chieftains as their leaders and repeated royal attacks must have had a salutary effect of curbing their ravages and reducing them to surrender.

The Mīnas in Marāṭha times.

The unfortunate defeat of the Marāṭhas in the eventful battle of Pānipat in A.D. 1761 was the signal for mischievous tribes like the Mīnas, not to mention the more important kingdoms conquered by the Marāṭhas, to rise at once in rebellion. The Mewattis of the Moghul historians are styled as the Māwāsis in the records of the Marāṭha rulers. The Māwāsis could not have been the inhabitants of Mārwar, for they are clearly styled as the Mārwaris in connection their relations with the Gāikwād Sayājirao I and the Mārwār Rāja and even in other cases they were known to the Marāṭhas as Mārwāris.[3] These Māwāsis apparently had their *Thākurs* who guided their destinies in matters political and social. How they were tempted to revolt against their rulers is revealed by Dāmaji in a letter dated 7-6-1761 to Raghoba in which he said that, owing to the news of the disaster of Pānipat the Muslims, the Koḷi chiefs and the Māwāsi *Thākurs* had grown insubordinate.[4] This slight show of in-

1. Elliot and Dowson, *op cit.* IV, p. 61. 2. *Ibid*, p. 75.

3. *Baroda State Records*, III, (45), pp. 330-31, Ibid, (47), p. 332. Ibid, (152) pp. 423-4.

4. *Ibid*, I, (80) p. 84.: *hindustānāce gardi mule ikadil avindha va haviaratāta va mevāsi sarva bahakun gele.* It is interesting to note that the Koḷis are, as early as 1761 dubbed as fishermen and they are known as such even to-day.

subordination soon flamed into an undisguised rebellion. The *Kamāvisdār* of Vaḍnagar, Keśav Visaji, informed the Baroda government that the Māwāsis and the Nawab of Pālanpur intended to rise against the State and they actually disturbed the peace at Visanagar. So he was directed on 16-4-1771 not to tolerate such risings, to restore the peace with the assistance of the two *pāgas* at Visāpur as well as his own forces, and to keep four horsemen at Fattepur to maintain order.[1] Therefore it is clear that the ever watchful and rapacious Māwasis not only rose against their masters on hearing of their defeat but they conspired with their neighbours the Muslims and their kindred tribes in order to resort to their old tactics of creating disturbances in and out of season. Even in Gujarat which was not evidently their home, they became a great source of irritation and concern to the administration of the Gāikwāḍs down to the early days of the nineteenth century.

The Māwasis in Gujarat.

The Māwāsis, however, proved to be no quiet people to the Marāṭha administrators, especially in Gujarat, during the reigns of Sayājirao I and Fattesingh between the years A.D. 1778-1789. These Māwāsis, as though in keeping with their tradition, invariably joined one party or another in these troublous times. Kesaridhan Rāthoḍ, on 24-1-1790 informed Fattesingh Rao that the English had posted themselves at Dabhoi, Bhadarpur, and Vasna and were going to post themselves at Tilakwāḍa At this time, though nearly all of the Māwāsis, including the ruler of Rājpipla, were joining them he had remained loyal and therefore Fattesingh should give him his protection and support.[2] Not only did the Māwāsis join parties fighting for power but they also took to brazen-faced robbery. The Baroda government issued an order on 17-5-1792 to the *Kamāvisdār* of Tilakwāḍ that certain Māwāsis had seized cattle and property at Sankheḍa and that had to be restored to the rightful owners. A similar order was issued to the *Thākur* of Vajiria on this for in his limits some of the Māwāsis had taken shelter.[3]

These raids of the Māwāsis became dangerous as days went on, for they turned out to be more and more frequent and assumed dangerous proportions. From Songhad, Khandoji Baburao informed Manajirao on 30-5-1792 that raids by Māwāsis were frequent and requested a reinforcement of footsoldiers, at least.[4] Sometimes the actual strength of these Māwāsis can also be

1. *Baroda State Record* II, (22) p. 167.: *māvāsanin kāhim pāsī āsakhīle āhet, Jagan jagan melave kele āhet, vaḍnagar agar kheralus kāhīī upadrav karṇar..visnagarca bandobasta ukhaḍalā mhaṇūn lāhile-tyākis huzūn ki bātamī āhe..puḍeikī āṣṭās koṇi ched pand keril tar visnagarīn don pāga āhet va tumacī pāga āisa bāher nighon jamīni karoṇ bandobasta karaye.*

2. *Selections from Baroda Records*, II, (96) p. 218 : *sarva Māvāsimātra rājapimpaleswdhāntyājala ruju jāhale āmhi sāhebāce caraṇāvar dṛṣṭa ṭhevūn baisalo.*

3. *Ibid*, III, (77) p. 355 ; *prān tahid vasanekār vagaire yāsi karane va pra tilakwāḍeī yethīl dhamake māvāsi gāmvāce yevūn pra-sankhedeī yethīl rastī gamvācīn gurei va jinasāchāv netāt, mhaṇon sarkhareṇ jāhīr jhāleī.*

4. *Ibid*, (81) p. 359 : *ithaḍe māvāsanī ghaḍica upadrav māṇḍalā āhe, svāri tar sōj kāī pāhije ...tarī kṛpā karūn payadin māṇasen pāṭavilīā pāhijēt.*

made out. From a letter of Gaṇapatrao Gāikwāḍ of Sankheḍa to Govindrao Gāikwāḍ, dated 22-10-1797 it is clear that eight hundred men and four thousand Māwāsis and Naikḍas had plundered Tilakwāḍa and would have captured Sankheḍa in a day or two.[1]

The Marāṭhā State, however, did not permit these Māwāsis to continue for long to do what they pleased. The triumph of a successful expedition against them was reported on 18-9-1801. Bābāji Appāji in command of the Mulkgiri expedition encountered at Gumba in Vasre *pargaṇa* one Mukundrao, who after harassing the Baroda territory and seizing the ornaments dedicated by the late Govindrao Gāikwāḍ to the shrine at Dakore, had collected a force of four to five hundred strong. Mukundrao was at last driven away to Kapaḍvanj. The *Thākore* of Anghaḍ being killed in this battle, the Māwāsis surrendered themselves to the government forces.[2] Once these Māwāsis were subdued in one place it did not at all mean that they were conquered in all their haunts. This can be inferred from an order of the Baroda Government to an official Mathavad Bhadagirkar in Kanha Padvayi *prānt* on 7-7-1802, that a rising had taken place in Kharag. The communique adds that one Sagbarekar, with Hanaji and Valavi and others had committed incendiarism and had become turbulent. For the administration of that area the government had despatched forces and therefore he was ordered to present himself with his men before the government battalion.[3]

These facts reveal that the Māwāsis evidently had turned their footsteps to the fertile land of Gujarat from their original home in Rājpatana. Even here as has been shown they appear to have felt, as it were, the pulse of the strength of the government in power and once they saw that it showed the least signs of any weakness, they at once rebelled. Not only did they rebel but they joined hands with the Muslims or even with the Hindus as it suited them, for their main object was to loot and ravage what they could lay their hands on wherever they went. The Marāṭha State adopted in their case more or less the same measures which they adopted when they were confronted with similar disturbances of their equally nefarious contemporaries the Kolis, the Bhils, the Beḍars and the Girāsias in various parts of the Marāṭha empire. Despite all these measures, probably unlike the Beḍars, as the accounts show in the beginning of the nineteenth century, these Māwāsis proved to be extremely provocative in their own haunts.

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1. *Baroda State Records*, III, (173) pp. 431-32 : *ihaḷīl vartamān yeseṅ āhe kīṅ, rājaśrī Kāṁhoji rāv yāṅsī aṣhṭeṅ-navaseṅ barakandaj ṭhevūn, sindīye māvāsī nayakaṅkaḍe cār pāṅc hazār mela karūn tilakavāḍe mārūn gāṅv jāleleṅ āṇi morce lāvile āhet. paramtu sāheb āj udyāṅ ṭhāṅe ghetīl.* p. 431.

2. *Ibid*, (15) p. 478 : *tene karūn bārāgāṅv māvāsī yāṅcā ghar sutaṅ tamāṅ yevuṅ rahe jhāle.*

3. *Ibid*, (47) p. 505 : *kanha paḍvāyi prānt mathavaḍ bhaḍagirihār yāsīs patra kīṅ umedya vaṣīva,khavāḍ mauje sagbharkar yāsī hdrāṁkhori māṇjalī va kanōji, vaḷar vagaire māvāsiyāṅs maruṅ masta jhāla āhe. tyāce paraṣatyāṣ sarkārce saranjāṁ phaaj pāṭhavilī āhe. tar turkhī imāne itbareṅ bevaavas phaṇjāṅt yevūn tumace saranjāṁ sudha bhaṭane.*

The Mīnas of Rājputana.

In Rajaputana, which was the original home of the Mīnas, they once more rose into prominence in the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to Malleson the Mīnas "were tribes of Muhammudans converted from Hinduism in the reign of Aurangzib, and who are plunderers and thieves by profession. These curious races yet retain many of their old customs and traditions. Of nothing are they fonder than of the glories and pleasures of the days, when to use an old adage of that part of the country, the buffalo belonged to him who held the blundgeon."[1] But though there is no evidence to prove that all the Mīnas in Rajputana are Muslims, they are considered to have been the inhabitants of the Jaipur territories and were originally the tillers of the soil. While they were agriculturists one half of the produce of the land went to the government. But they were considered to have a Kṣatriya origin, and such a tradition appears to be in consonance with ancient belief as recorded in the Hindu texts quoted above. Nevertheless they were styled as Rajputs because they deemed it to be derogatory, except in cases of extreme poverty, to follow any vocation other than that of arms. Many Rajputs, however, rented large estates or zamindaries where these Mīnas were employed for manual labour.

They soon obtained a chance to organise themselves as they had done several times in the days of old. Many years prior to A.D. 1809 the intrepid Eeo Singh, the natural son of Rāja Mān Singh of Jaipur, assembled large numbers of these Mīnas for the sole purpose of robbery and plunder. Rāja Jagat Singh, the Raja of Jaipur in A.D. 1809 captured this bold and reckless adventurer and had him trodden under the feet of elephants, in pursuance of a hoary yet horrible custom. Deprived of a leader, the wild Mīnas returned calmly to their old pursuit of agriculture.

The menace of the Mīnas.

But though agriculturists by profession, in the districts of Kotah and Bundi, the Mīnas who inhabited the hills and jungles were exclusively given to committing thefts. With them the Mīnas of Jaipur held, at least according to them, no kind of communication; the former ate meat and consumed liquor whenever they could be procured, but the latter did neither. These Mīnas of Bundi slowly became more daring and wrought grave havoc on the Marāṭha forces, attacking the foragers, intercepting the Vunjārās and plundering everyone who was unfortunate to fall into their nefarious hands.[2] Captain BROUGHTON, an eye-witness, tells us that the foragers "were constantly attacked by the Mīnas, or hill people, without the camp; and the Bazars almost every night by thieves within it."[3] Such an incursion of the irrepressible Mīnas took place in the year A.D. 1809 and the terrible conster-

1. MALLESON, *Recreations of an Indian Official*, p. 10 (ed. 1872).
2. BROUGHTON, *Letters written in a Maratha Camp*, pp. 137-38.
3. *Ibid*, p. 110.

nation of the Marāṭhā forces can well be imagined. As though these destructive raids were not enough these wild mountaineers commenced to harass the Marāṭhā soldiers even in their own camp and as BROUGHTON observes, they became a veritable menace. Commenting on this unfortunate situation, he says: "We are in the very midst of the Minas, who seem resolved to make the most of such an opportunity and revenge themselves for the treatment which their friends, who by the way have all gone off, met with, while they continued in camp. Not a day occurs without the most daring robberies being committed. The foraging parties are attacked wherever they appear; and it is absolutely unsafe for individuals to move a musket shot from the camp. The main army is kept in a constant state of alarm; several attacks having been made on its skirts by bands of these daring mountaineers; and the stream of the river running under the bank opposite the army, the women and others, who are obliged to go for water are perpetually stopped, and plundered of their clothes, brass pots and etc." The consequence of all this annoyance was that fodder could scarcely be procured even in the smallest quantities and this situation created such a discontent that a number of the *Sardars* of the army of Mahādji Sindia, taking with them all their cattle, proceeded in a body straight to Deoree, declaring that they would not stir from that place until the Maharaja consented to "march away Meenas from such an abominable place."[1]

Measures to control the Mīnas.

Owing to this open exhibition of disaffection in his own ranks, Mahādji Sindia at last resolved to suppress the almost unbearable ravages of the Mīnas. He first attempted conciliation and therefore employed a large number of these thieves in his service for especially protecting the foragers. Such gestures of Mahādji Sindia are reminiscent of a similar practice of the Peśwas who employed the ferocious Bhils or Beḍars as watchmen to protect affected villages from the depredations of their kinsmen. Consequently the Sindia made a treaty with the Zamindar of Sūrsa, a district about twenty miles from the Marāṭhā camp, in order to entertain five hundred Mīnas in the Marāṭha army. This Zamindar, considered to be the most important of the Mīna chiefs in the neighbourhood, came to the Marāṭha camp and after the agreement left for his village to recruit his people. Soon after there was a Mīna battalion in the forces of the Mahādji Sindia.[2]

These wild desperadoes must have made a rather picturesque sight. BROUGHTON found that they hailed from Jaighur and were "all stout, good fellows," armed with a bow, a quiver, arrows and a dagger in the use of which they were specially expert. They wore their turbans rather very high and adorned them at the top with a bunch of feathers of a species of curlew called the Bojha.[3]

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1. BROUGHTON, *Letters written in a Maratha Camp*, pp. 165-66.
2. BROUGHTON, *op. cit.* pp. 165-66. 3. *Ibid*, p. 158.

But strangely enough, the lethargic Mahādji Sindia, who had not the foresight that the Mīnas would shatter the morale of his forces, although virtually coerced into a treaty with their leader by the undisguised mutiny of his own *sardārs*, was indiscreet enough not to make the best of this apparent conciliation. This indiscretion became obvious when he displayed an injudicious niggardliness in making the stipulated payments to these Mīnas. The result was discontent. They loudly complained of this treatment of the Mahārāja towards them and maintained that, as he had distributed only five hundred rupees among them since their arrival in the camp, if the Sindia within a few days did not meet their demands, they would simply quit his camp and recover their dues at his expense.[1]

The nature of Mīna incursions.

Despite this loud protest, the Sindia paid little attention to the discontent of the Mīnas. Disappointed at the non-fulfilment of the treaty contracted between their chief and Mahadji Sindia, the Mīnas probably left the Marāṭha camp in a body. History again repeated itself and the Mīnas simply reverted to their old tactics. Some examples of their incursions may be cited to reveal their modes of pillage and destruction. Riota, for example, was a miserable little village inhabited by the Mīnas and the Gūjars. On the approach of an enemy they took refuge in the hills at the foot of which their village was built.[2] In their turn, the Mīnas pounced not only on small or fairly large foraging parties and on helpless women and children, but on equally helpless armies, by day as well as by night. The three battalions of Baptiste, a Portuguese commander in the Marāṭhā army, were so much harassed by these fierce mountaineers, that they were at length in the most imminent danger of losing their guns. In fact such were the extremities to which they were reduced that they were finally obliged to approach Zalim Singh, a person of consequence in the Mīna neighbourhood for assistance. He exerted his influence with these tormentors to procure for the army a safe passage through the Mīna-infested country.[3] If such atrocities were practicable for the Mīnas during the day, by night they must have wrought havoc in the Marāṭha as well as other camps. This suggestion can be proved by an example of Mīna high-handedness which recalls what Manucci branded as "adroitness" in the case of the equally enterprising and unscrupulous Bedars.[4] Once the Mīnas contrived to enter a tent in which the English Resident's own horses were picketed, without being perceived and cutting off the head and heel ropes of one horse which was commonly so restive as to require two men to lead it, and actually conveyed it, under cover of an extremely dark night, beyond the reach of the sentries. This audacious yet skilful theft was then fortunately discovered and an alarm sounded. This

1. Broughton, pp. 158-9.
2. Broughton, *op. cit.* pp. 158-9.
3. *Ibid*, p. 264.
4. Manucci, *Storia du Mogor*, IV, pp. 460-61.

so frightened the mischievous horse that it broke loose from its captors and returned of its own accord to its stables.[1]

Further attempts to control the Mīnas.

Such constant incursions and thefts of the Mīnas on the restless Marāṭha camps so exasperated the lethargic patience of Mahādji Sindia that he at last resolved to employ yet another expedient to punish the uncontrollable Mīnas. A detachment of two thousand Marāṭha horse was formed a week or two before the actual expedition against them took place. The sole object of this expedition was to avenge the sufferings of the Marāṭhās and to plunder a couple of Mīna villages not very far from the Marāṭha camp. This was "a service so congenial to Marāṭha feelings" sarcastically observes BROUGHTON that the Rāja Deśmukh, "the heir of State" himself, marched at the head of this punitive expedition. It is not recorded what was actually accomplished by such an exploit, but it is not unreasonable to think that such raids, which irresistibly recall the modern British descents on the Mīna-like Afridis of the North-Western Frontier and their similar political consequences, left no substantial results except the temporary submission of the incorrigible Mīnas and a fruitless display of Marāṭha militarism. The Mīnas subsequently took to their old wild ways and preyed on the Marāṭhas until they were exterminated by the British about the year A.D. 1858. Consequently it cannot but be concluded that no Marāṭha statesmen took any such decisive measure to stamp out for ever the restless spirit of the Mīna depredations which so much affected the morale of the Marāṭha army during the early years of the nineteenth century.

Some customs of the Jaghur Mīnas.

The Mīna corps from Jajghur, whom BROUGHTON was so keen on seeing, gave some interesting information about their social customs to this inquisitive military adventurer. One of them related to him how Jajghur was wrested from the Rāṇā of Udaipur about A.D. 1803 by Zalim Singh of Kotah and how ever since it had remained a portion of his territories. The district was comprised of eighty-four towns and villages, twenty-two of which were exclusively inhabited by the Mīnas, who paid only personal service to the Kotah ruler. Each village had a *kotwāl* or a watchman of its own and he managed the affairs of the community according to their peculiar customs and laws.

One of such strange customs was their matrimonial system. These Mīnas, for instance intermarried with no other tribe except their own and among them prevailed a singular practice of the second brother taking to wife the widow of the eldest. For this purpose he purchased jewels and clothes and brought her into the midst of her relations and friends who, assembling together, sanctioned this union. Such a ceremony was, however, not called

1. BROUGHTON, *op. cit.* pp. 159-60.

a marriage though it had the same privileges and could not be set aside. It was styled as *Nāṭa*. If the second brother died, the third took her to wife and this system was continued until she became too old to be of use to any one. These Mīnas assured BROUGHTON that they could, in the case of an emergency, muster a force of twenty thousand strong, of which a third were sprung from one family. The rest were aliens who were incorporated at different times into the Mīna community.

The Mīnas like the Bedars and other wild tribes, professed to be thieves and considered this profession no more harmful or degrading than their enlistment in the armies of some ruler or other for the purposes of battle or plunder. They were specially fond of carrying away children either from villages or camps, both of which they attacked. If the kidnapped children happened to be boys they were, of course, brought up as Mīnas; but if they chanced to be girls they were sold as slaves in the neighbouring provinces. Their adoration was especially offered to Mahādeva, whom they invoked prior to the undertaking of any engagement in an expedition and prayed to him to grant two children for every man that might be slain.[1]

How the unfortunate girls stolen from their parents were disposed of can fortunately be ascertained from the details of an actual sale which took place in the Marāṭhā camp of Mahādji Sindia himself in the year A.D. 1809. Two of the head servants of the English Resident intimated their wish of purchasing four girls to some Mīnas who were then in the camp. These servants added that one or two of the Mīnas were to accompany one of their men in order to make a selection, but no agreement was arrived at regarding the price. A few days later the Mīna party returned with the four girls for whom they demanded three hundred rupees. As the servants disapproved of these girls they declared themselves both unwilling and unable to pay so large a sum. Wroth at this conduct, the Mīnas threatened to complain about this transaction evidently to their masters, and were with difficulty prevailed upon to take their charges to the bazar where they were openly exposed for sale. These poor children, obviously between eight and ten years of age, appeared to feel the indignities inflicted on them. One of BROUGHTON'S servants, who was curious enough to see these victims, revealed to him how their eyes were swollen with weeping and how they presented a most distressing spectacle. Finally two of them were soon sold while bidders for the rest crowded to the quarter where the Mīnas remained throughout the day.[2]

It is not at all shocking why such a public exhibition of theft and slavery was tolerated without the least compunction by the Marāṭhas and the English. Both of them connived at the survival of this practice for slavery was not a little rampant among the Marāṭhas and the Europeans in the early days of the nineteenth century.[3]

1. BROUGHTON, op. cit. pp. 137-39.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 152-153.
3. BANAJI, *Slavery in India*, pp. 80-147.

DATE OF SĀGARANANDIN

By

M. RAMKRISHNA KAVI, Tirupati.

It is well known that Dr. Sylvain Lévi, the great oriental scholar of Paris, discovered Sāgaranandin's *Nāṭakaratnakośa* in Nepal and his pupil and friend Dr. M. DILLON, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Dublin, has recently edited the text. Though based on a single manuscript the edition has been excellently brought out. Owing to a corrupt text in the original in a number of places there appear to be some lacunae. The learned editor has promised to issue a companion volume containing the English translation and an elaborate introduction. This interval has given some chance to the readers of the work to express their views on it.

There are indeed very few works on dramaturgy in Sanskrit. Besides the ten kinds of dramatic composition (*daśa-rūpakas*), there exist at least twice the number of these of quite a distinct nature (*uparūpakas*). Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (chs. 18 to 20), *Daśarūpa*, *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, *Sāhityasāra*, *Bhāvaprakāśa*, *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, *Alaṁkāraṣaṅgraha* (of Amritānanda), *Rasārṇavasudhākara*, *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, *Nāṭakacandrikā*, etc., are considered to be the best works in dramaturgy yet available. The first six are more original in their treatment, extensive and replete with details. Excepting Bharata's work the others date roughly from 1000 A.D. Abhinavagupta the great expounder of Bharata's work, gives us previous ideas on the ten *rūpakas* in his commentary on chaps. 18 to 20. He was a contemporary of Bhoja of Dhārā and it is even surmised that the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* of the latter might have evoked his criticism on certain topics. Abhinava criticises the views of the older writers on the subject and gives his own decisions (*siddhāntas*) but Bhoja rearranges the older conceptions on a new basis and giving definitions of Bharata adduces profusely and precisely examples from ancient authors. *Daśarūpa* (of Dhanañjaya) and *Sāhityasāra* (of 1100 A. D.) only define categories in dramaturgy while *Bhāvaprakāśa* and *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* are mere collections of masterly opinions on the subject with examples in the case of the latter work.

One is curious to know what the state of dramaturgy was before 1000 A.D. and whether any definite stage of progress was reached by the great writers of the 11th century (Dhanañjaya, Bhoja and Abhinava). *Nāṭakaratnakośa* seems to satisfy such curiosity to some extent. This note confines itself to the question of the date of Sāgaranandin, its author, as could be determined from the evidence external and internal.

Sāgara quotes from the works of Śūdraka, Kālidāsa, Bhāsa, Viśākhadeva, Bhavabhūti, Śrīharsha, Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, Brahmayaśassvāmin, Rājaśekhara, besides *Kṛityārāvaṇa*, *Rāghavābhyudaya*, *Kundamālā*, etc. Of the known writers in this list Rājaśekhara of 920 A. D. has the lowest date. Sāgara quotes

from *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* (I. 31. line 3072) and mentions a scene from *Bālarāmāyaṇa* (line 324—gṛdhrāṇaka is in *Bālarāmāyaṇa*)—where the text appears to have lacunæ.

Brahmayaśassvāmin (quoted by Sāgara, lines 3042, 3066, etc.) is the author of *Puṣpadūṣitaka*, a prakaraṇa, where Nandayantī, the heroine, is subjected to great physical and mental agonies. Brahmayaśasvi was probably of 820 A.D., a Kashmirian contemporary of Bhavabhūti and Yośvarman of Kashmir. Ānandavardhana quotes from Puṣpadūṣita without name. Thus the upper date of Sāgara is limited by that of Rājaśekhara, i.e., to 950 A.D.

Now for the lower limit. The examples given by Sāgara for various śṛṅgāraceṣṭas are found in the *Nāgarasarvasva* of Padmaśri, under the same categories; but in *Ratnakośa* examples are given for all categories while Padmaśrī illustrates only a few.[1] The date of Padmaśrī is not settled definitely and it is still doubtful who is the borrower. The same illustrations are given by Subhūti (in his commentary on Amarakośa Kaṇḍa I) and by Kumbhakarṇa in his *Rasaratnakośa* (Anubhāva parīkshaṇa). Subhūti quotes both the definitions (*lakṣaṇas*) and examples as given by Sāgara. Kumbha gives lakṣaṇas from Bhikṣu (that is, Padmaśrī) and examples from *Ratnakośa* (Sāgara's work). This differentiation would make us infer the priority of Sāgara to Padmaśrī.[2]

The following writers have mentioned or quoted from *Ratnakośa* :—Subhūti,[3] Sarvānanda,[4] Jātaveda,[5] Rāyamukuṭa,[6] Kumbhakarṇa,[7] Śubhaṅkara,[8]

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1. It may be doubted whether, as Padmaśrī never gave any example for any of his definitions, his commentator, Jagajjyotirmalla, the King of Nepal, added them to the work borrowing from Sāgara's *Ratnakośa*.

2. After defining लीला Kumbhakarṇa proceeds :—तत्र रत्नकोशादुदाहरणावली लिख्यते यथा and gives the śloka illustrated by Sāgara, Padmaśri and Subhūti.

3. Subhūti quotes in his Amara's commentary Kāṇḍa I, lines of Ratnakośa 2233-6, 1882-3, 1885-6, 1893-4, 1937-41, 1953-54, 1917-21, 1988-9, 2825-9, 1911-2, 1933-34, 1956-57, 1964-5, 2803, 2850-2, 2645-50, 2635-88, 2576-9, 2610-11 etc. (Page 115 of Ms. G. O. Mss. Library).

4. Sarvānanda Kāṇḍa I, (p. 147) तदुक्तं रत्नकोशे etc. cf. *Ratnakośa* lines 2822-2830.

5. Jātaveda (T-2-15 G. O. Mss, Library, Madras p. 131) शृङ्गारवीर etc. (lines 2822-2830) इति रत्नकोषः चकारात् शान्तोऽपि ग्रहीतः ॥

6. Rāyamukuṭa I. 1. 7.

7. Kumbhakarṇa quoted above.

8. Subhaṅkara in *Saṅgītadāmodara* :—

सङ्गीतचूडामणिरत्नकोशसङ्गीतसर्वस्वनटोरगीषु ।
वसन्ति सर्वे च गुणाः प्रयुक्ता मुक्तावलीनारदशारदासु ।
शुभङ्करः संकलनादरेण सङ्गीतदामोदरमातनोति ॥

Here शारदा is the work of शारदातनय. नटोरगी was mentioned by a Śaiva writer of the 12th century (Kośirāja).

Jagaddhara[1] etc. Of these scholars, the first four have referred to Ratnakośa in their commentaries on Amarakośa, the other three in their treatises on Saṅgīta and Nāṭya.

Of these writers, Sarvānanda (1153 A.D. ?) quotes from *Nāṭakaratnakośa* as well as from *nighaṇṭu Ratnakośa*.[2] Sarvānanda's quotation from *Ratnakośa* is in Sāgara's work. Subhūti quotes amply from *Ratnakośa;* all the examples given under Śṛṅgāra-ceṣṭas and many other definitions given by Sāgara are found in Subhūti's commentary.

Sarvānanda seems to have freely borrowed from Subhūti and this fact can be established by a close examination of both the commentaries. Śaraṇadeva who gives his date as 1179 A.D. quotes from Subhūti whose lower date falls about 1150 A.D. Subhūti quotes also from Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Cittapa's (Bhoja) *Bhūpālacarita, Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, Anargharāghava* etc.[3] Cittapa and Bhoja are contemporaries (1000 to 1060 A.D.) and Murāri of the drama has to be assigned to 1050 A.D.[4] Thus Subhūti must be placed between 1060 and 1150 A.D.[5] Thus the lowest date for Sāgara would be about 1060 to 1100.

Internal examinstion of the work carries him to an earlier date, i.e., before 1000 A. D. Before such evidence is adduced and examined, the nature of Sāgara's treatment of dramaturgy deserves mention for the benefit of those who have not yet read the work. He treats of Nāṭaka (the perfection of the ten rūpakas) at length and relates the general conceptions of the other nine kinds and of the uparūpakas which writers like Kohala designate geya-

1. Jagaddhara (probably of 1450 A.D.) quotes frequently from *Ratnakośa* in his commentary on *Mālatīmādhava* and *Mudrārākṣasa*. He mentions among his authorities as—

दशरूपं रत्नकोशो भरतोक्तादिकं तथा ।
सङ्गीतसर्वस्वमिदं तनोति श्रीजगद्धरः ॥

2. The authorship of *Nighaṇṭu Ratnakośa* is not known. Subhaṅkara quotes a line from *Ratnakośa* which is probably a Kāvya.

The main division of *Saṅgītamīmāṁsā* of Kumbhakarṇa are called *Ratnakośas* as Nṛttaratnakośa, Gītaratnakośa, etc. But Jagaddhara, Kumbha's contempocary, and Subhaṅkara referring to Nāṭakalakṣaṇa mean Sāgara's work. Kumbha does not treat of Rūpakās in his *Saṅgītamīmāṁsā*.

3. Subhūti's Ms., p. 156 यथा चित्तपस्य भूपालचरिते, p. 24 सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणे, p. 48 शृङ्गारप्रकाशे (identified in Prak : VI), p. 31 अनर्घराघवे (पुरातोपात्तव्रासङ्गचरयुनेराश्रमपदं...)

4. Murāri is assigned to a period earlier than Ratnākara based on a verse in Haravijaya wherein the word Murāri occurs. There in the double entendre the word can only mean Viṣṇu as नग्नाटकसूत्रकारि. Great authors like Bhoja, Abhinava, Kuntaka, Bhaṭṭanāyaka who are later than Ratnākara have not mentioned or quoted from Murāri. The earliest writers who mentioned Murāri's drama are Subhūti, Śāradātanaya (1150), Bahurūpa, etc.

5. The editor of the Tibetan translation of Subhūti's commentary places him earlier than 800 basing on Kṣīrasvāmin who mentions Subhūti. This Kṣīra is wrongly identified with his Kashmirian namesake who lived in 820. There was another Kṣīra, the pupil of Bhaṭṭenduraja. Amara's commentator who mentions Subhūti is of 1100 A.D.

Kāvyas (dramatic pieces involving song and dance). Nāṭya is a general term embracing all the kinds. Sāgara names his authorities thus :—

श्रीहर्षविक्रमनरापिपमातृगुप्त-
गर्गोदमकुटनखकुडकबादरादीनाम् ।
एषां मतेन भरतस्य मतं विगाह्य
ब्रूमे मया समनुगच्छत रत्नकोशम् ॥

Here the use of the singular *matena* suggests that there is much unanimity among the opinions of Harṣavikrama, Mātṛgupta, Garga, Aśmakuṭṭa, Nakhakuṭṭa and Bādara, and Sāgara professes to compare Bharata's views with theirs. Bharata is the oldest in the list and the others must have departed from his views. Sāgara points out the differences.[1]

Sāgara summarises the categories in a nāṭaka thus :—

पञ्च पञ्च चतुष्षष्टिश्चतुर्विंशतिः ।
षट् त्रिंशत्सप्तविंशत्या तदाहुर्नाटकं बुधाः ॥ (1850–9)

Śāradātanaya gives the same śloka but reads चतुः पञ्चैकविंशतिः and explains—

Arthaprakṛtis	5	(Bīja, bindu etc.)
Avasthās	5	Ārambha prayatna etc.)
Aṅgas	64	Upakṣepa etc.)
Vṛttis	4	(Bhāratī etc.)
Sandhis	5	(Mukha, pratimukha etc.)
Sandhyantaras or pradeśas	21	(Sāma etc.)
Lakṣaṇas	36	Bhūṣaṇa etc.
Gītāṅgas	90	(Lāsyaṅgas of Bhāṇa 10.) (Vīthi—13). (Śilpaka 27). (Bhāṇika 7). (Nāṭaka 33).

Thus Śāradātanaya also enumerates and illustrates 230 members of various dramatic compositions[2] and Sāgara dwells in addition on the charac-

1. Harṣavikrama seems to be the patron of Mātṛgupta if Kalhaṇa can be relied on. Śrīharṣa and Vikrama can be assumed as two different writers. Vikrama as a writer on dramaturgy is not yet known from any reference. But Harṣa's views are quoted in the description of Toṭaka by Śāradātanaya in his Bhavaprakāśa (तदेव तोटकं भेदो नाटकस्येति हर्षवाक्) Nakhakuṭṭa is mentioned by Bahurūpa in his commentary on *Daśarūpa* in describing Toṭaka. Bādara appears to be Bādarāyaṇa (Vyāsa) who condensed four upavedas including Gāndharvaveda all in about 10,000 ślokas. For Āyurveda section now available extends over 2,000 granthas while that upaveda is said to be of 20,000 ślokas. Garga is the author of a Saṁhitā encyclopediac in the subject-matter.

2. Bhoja enumerates 256 for ten rūpakas, which include 4 patākāsthānas, four-fold division of the four vṛttis, 5 Āmukhāṅgas, five-fold division of arthaprakṛtis, but omits the aṅgas of śilpaka, bhāṇikā and 33 alaṁkāras of Nāṭaka, increasing the number of Lakṣaṇas from 35 to 64.

teristics of the hero and heroine with their companions and on the nature of the rasas and bhāvas.

A few of the peculiarities of Sāgara's work are noted below to show that internal evidence may place him not only prior to Subhūti but to Dhanañjaya (980 A. D.), Bhoja (1030) and Abhinava (1040 A.D.).

1. Abhinava, Dhanañjaya and Bhoja use the paribhāṣā words of Bharata in the same technical sense in dealing with the various aṅgas; but Sāgara uses entirely different words or forms of the same word, as *pradeśa* for *Sandhyantara*, *Ullāpya* for *ollopya*, *Lāsya* for *naṭana* etc.

2. Categories or aṅgas differ from those of the *Daśarūpa* school.[1] In 33 vyabhicāribhāvas śauca is substituted for supti,[2] ancintam for prapañca and many in śilpakāṅgas,[3] Vaimūḍhaka for Trimūḍha and dvimuktaka for dvimūḍha in lāsyāṅgas.

3. Sāgara permits the use of a contemporary king as hero in the plot of a drama. Abhinava does not recommend a contemporary plot as the dramatist is disabled from adhering to the true trend of events and from imparting ethical instruction by creating a perfect ideal.[4]

4. Definitions are interpreted by Sāgara in a brief and unsatisfactory way and it indicates that he had not the benefit of the great advance made by Abhinavagupta and others. If Sāgara read Abhinava's commentary and still held different views he ought to have criticised Abhinava's interpretations and maintained his opinions.

5. His readings from Bharata's text are very deficient or vague.[5]

1. Though Dhanañjaya, Bhoja and Abhinava are grouped together as against Sāgara's wider departure, there are minor differences among themselves. In this note Daśarūpa school is used for brevity's sake to include the three writers.

2. Sāgara enumerates 33 Sañcāris taken from Mātṛgupta, who reads मितकों व्याधिरुन्मादो मरणं शौचमेव च, that is, substitutes शौच for सुप्ति of Bharata (VI. 19 to 22). Sāgara defines शोच (I. 2090) thus—उत्तमानां श्रुतिशास्त्रविवेकैः । तद्दर्शनसत्यादिनिः । Abhinava who reads सुप्ति for शौच comments on the word only. Sarveśvara reads vibhrama in the same list जडता मरणं स्वप्नविषादौत्सुक्यनिभ्रमाः ।

3. Śilpakāṅgas of Sāgara are taken from Mātṛgupta to whom Amṛtānanda also owes his source. Śāradātanaya leaves off प्रथन, बोधन, अप्रतिपत्ति, विलाप, वाम्फा, चमत्कृति of Mātṛgupta and substitutes आतङ्क, नाश्य, प्रमाद, प्रमद युक्ति, and प्रबोधना retaining the number 27.

4. Cf. Sāgara (I. 51-2) वर्तमानमपि शृचेर्नेदाभूतस्य (हाद्भुतस्य ?) कविबुद्धिप्रकर्षादास्वादितबीजविस्तारादिकं यदि भवति भवत्येव नाटकविषयम् . Abhinava views thus (XVIII-12) अत एव प्रतीतिविचातस्य वैरस्यदायिनः संभवो यत्र यत्र तन्नाटके गोपनिक्षेप्तव्यम् । तेन वर्तमानराजचरितं चर्वणीयमेव, तत्र विपरीतप्रसिद्धिबाधयाप्यारोपस्याकिञ्चित्करत्वाद्योगानन्दरामणाविविषयाध्यारोपवत् । एतदर्थमेव प्रख्यातग्रहणं प्रकर्षयोतकं पुनः पुनरुक्तम् ।

5. There are numerous instances. One is shown below at random :—
बन्धुजनवियोगजनिता उद्वेगः (I. 3081). This is one of the aṅgas of Śilpaka. This must be distinguished from उद्वेग of sañcāri list and from that of दशावस्थाः. In the above definition substantive for जनिता is not stated.

6. He follows Kohala in assigning rasas to vṛttis and not Bharata. Kohala according to Abhinava based the distribution on the 'nature of the expression. Daśarūpa school distributes the same on the conduct of the characters in the scene.[1]

7. In Hāsyāṅgas Sāgara's definitions and interpretations differ from Abhinava's though both of them profess to follow Bharata. For instance Sāgara says of Geyapada :—

तन्त्रीभाण्डोपबृंहितमासने संनिषेदुषा नायिकया गीयते । यथा गौरीछंदे मलयवती—उत्पुलक-मलकेसरेत्यादि पठति ।

Abhinava condemns it as तच्चेदमसत् । and exposes those who advocate it to ridicule (nāṭya : Vol. III. p. 67). Sāgara simply copied Śaṅkuka's view.

In defining स्थितपाठ्य Sāgara has अब पक्षपाणिना युक्तं भौमचारीपुरस्कृतं चर्चरीपाठ-भूयिष्ठं[2] सात्त्विकया प्रयुज्यते स्थितपाठ्यं तत्, But Abhinava's text reads :—

प्राकृतं वह्नियुक्ता तु पादेनात्तरसस्थिता ।
मदनानलतप्ताङ्गी स्थितपाठ्यं तदुच्यते ॥

and condemns the older reading thus :—अन्ये तु बहुचारीयुतेन चच्चत्पुटेनोत्तरेण यत् स्थितपाठ्यमिति लक्षणं कुर्वन्ति तत्पूर्वेणैव निरस्तम् (Vol. III. p. 69).

The older reading condemned by Abhinava is :—

बहुचारीसमायुक्तं पक्षपाणिफलानुगम् ।
चच्चत्पुटेन वा युक्तं स्थितपाठ्यं विधीयते ॥

This is the reading in most of our MSS. of Nāṭyaśāstra. Śāradātanaya who follows Mātṛgupta has :—

चच्चत्पुटादिना वाक्यानिवन्धेन विना कृतम् ।
भूमिचारीप्रचारेण स्थितपाठ्यं तदुच्यते ॥

चारी is a foot-pose in motion and is either a त्र्यश्र or चतुरश्र used according to वीर or शृङ्गार gait to display. Abhinava rejects the reading on the ground

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1. Kohala has—वीराद्भुतब्रह्मसनैरिह भारती स्यात्
सात्त्वत्यरौद्र-गर्वितार्द्भुतवीररौद्रैः ।
शृङ्गारहास्यकरुणैरपि कैशिकी स्या-
दिष्टा भयानकयुतारभटी सरौद्रा (1059–63)

Abhinava referring to the third line says :—यत्तु शृङ्गारहास्यकरुणैरिह कैशिकी स्यादिति कोहलेनोक्तं तन्मुनिमतविरोधादुपेक्ष्यमेव । तस्य तु यत्र यत्राङ्गरचना चित्तवृत्तिः सा सा कैशिकीत्याशयः (*Nāṭya-śāstra*, Vol. II, p. 452). Later writers like Vidyānātha followed Kohala, Sarveśvara agrees with Abhinava.

2. चर्चरीपाठ in Sāgara's edition is an error for चच्चपुट. The original Ms. reads चच्चरपुट as a scribal error. चच्चपुट is a चतुरश्रताल while पक्षपाणि or उत्तर is of त्र्यश्र nature.

that in the real world (लोकधर्मी) no chāṭī either अधम or चतुरक accompanies conversation.[1]

In many of the above cases Śāgara seems to follow Harṣa, Mātṛgupta, Rāhula etc., while Dhanañjaya, Abhinava and Bhoja have interpreted on a more psychological or logical basis adhering to reality (लोकधर्मी).

Bharata does not treat of Uparūpakas; Kohala simply names them.

Śāgara in defining them paraphrases in prose the definitions of Mātṛgupta while Amṛtānanda quotes them verbatim.[2]

Trilocana, whose date is not determined, in his Nāṭyalocana, borrows from Śāgara many of his examples which are not found elsewhere. For example—

हस्ते कर्णस्य का शक्तिः कुसमाप्यगतोऽसि कः।
परैः किमपितिष्ठन्तो न वाच्याः शक्तिभो हताः॥

It is a puzzle on the word दासवदत्ता हरणम् offered for solution probably by Sūtradhāra to Naṭī in a drama of that name.

From the foregoing evidence it may be assumed that Śāgara represents an earlier school than that of Dhanañjaya, Bhoja and Abhinava. Hence he appears to have lived prior to them; had he been later he would have followed or criticised their views. It may be said that he was their contemporary and stuck to his views disregarding them. The closer one studies Śāgara the stronger grows the impression that he was prior to Daśarūpa school.

Even if the internal evidence is not very convincing, his date cannot fall later than that of Subhūti (1060 A.D.). Nānyadeva whose lower date according to Gaya Inse. is 1080 mentions *Ratnakośa* twice on desī gīta (हसी and चित्रा) in his *Sarasvatīhṛdayālaṅkāra*. The references are probably to one of the other productions of Śāgara.

Śāgara was a descendant of Mukuṭeśvaranandin, and probably a Kṣapaṇaka.[3] He seems to have written a drama presumably *Jānakīrāghava* and

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1. In defining lāsyāṅgas Śāgara's school was followed by Śāradātanaya, and Amṛtānanda. Subhaṅkam quotes from both the schools. Great writers like Bhoja, Aśokamalla, Kumbha, and Nānyadeva follow Abhinava's school of thought.

2. An example may be sufficient to explain the point. Śāgara describes Prasthāna thus :—अथ प्रस्थानम्—पटचेट्यादिनायकं, वैशिकीवृत्तिबहुलं, बहुताललयात्मकं सुरापानरात्रितं, विटोपनायकं, दासादिनायकं च; यथा रत्नावलितिलकम्।
Amṛtānanda has :—
दासादिनायकं दासीनायकं बहुमीरितम्। वैशिकीवृत्तिबहुलं बहुतालक्रमान्वितम्। सुरापानसमायुक्तं तथा हीनोपनायकम्। विलासोद्दिप्तसंयुक्तं प्रस्थानमिति कीर्तितम्। निदर्शनमिदं ज्ञेयं रत्नावलितिलकाह्वयम्॥ (काव्यालङ्कारसंग्रह–IX),

3. Śāgara means that Nandin and Nagna (naked) are synonymous. When referring to the appellations of dramatic characters, he recommends the names ending in Nandin to Kṣapaṇakas and Bhikṣus (नन्दयुक्तपदा वाच्या क्षपणा भिक्षवस्तथा). Again

various *Ratnakośas* in rhetoric, saṅgīta, nighaṇṭu, etc. The following verse is presumably from the prologue of one of his dramas :—

नाटके कैर्गुणैः श्लाघ्यं ये हरन्ति सतां मनः ।
क्व तेषां रङ्गमुत्थानं रत्नकोशकृतामिति ॥ (I. 1191)[1]

It has been suggested that Sāgara was a Kṣapaṇaka and followed Rāhula, a śākyācārya. Sāgara was quoted mostly by the writers who inhabited Oḍhra, East Magadha, Gauḍa, Kāmarūpa and Dakṣiṇa Kosala countries. Daṇḍin speaks of certain Eastern school of rhetoric (पौरस्त्या काव्यपद्धतिः). This school seems to have a tinge of Buddhist logic and philosophy about it. Later writers like Bhoja and Abhinava defended the Vaidika sciences (i.e., those based on the Veda-prāmāṇya) and quoted mostly from writers who upheld the Vaidika renaissance against the Buddhist, Cārvāka and Kṣapaṇaka developments. Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māyurāja, Bhavabhūti, Rājaśekhara etc., were staunch Vaidika poets.

There appears to be an Eastern school in various śāstras in Sanskrit other than rhetoric and dramaturgy. For instance the Prābhākara school is more rational and he is accused (by Jayanta) of importing Dharmakīrti's views in Vedic school. Prabhākara, and his host, Śālikanātha, Bhavanāthas, Bhavadeva hail from the Eastern parts of India. Similarly Gauḍapāda in Vedanta, Nārada in music, Viśvambhara in śilpa, and certain writers on Tantra offer us material for postulating an Eastern school of thought differentiated materially from the school which may be termed Prāćītya including Kashmirian, Mālava and Dākṣiṇātya endowments to Indian thought.

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in a quotation from *Jānakīrāghava* given by him, Nandin means a naked being :—

अवद्यानं क्षोणि क्षितिधरसुतायाः कपिरसौ-
त्यधिक्षेपो नन्दिन्यथ रघुपतेर्दारहरणम् ।
अमी दोषाः सर्वे भ्रुवमधिगतोत्पातकटवः
करिष्यन्ते घोरं व्यसनमधुना राक्षसपतेः ॥ (I. 803-806)

Again in defining चूलिका, Sāgara quotes from Kohala—

यथा पटीमध्यगतैः सूत्रसागधबन्दिभिः
अर्थोपक्षेपणं यत्र क्रियते सा हि चूलिका ॥

and comments thus—सूताः सारथयः, मागधाः स्तुतिपाठकाः, बन्दिनो नग्नाचार्याः Nowhere is found बन्दिनो to mean नग्नाचार्याः, probably Sāgara read it as बन्दिभिः in the verse in which as it is often quoted some scribe would have altered it as बन्दिनिः.

1. The same verse is repeated in lines 2916-17 where instead of Ratnakośa, devalatta occurs. Trilocana in his *Nāṭyalocana* reads the same verse with Kālidāsa kritan in the fourth pāda. Devadatta is a general name like John Bull. *Ratnakośa* is probably the original reading. Kālidāsakritan would bring a new *Nāṭaka* to our notice, which is not very probable. Kuntaleśvaradautya and Mālatikā (a vithi) are already to his credit but not available.

MISCELLANEA

ABHILAṢITĀRTHACINTĀMAṆI AND ŚILPARATNA

In *NIA.* I. 744-745 G. H. KHARE and V. RAGHAVAN overlook that in my "The technique and theory of Indian painting," in *Technical Studies* II. 59-69 (October 1934) I called attention to Someśvara's work as the basis of that of Śrī Kumāra, and published a new translation of the section on painting (*ālekhyakarma*).

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PRAKRIT *CIA*

Pkt. *cia*, *cea*, have for so long been considered cognate with Skt. *ca iva*, *ca eva* (cf. e.g., PISCHEL, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, 336; WEBER, *Über das Saptaçatakam des Hâla*, abh. d. DMG 7.548) as to almost have become part of the Prakrit-Sanskrit phonetic canon. Forms like *vea*, *ea*, *eia*, *meia*, *peia*, *veia* (Hem.2.182), and *yeia*, *jeia*, *jjeia*, *eea*, *yeea*, *jeea*, *jjeea*, etc., all showing retention of the intervocalic *v*, a retention frequently emphasized by its being written double, tend to prove that the single intervocalic sonant of this particular word, however, not only resisted the general Prakritic drift towards being 'lenited' out of existence, but even reinforced the phoneme involved against that danger. *cia* cannot, therefore, be considered as from *c(a)* + *iva* with loss of intervocalic *v*, since all other forms citable of Prakritized *iva* show the retention of the *v*. A more probable etymology of *cia* would be < Indic* *ci-da*, i.e., the relative pronoun stem, plus the (usually) enclitic dental demonstrative, making a compound! *qui* + *de/o*, the first member of which is seen in Skt. *cit* (*cid*), OP *ciy*, Hitt. *kuis*, Lat. *quid*, Gk. *tis* etc., (cf. for other cognates, WALDE-POKORNY 1.521-2 and 1.507-8). For the second member * *de/o* c. Lith. *ka-dà*, OCS *ci-to*, Lat. *en-do*, Hitt. *an-da*, GK. *i-dí*, *hó-de*, *oûtos-dé* etc., (and cf. WALDE-POKORNY 1.769-770; MEILLET, *Le slave commun*, 442; BOISACQ, 180-1, 314; BRUGMANN, *Grd.** 2.811-2). The Prakrit meanings 'as, like' are further supported by the local uses of Lat. abl. *quo* (archatic *qui*) 'as, how, where,' etc., and are less objectionable semantically than if derived from Sanskrit *iva*, *eva*, which serve generally as merely emphatic particles. The form *cea* is either an orthographic variation of the earlier *cia*, or is to be regarded as *cia* analogically recast on the assumption of an original identity with *ca iva*, *eva*. In any case, even aside from semantics and usage, *cea* cannot be connected with *iva*, *eva* because of the absence of the *v*, and can safely be held as secondary within Prakrit.

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BENJAMIN SCHWARTZ

SOME ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES

By

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[1] Sanskrit *kareṇu* 'elephant.'

This is a fairly common word in late Sanskrit, and it would appear to be of Dravidian origin. At first sight one would be tempted to look upon it as an instance of what I have called *Polyglottism* in Indo-Aryan—a case of a 'translation-compound': in IA. there are words which are made up of elements from two different languages, each of these elements meaning the same or a similar thing (see S. K. CHATTERJI, *Proceedings of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference*, Baroda 1935, pp. 177-189): Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit *karin*, *kari*) + Dravidian occurring in Tamil as *yāṉai*, in Malayalam and Kannada as *āna* and in Telugu as *enugu*). But a purely Dravidian origin can be postulated for this word with greater plausibility.

There is the Dravidian root for 'black', which occurs in Tamil as *karu* 'dark colour', *kari* 'charcoal, charred wood, black pigment for the eye'. In the compound form, as in Tamil *kariya-maṉ*, Malayalam *kari-maṉ* 'Indian antelope, black buck', we have the root or word for 'black' and the word *maṉ* = 'deer'. Similarly *kari* 'black' + *yāṉai*, *enu-* (as in Telugu *enugu*) 'elephant' could be a purely Dravidian formation on the line of *kariya-maṉ*, *kari-maṉ*: the adjective 'black' or 'dark' would be quite a fitting one for an elephant: cf. a modern Indian name for an elephant—*Kālā-nāg* 'black elephant.'

Kareṇu can in this way be explained as a Sanskritised Dravidian word which on analysis is found to be a descriptive term—a compound of a noun and its descriptive adjective. The Tamil initial *yā-* in *yāṉai* and the Telugu *e-* in *enugu* suggest that the original or primitive Dravidian form of the word had as an initial sound a front vowel, *e-* or *a-*. A parallel case would be that of Sanskrit *Karṇāṭa* = Dravidian (Kannada) *kare-nāḍu* 'black soil.'

The Sanskrit *karin* 'elephant', literally '(the animal) possessing a hand', may have been influenced by the Dravidian *kar-*, *karu-* 'black, dark' referring to the colour of the elephant. Sanskrit *karabha* 'the young of an elephant' (also 'the young of a camel'—this latter sense is possibly due to extension or confusion) may be a case of the Indo-Aryan affix *-bha* added to a Dravidian loan-word specialised to mean 'an elephant' from the general sense of 'black or dark'; and the Sanskrit words *kare-haṭa*, 'elephant's forehead or temple' also *karaṭa* 'elephant's temple' (cf. Tamil *karaṭu* 'running *must* or ichoral fluid from the temple of an elephant'), and *karaṭin* 'elephant' are probably connected with *kareṇu*, *karabha* through the Dravidian base *kar-* 'black.'

[2] Sanskrit *gaura* 'a kind of buffalo.'

The word *gaura* has the usual adjectival sense of 'whitish, yellowish' or 'pale', but the nominal meaning of 'a kind of buffalo' is found from the Vedic downwards. The other connected words *gavaya* 'a kind of buffalo', *gavala* 'wild buffalo', *goṇa* 'ox' are not difficult of explanation; *gavayá*, found in Vedic, and *gavala*, are easily resolvable from *gau*, with affixes *ya* and *la*, and *goṇa* is a Prakritic form made up on the basis of the genitive plural form *goṇām* for *gavām*. The *ra* in *gau-ra*, with its apparent full form, is a puzzle. Can it be that here we have a very early instance of Polyglottism in Indo-Aryan? *gaura* 'white, pale' and *gaura* 'buffalo' evidently, at least semantically, have no connexion. Can we look upon *gaura* 'buffalo' as a compound of an Aryan *gau*, *go* + Austric (Kol) * *ur-* 'cattle,' as in Santali and Mundari *uri* 'cattle, cows and buffaloes'?

[3] Sanskrit *tuṇḍi-cela* 'a kind of garment.'

This word occurs once only in the *Divyāvadāna*. The exact meaning is not known—but it probably means some costly stuff such as is commonly found in small strips. The word appears to be a translation-compound.

The word *cela* is common in Sanskrit to mean 'cloth, clothes, garment', and is found from the *Mahābhārata* onwards. It occurs in New Indo-Aryan also: e.g. Bengali *celi* 'a kind of coloured silk cloth.' It is connected with a root *cil* 'to put on clothes' which is found only in the *Dhātu-pāṭha*, and which therefore would seem to be an etymologist's creation. The form *cela* seems to be a Prakritic modification of Sanskrit *cīra* 'a strip, long narrow piece of bark or cloth, rag, tatter, clothes', found for the first time in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*. *Cīra* is derived from an Uṇādi root *ci*, and this derivation merely expresses the uncertainty of the etymologists. With *cīra* probably is to be connected Sanskrit *civara* 'the dress or rags of a religious (especially Buddhist or Jain) monk', which occurs in Pāṇini and other fairly early documents. *Civara* is derived from a root *cīv* 'to cover', and this root *cīv* is equally an artificial back formation.

Cīra means primarily 'a rag', and the disparaging sense of 'a rag' is not wholly absent from *cela* either. The word *cela* is used as a pejorative affix, being compounded with certain words like *bhāryā* and *brāhmaṇa*, to mean a bad type or a bad representative of the same (e.g. *bhāryā-cela*, neuter, 'a bad wife', *brāhmaṇa-cela* 'a bad Brahman', *brāhmaṇī-cela* 'a bad wife of a Brahman', occurring in Pāṇini and others). *Cela* in this sense may be an extension of the word in its very likely original meaning of 'rag', and then 'useless or bad stuff': *brāhmaṇa-cela* 'clout of a Brahman, a Brahman ragamuffin, a wretched or bad Brahman'. We may compare the English word *ragamuffin* itself; and the Modern Hindustani expression, used at the foolishness or ungainliness of a person, may also be compared—*ādmī hai, yā āḍmī-hā pājāma*? 'Is he a man, or just a man's trousers, i.e. nether garments?'

There is the other word *cela* = 'servant, slave', found in the *Mahābhārata*, which occurs in New Indo-Aryan e.g. Hindustani *celā*; thus *cela* of Sanskrit is from *ceṭa* or *ceḍa*, meaning the same thing, and all these three,

ceṭa, ceḍa, cela, appear to be just Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit) developments of an Old Indo-Aryan **cṛṭa* from √ *car, cṛ* 'to go or wander', i.e. at somebody else's bidding; a hypothetic **cṛta* can give not only *ceṭa, ceḍa, cela,* but also *cata* (further extended to *cāṭa* and *caṭṭa*), and this *caṭa-cāṭa-caṭṭa* occurs in late Sanskrit inscriptions, particularly in North-eastern India, in the expression *a-caṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-* or *a-cāṭa-bhāṭa-praveśa* meaning 'where *cāṭas* and *bhāṭas*, i.e. soldiers or spies (*cāṭas* < *caṭas* < **cṛta*) and king's servants (*bhāṭas* < *bhaṭa* < *bhṛta*) shall have no access', used as a qualification for villages granted by kings to Brahman scholars who wished to live in an atmosphere of quiet and repose unhampered by police or military intrusion. *Cela* however is explained by Prof. Jules BLOCH in his *Formation de la Langue marathe*, Paris, 1919, p. 331-332, as being a Dravidian word meaning 'small' or 'little.' This *cela-* however is a different word from *cela* = 'cloth' which evokes *cīra, civara*: although from the sense of 'smallness', that of 'a rag' may easily evolve, and in that case *cela* 'cloth' and *celā* 'slave, disciple' would be connected; but that appears to be a bit far-fetched.

The group *cīra* : *cela* is paralleled by similar pairs of words in Sanskrit and Prakrit which show an alteration of ī : e; e.g., *krīḍā, kiḍḍa* : *khela; īdṛśa* : *erisa; kīdṛśa* : *kerisa; pīyuṣa* : *peyuṣa; pīsa* : *pesa; vibhīṭaka* : *baheḍaa; pīṭha* : *peḍha.*

Cīra and *cela* are preserved in New Indo-Aryan also in the roots (Hindustani) *cīr,* (Bengali) *cir,* 'to tear, to pierce', in Bengali *celā* as in *celā kāṭh* 'wood split in long pieces for fuel.' The New Indo-Aryan root *cīr, cir* is explained as of denominative origin from Sanskrit (Old Indo-Aryan) *cīra;* and this *cīra* (probably connected with *civara*) of Old Indo-Aryan remains unexplained. In any case, *cīra* : *cela* originally indicated 'a piece of cloth,' 'a piece *torn off* from a bigger one,' and occurred fairly early in Indo-Aryan.

The first element in *tuṇḍ-icela* is easily explained as a Dravidian word, found in Tamil as *tuṇṭu* (or *tuṇḍu*), in Kannada as *tuṇḍu* and in Telugu as *tuṇṭa,* meaning 'a fragment, a piece, a bit, a small piece of cloth, a towel.' In Tamil there is *tuṇṭu-tīlu* = 'piece of cloth left over after a material has been cut into pieces of required length.'

Tuṇḍi-cela is therefore a translation compound, Dravidian *tuṇḍi* + Aryan *cela,* although this Aryan word is of uncertain origin. It may be compared with a New Indo-Aryan (Hindustani) word like *kapṛā-laṭṭā* 'clothes' = *karpaṭaka-naṭṭaka* (*laṭṭaka*). From 'small piece of cloth', the sense of 'costly piece or stuff' can easily evolve.

The dictionary gives also *Tuṇḍi-kera* as the name of a people, e.g. in the *Mahābhārata*: this tribal name may be compared with *Hari-kela,* the name of the people inhabiting Samataṭa or Deltaic Bengal. The word *tuṇḍa, tuṇḍi* by itself is used in Sanskrit in the sense of 'beak, snout' (which is probably the basis of the word *tuṇḍi-kerin* 'a venomous insect'), and of 'a prominent navel' (whence by extension, we have the late Sanskrit word *tuṇḍi-keri* = 'a large boil on the palate', as well as 'the cotton plant', and *tuṇḍilīka* = 'having a prominent navel'). These other meanings of *tuṇḍa, tuṇḍi* appear

to belong to a different word, of uncertain origin, from the Dravidian *tuṇṭu, tuṇḍu, tuṇḍa* = 'a piece torn off, a piece of cloth.' *Tuṇḍa* = 'beak, snout,' has New Indo-Aryan representatives; and *tuṇḍa* = 'protuberance, prominent navel', probably a variant of Sanskrit *tunda* = 'belly', of uncertain origin, which, too, has cognates or derivatives in New Indo-Aryan.

[4] *Musāra-galva* 'a kind of coral, a kind of precious stone', in Buddhist Sanskrit; *masāra* 'sapphire, emerald', in the *Mahābhārata* (*masāraka* in the *Harivaṃśa*); *masāra-galvarkamaya* 'consisting of emerald (or sapphire) and crystal', in the *Mahābhārata*; *galvarka*, Prakrit *gallakka* also *gallaka* 'crystal, crystalline liquor-cup'.

In the above words, there are two elements—*musāra* or *masāra*, which means some kind of precious stone, sapphire or emerald or coral, and *galvarka, gallakka, gallaka, galva*, which evidently indicates crystal or some other kind of precious or semi-precious stone. Their occurrence in the *Mahābhārata*, in Buddhist Sanskrit (e.g. in the *Divyāvadāna*) and in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* would show that these words first came into prominence round about the time of Christ, probably during the first couple of centuries after Christ.

It does not seem that these words are of Indo-European i.e. Indo-Aryan origin. Names of precious stones—with their sense frequently vague and not definite—are among those which can normally be expected to be foreign loans. Both *masāra-musāra* and *gallakka-gallaka-galva-galvarka*, owing moreover to these variants, would from their look appear to be foreign.

In the absence of any other affiliation of *masāra-musāra*, I suggest that it is of immediate Chinese origin. Berthold LAUFER in his *Sino-Iranica* (Chicago, Field Museum of Natural History, 1919, pp. 525-527) discusses the Chinese term *pho-so*, with a variant *mo-so*, which means some kind of precious stone—in the Thang period "the term *pho-so* merely denotes a stone." The Chinese *pho-so* or *mo-so* has been identified by some scholars (HIRTH and PELLIOT, for instance) with the bezoar (*pāzahr* or *pādzahr* in Persian): the bezoar is "a calculus concretion found in the stomachs of a number of animals," and in early and medieval times it was believed in India, Persia, China and elsewhere to possess some special qualities. But LAUFER shows that the Chinese *pho-so* or *mo-so* cannot be the bezoar,—it is not of animal but mineral origin, according to early Chinese accounts.

The second character in the Chinese expressions *pho-so* and *mo-so* is identical: the ancient Chinese pronunciation of this *so* was * *sa* or * *sâ*, and its meaning is 'to dance, to frisk, to saunter.' The character for *pho* had as its old pronunciation * *bwa* (LAUFER) or * *bhuâ* (KARLGREN), and it means 'old woman' or 'step-mother.' The character for *mo* was pronounced in Ancient Chinese as **muâ* (Bernhard KARLGREN, *Analytical Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*, Paris 1923, under character No. 593, p. 191), and its meaning is 'to rub, to polish, to break, to touch, to feel with the hand.' It is evident that the terms *pho-so* = **bhuâ-sâ* and *mo-so* = **muâ-sâ* are just phonetic transcriptions in Chinese characters of some foreign word or words: the meaning of the Chinese characters does not give any clue to the sense of

the terms as 'precious stone': and *mo-so* = **muâ-sâ* is a secondary or late form of **bhuâ-sâ* (LAUFER, *op. cit.*, foot-note 2).

LAUFER also gives another Chinese compound *pho-sa* as the name of a kind of (precious) stone, which occurs in the Chinese work the *Pei-hu-lu* of TWAN Kuh-lu composed about 875 A.D. The first element *pho* in this compound is the same character as in *pho-so*; and the second element, the character now pronounced *sa*, was in ancient times * *sat* (it is the character which occurs in the Chinese compound *phu-sa* = **bhuo-sat*, contracted from a fuller *phu-thi-sa-to* = * *bhuo-dhiei-sat-tâ* = Sanskrit *bodhisattva*). Ancient Chinese * *bhuâ-sat* = *pho-sa* therefore, as noted in the *Pei-hu-lu*, meaning some kind of precious stone, and **bhuâ-sâ* = *pho-so*, are equally the transcriptions, in early Chinese of some foreign word. It seems likely that **bhuâ-sat*, **bhuâ-sâ* and **muâ-sâ* are different forms of the same word, of which * *bhuâ-sat* would appear to be the oldest, because the fullest, form; of the other two, the loss of the final consonant gave * *bhuâ-sâ*, and the common change of initial *bh-*, *b-* (through a stage *mb-*) to *m-*, together with the loss of the final consonant, gave rise to * *muâ-sâ*.

The final *-t* of Ancient Chinese was dialectally pronounced as *-ð* (= *th* in English *then*), and also as *-r*, before passing away finally. Thus, * *sat* = * *sað* = * *sar*. The Sanskrit *Buddha*, shortened to *Budh*, gave Ancient Chinese * *Bhyuəi* or * *Bhyuət*, and this developed quite early forms like * *Bhut* or * *But* (whence Persian *but* = 'idol', 'image', originally 'a Buddha image', and Japanese *Butsu* = 'Buddha,' written *Bu-tu*), * *Bhur* (whence old Burmese *Bhurâ* = 'Buddha', now written *Bhurâ* but pronounced in Modern Burmese as (Arakan) *Pha-râ*, (standard) *Pha-yâ*, and * *Bhuət*, before it was reduced to Modern Chinese *Fo*, *Fu* and *Fat*.

Side by side with * *bhuâ-sat*, * *bhuâ-sâ*, * *muâ-sâ* as the ancient forms of *phu-sa*, *pho-so*, *mo-so*, we may be allowed to postulate other popular forms, current orally, i.e. in pronunciation, although the second character would be the same *sat* = *sa*: like, * *bhuâ-sað*, * *bhuâ-sar* and * *muâ-sað*, * *muâ-sar*, all meaning some kind of precious stone. These different forms would belong to different dialectal areas of Chinese, and at different periods: we do not know whether * *sat*, * *sað*, * *sar* were contemporaneous, but obviously these pronunciations with a final consonant were older than * *sâ* which lost it.

There is in Persian the word *bussad* or *bissad* (*bussað*, *bissað*), which has been borrowed by Arabic (*bussad-*, *bussað-*, *bassað-*, *basad-*) and Armenian (*bust*), meaning 'coral' or 'fine pearl.' The source of this word is not known: there are forms also with one *s*. It may be a genuine Iranian word; and the sense of 'coral' may only be a borrowed one, the original sense might also have been a wider and a generic one for precious stones in general. It seems exceedingly possible that the Chinese terms discussed above are merely the Chinese transcriptions of an early Iranian *bussað* = 'precious stone', also 'coral.' The older transcription was undoubtedly the one written *pho-sa* = * *bhuâ-sat*, * *bhuâ-sað*, noted in the *Pei-hu-lu*; between this, and *mo-so* = * *muâ-sâ* we have to place modifications like * *bhuâ-sar*, * *mbuâ-sar*, * *muâ-*

sar on the one hand, and *bhuâ-sâ* = *pho-so* on the other.

The Indo-Aryan *masāra-musāra* can then be regarded as the Iranian word indirectly borrowed through the Chinese, from an old dialectal form * *muâ-sar* which is not represented in the Chinese written language by the corresponding characters. It is to be noted that the Iranian specialised sense of 'coral' is present in the Indian *musāra* of Buddhist Sanskrit, although the generic sense of 'precious stone' (and then specialised into 'emerald, sapphire') is the one found in the *Mahābhārata*. In Chinese transcriptions from Sanskrit, *ma* of Sanskrit is frequently indicated by the character * *muâ* = *mo*; dialectal variations in early times of this * *muâ* are the reason for the alternation *musāra-masāra* in India.

Masāra-musāra would therefore be one of the rare instances of a Chinese word (although of foreign origin in the Chinese itself) adopted in Middle Indo-Aryan. So far, only two such Sino-Indian words are known—*Cīna*, the name of the country and people of China, and *kīcaka*, 'a kind of small bamboo.'

Galva-, galvarka, gallakka, gallaka may now be considered. In the absence of any other derivation, I suggest that the word is * *galla*, extended to * *gallaka* or * *gallakka* by adding the pleonastic *-ka* affix, which would change to *-kka* in Middle Indo-Aryan of a late period, and that it means 'stone', and is of Dravidian origin. There is the common Dravidian word for 'stone', occurring in South Dravidian (Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada) as *kal*, in Central Dravidian (Telugu) as *kallu*, and in Northern Dravidian (Brahui) as *xal*. In some ancient Dravidian dialect the existence of a form with initial g- instead of *k-* can be very well assumed, and Sinhalese borrowed it with the initial g-, possibly from Archaic Tamil (before the employment of the present alphabet of Tamil to write the language) : Sinhalese *galla* 'stone', singular, plural *gal*. (Compare, Modern Tamil *Tamiz* = 'Tamil', but Sinhalese *Damiḷa*, Greek * *Damir-ikē* = 'the Tamil Country,' Sanskrit *Dramiḍa, Draviḍa*, all of which suggest an ancient form * *Dramiza*, with initial *d-*, as opposed to the Modern Tamil form with *t-*).

Middle Indo-Aryan * *galla-* with extensions *gallaka, gallakka*, would thus be a Dravidian *deśī* word in Aryan. Originally meaning 'stone,' its modification to mean 'precious stone, crystal' would be quite normal : in Tamil (*kal*) as well as in Bengali and other New Indo-Aryan (*patthar, pāthar*) the word for 'stone' is commonly used to mean also 'precious stone.' A vessel of stone, or crystal can be very well indicated by an extension of the word for 'stone'—*galia* < *gallaka, gallakka* : in Bengali, *pāthar* 'stone' is commonly used to mean a plate or dish carved out of black stone or marble. *galva* and *galvarka*, otherwise unexplained, can be very well explained as false Sanskritisations of the Prakrit (*deśī*) words * *galla*, * *gallakka*, with a plausible restoration to a known *arka* 'brightness, splendour' qualifying an obscure *galva* or *gal'u* > *galla—galu, galva* being evolved out of the analysis ? + *arka* = *galvarka*.

Viewed from the stand-point of the etymologies suggested above, *musāra-*

galva and *masāra-galvarka* can be looked upon as another instance of Polyglottism in Middle Indo-Aryan, the first element of this 'translation-compound' being a foreign word from the Chinese (which itself borrowed it from Iranian) and the second being a native Indian word, Dravidian in origin and adopted in Aryan.

DHARMA-SŪRI—HIS DATE & WORKS

By

E. V. VIRA RAGHAVACHARYA, Cocanada

I. *The Poet's ancestry and personal details* :—

Dharma-sūri was a Brāhmaṇa of the 'Harita-gotra,' and believed to have lived at Kaṭhevara near Tenāli (Guntūr Dt., Madras Presidency). His grandfather, Dharma-sudhī propitiated Īśvara by means of his severe 'tapas' and obtained as a result a boon that his family should be an uninterrupted line of 'Savants' well-versed in the whole of the 'Śāstraic' lore till the seventh generation (*S. R.* I. 18 śl.). Our poet's ancestors were reputed for their deep erudition. They were living at Benāres and consequently their family was being called 'Vāraṇāśī' family. His father's elder brother Nārāyaṇāvadhānī was a literary prodigy and had the title 'Avadhāna-parikramaṇa-cakravartin'. Defeating a great 'savant' Rāmāvadhānī by name, in Vedic Avadhāna, Nārāyaṇa was greatly honoured at the court of Dharma-bhūpa who respectfully offered to him a palanquin, an umbrella and a 'cāmara' and bestowed on him the title of 'सपपानीश्वर-शरभचटागण्डभेरुण्ड'. We cannot at present identify this king (*S. R.* I. 21 śl.). Nārāyaṇa's younger brother was Parvata-nātha-sūri, our poet's father. It is said (*S. R.* I. 22, 23 śl.) that Parvatanātha was a great 'savant' in all the 'Śāstras' and that before an assembly of scholars he had defeated in literary contest one, Janārdanācārya and taken from the vanquished scholar his proud title 'Vādi-kesarī', at the same time making him renounce his title 'Māyāvādi-bhayaṅkara'. We are not able to identify this Janārdana either. Parvatanātha's younger brother Rāma Paṇḍita was a great elocutionist and a sound scholar in all the six systems of Indian philosophy. The poet says about himself that he was a master in all the fourteen 'Vidyās'[1] but he was particularly proficient in the 'Nyāya-śāstra', though he did not allow his special attraction towards 'Nyāya' to deflect his deep love for poetry and poetics. This he says in his *Narakēsura-Vijaya* :— 'तर्केकपक्षतां गतापि' etc., [*Vide* Appendix.]



1. Vide-Appendix.

II. Date—*Internal evidence* :—

Dharmasūri in his *S.R.* (pp. 136 ; 197) mentions Vidyānātha by name and criticises him. The date of Vidyānātha is according to Prof. P. V. KANE 1300-1325 A.D., Dr. S. K. DE 1290-1310, Prof. TRIVEDI and Prof. EGGELING 1296-1317, SEWELL—1295-1323 and according to Prof. Śeṣagiri ŚĀSTRIN 1295-1319. Taking the latest among these dates, we may assign our poet to a period later than 1328 A.D.

Our poet mentions the author of the *Sañjīvinī*, a commentary on the *Alaṁkāra-sarvasva* of Ruyyaka (*S.R.* VI. P. 115, Tel. ed. ; P. 105, Bamra ed.). *Sañjīvinī* was the work of Vidyācakravartin who was a protégé of king Vīra Ballāla III (1291-1342) of the Hoysāla dynasty.[1] From this, we can safely assert that our author was later than 1342 A.D.

The latest among the writers quoted by our author is Bhūpāla who is identical with Siṅgabhūpāla, the royal author of the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* (T. S. Series). Dividing the 'Śṛṅgāra-rasa' into 'Saṁkṣipta' and 'Vistṛta', Dharmasūri says :

"तत्राद्यो भूपालेनोक्तः—

'बुधानौ यत्र संक्षिप्तालाप्तसंविदादिभिः

उपचाराभिषेवेते स संक्षिप्त इतीरितः' इति".

—*S.R.* X. p. 341 (Tel. ed.), p. 346 (Bamra ed.).

The above verse is found in the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*, II. P. 135 [Venkaṭagiri ed. in Telugu characters 1895].

Now, the dates assigned to Siṅgabhūpāla by several Sanskritists are as follows :—

Prof. Śeṣagiri ŚĀSTRIN and Dr. S. K. DE—(About 1330 A.D.,) Mr. A. N. Kriṣṇa AIYANGAR :[2] (1360-1400 A.D.) Dr. M. KRISHNAMACHARIAR[3] (About 1400 A.D.).

Taking the earliest date assigned to Siṅgabhūpāla, (i.e., 1330 A.D.) we might say that Dharmasūri was later than 1330 A.D.

External and Indirect evidence :—

Mallināṭha, the famous Sanskritist of 'Āndhra-deśa' and the voluminous commentator on Sanskrit classics does not even once refer to Dharmasūri or his *S.R.* though both of them belonged to the same province. If Dharma lived before Malli, this famous scholiast could not have ignored such a brilliant author as Dharma who hails from his own province. The dates assigned to Malli, by several scholars are—1390-1400 (Dr. R. G. BHANDARKAR,), 1400-1414 A.D. (Prof. K. P. TRIVEDI and Dr. DE), 1419-46 (Dr. M. KRISHṆĀMĀCHĀRIAR). Dharma might be later than or a younger coeval of Malli. If they were contemporaries, it might be that Dharma, being too near in time, might not have been taken as an authority by Mallināṭha.

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1. Vide. Dr. M. KRISNAMACHARYA : *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 856-858 (1937).
2. *Summaries of Papers* (pp. 28-29). Mysore Oriental Conference, 1935.
3. *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 770.

Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja, the renowned Sanskrit poet of 'Āndhradeśa' was not mentioned even once in the *S.R.* Jagannātha was like a huge light-house in the field of Sanskrit Poetics and no later writer on Poetics, to whatever province he might belong, could afford to ignore Jagannātha or his work, *Rasa-gaṅgādhara*, much less Dharma who belonged to the same province. Dharma's silence regarding Jagannātha might be taken to mean that the former was earlier than Jagannātha or earlier than 1625 from which date Jagannātha's literary activity is believed to have begun.

Appakavi, the famous Āndhra grammarian, mentions the *S.R.* by name in the *Appakavīya* while enumerating works on (Sanskrit) grammar and Alaṁkāra. (I. p. 12 : II. p. 109 Śrī Rājarājeśvarī-Nilayaṁ Press ed. 1910). *Appakavīya* contains (I. 33) the date of its composition which corresponds to 1656 A.D. From this we can conclude that Dharma was earlier than 1656 A.D., and in all probability earlier than 1625 (Jagannātha's date). We might assign 1414 (Mallināṭha's earlier limit) and 1625 A.D., as the two limits within which our author must have flourished.

We can yet narrow down these limits. Gaurana, the well-known Telugu poet, author of *Hariścandra-carita* in 'Dvipada' metre, had also written in Sanskrit a work on Poetics *Lakṣaṇa Dīpikā*[1] by name, in which the *S.R.* was referred to. If this is the same work as our author's, which I think highly probable, Dharma might be said to have been a contemporary of or a little earlier than Gaurana. The date of Gaurana is 1440-1450 A.D.[2] Hence we can safely conclude that Dharma-sūri must have lived between 1414-1430 or roughly the first quarter of the 15th century.

A. Stottras : 1 *Kṛṣṇā-stuti*. 2 *Sūrya-śataka*.

These two 'stottras' are no longer extant but are known only through fragments cited in the *Sāhitya-ratnākara*.

1. *Kṛṣṇā-stuti* :—This is a stotra in praise of the river Kṛṣṇā. In the *Sāhitya-ratnākara* [Taranga VI—dealing with Śabdālaṁkāra—page 125 (Bamra ed.), p. 143 (Telugu ed.)] the following verse is given in illustration of 'Vṛttyanu-prāsa'

" यथा मनैव कृष्णास्तुतौ—

'कृष्णा सुष्णातु सिष्णा स्वभिजनवृजिनान्याशु दुर्वारवारा
वाराकेरादिदारा रुचिरलचिरहीभिन्नभेनाच्छफेना
शुभ्रोद्भुभ्राम्यघूर्णिभ्रमकरमकरप्रामगीग्रामनीडा-
गाधा गाधारशोभोल्लिरसुषि चलदीवरीपा वरीषा'.

2. *Sūrya-śataka* :—This too is known only through a couple of quotations. It is otherwise known as *Ravi-Śataka*. It is in praise of the god Sūrya.

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1 *Descriptive Catalogue of Skt. MSS.*—Vol. XXII (Govt. O. MSS. Library, Madras), pp. 8692-'96.

2 *Lives of Telugu Poets*—Part I. p. 595 (Revised ed. 1916)—Mr. K. Virēśaliṅgam Pantulu.

after the famous *Sūrya-śataka* of Mayūra. Like Mayūra's poem the *Ravi-śataka* of our poet also is in *Sragdharā* metre.

a. "नागबन्धस्तु अस्माभिः सूर्यशतके बिम्बवर्णने कथितः यथा—

'बिम्बं प्वान्तध्वान्तं कनकधरशिरवारि शोणद्रवाक्तम्
पद्माधिप्रेमखोमखतदसुरक्षुदः फत्पूंकन्धूद्वहारि
शेषुष्मा दानृदैत्याधिपशुचतुलकर्मा मयाधानकल्यम्
कस्वेद्द क्षीणता मुल्लिपतु पटु परं दैवमर्चिःकदम्बम्'

b. अश्वबलपद्मबन्धस्तु अस्माभिः सूर्यशतकेऽश्वबर्णने कथितः। यथा—

'या दासन्नागरक्षा ततिरिनहरितां क्षानिबन्धास्तनाया
या मास्तव्यानभिक्षानवतु मरकतग्रामसश्रीरजेवा
वाऽऽऽजैरत्रीसमग्रा वदरितविरसक्षास्सरथाजरा वा
या राजचारसक्षा निशमियमधनुक्षा रणत्रासदक्षा' "

VI p. 131-2 (Bamra ed.). 148, 149. pp. (Tel. ed.).

B. KĀVYAS : 3. *Bālabhāgavata*. 4. *Haṁsa-sandeśa* (Prākṛt.).

3. *Bāla-Bhāgavata* :—This poem also is no longer extant. It is thus mentioned in our poet's minor drama, *Narakāsura-vijaya* in the course of the conversation between the 'Naṭī' and the 'Sūtra-dhāra' :—

"सूत्रधारः :—'अस्तिखल्वत्रापि अमृतरसनिष्यन्दी सकलजगस्तोमपरिपन्थी नरहरेर्नरकासुरनिबर्हणोदारहरणकथो गुणशिरोमणिः इत्थमेवैतत्कविना स्वकाव्ये बालभागवतेष्वुदीरितम्—

'विनिन्दिताः केन च पद्मजन्मना
वदेन दीर्घोपदृढ (हृ।) ता अपि स्वतः
नमोऽकथो विष्णुपदस्पृशो ध्रुवैः
फला इव ग्राह्यतमाः कलानिधेः' "

A verse from this work is cited in the *Sāhitya-ratnākara* and the theme of the poem is the story of Śrī-kṛṣṇa.

"क्रियाकलोल्लेखा यथा—

'निविश्य नीरन्ध्रनिकुञ्जमध्यमा
नमौ समीरा स्तदृसा सखेभ्रमः
न शक्नुवन्तीह पुनर्विनिर्गमे
लताङ्गनालिङ्गनलालसा ध्रुवम्'." "

VII. p. 157 (Bamra ed.). p. 176 (Tel. ed.).

4. [1]*Haṁsa-sandeśa* :—This is a poem in Prākṛt and is now lost to us. The theme of this poem seems to be similar to that of the *Haṁsa-sandeśa* of Śrī Vedānta-deśika—i.e. the sending of a message by Rāma to his beloved, Sītā who was in Laṅkā, by means of a swan.

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1 For an account of Sanskrit poems with the title *Haṁsa-sandeśa*, the curious student is referred to our work (in Telugu)—'*The History of the Saṁskṛt Dūta-Kāvya* (1937), Prof. Chintaharan CHAKRAVARTI's paper on this subject in the *IHQ.* Vol. III. No. 2 (June 1927), and Dr. Mr. KRISHNAMĀCHARIAR's *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, II Revised ed. (1937).

A verse from this now lost Kāvya is cited in the *Sāhitya-ratnākara* in illustration of 'Jāgara,' one of the ten stages of the love of the hero :—

"यथा वा—ममैव प्राक्तनकाव्यविरचिते हंससन्देशे—

'ह्रिया—जातं शीतालयन्त्युगलं सोह्लितं जागरादद्य
किं वा ताम्रे मदनदहनज्वालजालानिलापात्
चित्तारम्भे सुरतविभवे चुम्बनानां प्रभेदे
रक्तं किं वा रतिपतिमुखे पीठिकारागयोगात्'."

—X Rasa-taraṅga, p. 346 (Tel. ed.), p. 353 (Bamra ed.).

C. NĀṬAKAS OR PLAYS : 5. *Kaṁsa-vadha*. 6. *Narakāsura-vijaya*.

5. *Kaṁsa-vadha* :—This play too is not now extant. Three stanzas from it are quoted in the *Sāhitya-ratnākara*. As the author calls it a 'nāṭaka', it must be a play from five to ten acts. It is different from the *Kaṁsavadha* of Śeṣa-kṛṣṇa (Kāvyamālā, No. 6.) A *Kaṁsa-vadha* is ascribed to Pāṇini in Patañjali's *Mahā-bhāṣya*. The theme is the slaying of Kaṁsa by Kṛṣṇa.

a. As an illustration of 'Svabhāvokti.'

"यथा—मदीये कंसवधनाटके—

वक्षोजाञ्चलचुम्बितुम्बिरुचिरामाचिन्वती वाहकी
मीषत्कुर्वितमाधुनूलवसना तन्वी सुशन्तौ नखैः
मन्दस्पन्दितकुण्डलालकभरा माधुर्यधुर्यस्वरा
किंचित्कुन्दलितेक्षणा स्मितमुखी केयं शनैर्गायति.'"

VII p. 232 (Bamra ed.) ; p. 233. (Telugu ed.).

b. In illustration of 'Adbhuta-rasa'—

"यथा वा ममैव नाटके कंसवधे—

'आरुहः कुरुते रजोऽस्थितदृशा सूतेन सबोधितै
रश्वैराशुनिभश्वरै रथयुगप्रक्रन्तचक्रं हठे
चापे हीनगुणे विपन्नविधिके सन्धाय निन्येऽक्षसा
शूलोत्कम्पिकरोदरो विषमदृक् लिप्तः पुरः पत्रताम्.'"

—*S.R.* K. p. 366 (Bamra ed.), p. 355-6 (Tel. ed.).

c. As an example of 'Bhāvasandhi'—

"यथा वा ममैव नाटके कंसवधे—

'रोषादक्षिणनीक्षणं विपुलयन्, वामं भयान्मीलयन्
वक्त्रार्धे क्षपिदीरयन् कटुगिरं, चाटूक्तिमन्यन्यतः
एकेनापि पदा पुरः परिसर क्रन्थेन पश्चाद्व्रजन्
कांचिन्नातु रणोन्मुखे मयि दशां लेनेऽवनीश्वरः.'"

X. p. 387 (Bamra ed.), p. 374 (Tel. ed.).

6. *Narakāsura-vijaya-vyāyoga* :—This is an 'upa-rūpaka' or minor drama called 'Vyāyoga.' It was printed twice in Telugu characters and we propose to issue a Nāgarī edition of the same. It was translated into Telugu

long ago by the late M. M. Kokkoṇḍa Venkaṭaratnam PANTULU of the Madras Presidency college.

The play depicts the heroic story of the killing of Narakāsura. It was written at Purī (Jagannāth) as noted in the 'Prastāvanā.' It is also known as *Narakāsura-vadha* and *Narakadhvaṁsanam*. Many verses from this work are quoted in the *Sāhitya-ratnākara*, some with the name of the work and some anonymously. Here are some of those verses :

a. An example for 'Khaṇḍita-nāyikā' :

"यथा ममैव व्यायोगे— [= Verse 5 in the Vyāyoga].

'नीतः क्षपः क्वचिदपि क्षुतनीवनाथा
रागान्वित स्तुहिनवाष्पमुचो नलिन्याः
लीनश्रियो विगलितालिगिरो विवस्वान्
पुष्णाति पादपतनेन पुनः प्रबोधम्.'"

—*S.R.* II. p. 47 (Bamra ed.) ; p. 51 (Tel. ed.).

b. In illustration of the figure 'Paryāya' :

"अत्रायस्योदाहरणं मदीयायोगे नरकमङ्गनिरूपके पद्यं—

'तक्षष्टीतीव्रधोटीखुरपुटपटलीघट्टिताभ्यालोय
धूलीचालीनि रथ्यौ सपदि दुखकिते तत्रतापालतेन
सैन्याम्भोधौ च दग्धे क्षयमवतिभयाभानिमानाम्बुराजौ
प्राविक्षत्तद्वयाद्रिं तदनु (सुतनु!) विगलितोद्वेगं स प्रचेताः.'"

VII. p. 194 (Bamra ed.) p. 205 (Tel. ed.).

The above verse is again cited in IX Taraṅga, p. 284 (Bamra ed.) p. 275 (Tel. ed.) as an example of 'Atyanta-tiraskṛta-vācya' relating to a word.

c. 'कुन्ताकल्पान्तकालीपतिनिटलतटप्रस्फुरच्चक्षुरन्त
र्विर्यद्वीरेन्द्रभोरज्वलनकणगणाटोपकीलाकुलानि
शस्त्रास्त्राणि शस्त्राण्यपि तव बहुशः सन्तु भिन्दु क्षुधेऽद्य
रामे संग्रामभीमे दशमुख! न पुरा वर्षसे स्पर्धसे चेत्.'

—*S.R.* IX. p. (Bamra ed.), p. 274 (Tel. ed.)

This stanza which is quoted in the *S.R.* occurs in the Vyāyoga (śl. 83) with a change in the last two lines thus :

'कैसर्चार्तिप्रचण्डप्रतिघट्टतरस्पर्शनप्रेर्यमाणो
वह्निः सौदर्शनोऽयं तृणमिव दहति क्षोणिपुत्रं प्रमत्तम्.'

d. 'Bharata-vākya' :

"भामाद्युल्लसिता, रता मितरणे, तन्त्रे निरूढिं गताः
सञ्चिन्तामणयः सतुञ्जबलदशोलीलावतीवाक्षभाः
सांख्यन्यायविचारचुञ्चुमतयः प्राग्राकरप्रक्रिया-
धौरेयस्फुरणा भवन्त्वघनिपा, विप्राश्च नित्योत्सवाः

—*Narakāsura-Vijaya, śl.* 89.

आविश्रता भिन्नसुरस्त्वपत्रा शिरोधा
वक्षां च नानिविधरे यदि वा कपर्दे
पाणौ सुदर्शनपताम्यपत्रा ललाटे
देवेन केनचिदिदं जगदेतु मोदम्." —*Ibid.* ii. 90.

D. SĀHITYA :

7. *Sāhitya-ratnākara* : This is by far the most important and famous of the author's works. In 10 'Taraṅgas' it traverses almost the whole field of Saṁskrit poetics except Dramaturgy. He denounces author's like Vidyānātha who, for mercenary motives, extolled in their works kings who are but mortals, himself dedicating his work to God Śrī Rāmācandra. Almost every stanza given as illustration in this work relates to some incident in the life of Śrī Rāma. The titles of the ten 'Taraṅgas' are as follows :

I. *Granthārambha-Samarthana.*
II. *Abhidhā.* III. *Lakṣaṇā.* IV. *Vyañjanā.* V. *Guṇa.* VI. *Śabdālaṁkāra.*
VII. *Arthālaṁkāra.* VIII. *Doṣa.* IX. *Dhvani.* X. *Rasa.*

Postponing to a future occasion a critical study of the work and its place in the history of Saṁskrit Sāhitya literature, we give here for the information of scholars a list of the important writers and works mentioned in the *S.R.*

Important Works and Writers cited in the *Sāhitya-ratnākara.*
(Reference is to the chapter and page of the Madras edition 1871).

1. अभिनवगुप्त. VII. 177; X. 327.
2. अलङ्कारसर्वस्व-सञ्जीविनीकार. IV. 115.
3. आचार्यैः. I. 24, 26.
4. कवि-कल्पद्रुम-कार. VI. 155.
5. कामशास्त्र. X. 349.
6. काव्य-प्रकाश. IX. 293, 373.
7. काव्य-प्रकाश-कार. I. 21; III. 87, 88; IV. 117, 123; V. 135–6; X. 319, 338, 339.
8. कृष्णास्तुति. [His own.]. III. 10; V. 141; VI. 143, 156.
9. कोहळ. X. 338.
10. गणसूत्र. X. 356.
11. दृश्यकाव्य. X. 318, 319.
12. ध्वनिकार. X. 340.
13. नाटक-सञ्जीवन. X. 348.
14. नारदीय-पुराण. I. 22.
15. बालभागवत. [His own.]. VII. 176.
16. भट्ट-नायक. (भुक्तिवादिन्). X. 326.
17. भरत. II. 83; X. 319, 353.
18. भर्तृहरि. IV. 117.
19. भारतीय. X. 350, 372.
20. भूपाल [Siṅga-bhūpāla]. X. 341.

21. भोजराज. V. 129, 136; X. 335, 336.
22. मुद्रा–राक्षस. I. 22.
23. मुनि [Bharata-Muni]. X. 337, 338.
24. मेघसन्देश. X. 349.
25. रति–रहस्य. X. 321, 340, 349.
26. रविशतक. [= His own *Sūrya-śataka*]. III. 110; V. 141; VI. 156.
27. रसाकर. X. 341.
28. रामायण. I. 22, 23.
29. लोचनकार. [= Abhinava-gupta]. X. 340.
30. लोल्ल. [= Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa]. X. 308, 324, 331.
31. वाक्यपदीय. II. 64.
32. वात्स्यायनीय. X. 341.
33. विद्यानाथ. V. 136; VII. 197.
34. वेद. I. 22.
35. व्यायोग. [His own *Narakāsura-Vijaya-Vyāyoga*]. II. 51; VII. 205, 227.
36. शङ्कुक. X. 310.
37. शृङ्गारतिलक. IX. 277, 340, 349, 350, 372.
38. शृङ्गारप्रकाश. [of Bhoja]. X. 335.
39. सूत्रकार; सूत्रकृत्. X. 338.
40. सूर्यशतक. [= His own *Ravi-śataka*. *Vide* Supra]. VI. 148, 149.
41. स्मृति. I. 22.
42. हंससन्देश [His own poem in Prākṛt]. X. 346.
43. हरिवंश. I. 23.

E. COMMENTARIES :

8. *Bhāṣya-ratna-prabhā* :—(Nirṇaya-sāgar edition.). Dharma-sūri was a great devotee of Śrī Rāma and was of opinion that Rāma was the Supreme Being. It is said that in his later days he became a 'Sannyāsin' and assumed the name of Rāmānanda or Govindānanda and composed a commentary on Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-sūtras*. But whether the author of *Ratna-prabhā* is identical with the author of the *Sāhitya-ratnākara* has yet to be investigated.

9. *Brahmāmṛta-varṣiṇī* :—(Printed in Telugu Characters, Sarasvatī-Nilaya Press, Nellore, 1900).

This work otherwise known as *Brahma-sūtra-guru-vṛtti* was written by one Dharmā-bhaṭṭa, the disciple of an ascetic, Śrī Mukundāśrama-śrīcaraṇa by name, and Mahopādhyāya Śrī-Rāmacandrārya and son of Tirumalācārya. The identity of Dharmā-bhaṭṭa with our Dharmasūri has also to be investigated. In *S.R.* our poet gives his father's name as *Parvateśa*. If this term is a Sanskritised form of '*Tirumala*' then we are somewhat in a position to equate the two authors. Like the author of the *S.R.* this author also dedicates his work to Śrī Rāma and this point is in favour of the identity.

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1. *Narakēsara-Vijaya* : Printed, Madras, 1885. (In Telugu Characters).
2. *Sāhitya-ratnākara* : With the commentary *Mandara* by Mallādi Lakṣmaṇa-sūri, Madras, 1871. (In Telugu characters).
3. *Sāhitya-ratnākara* : With the com. *Nauka* by Madhusūdana Miśra, Banara, 1901 (In Nāgarī characters). Sudhal Press, Banara.
4. '*The Naukā and the Mandara—Commentaries on the Sāhitya-ratnākara*: A paper in Telugu by the present writer. (*Journal of the Telugu Academy*—Vol. XVII, No. 6, 1929).

APPENDIX.

In the traditional manner, Dharma-sūri traces the origin of his family (Harita-gotra) to Lord Viṣṇu, from whose naval lotus was born the four-faced god, Brahmā whose mind-born sons were Marīci, Pulaha, Angiras and others, who were said to be the ancestors of the whole humanity inhabiting this earth. Of Brahmā's mind-born offspring, Angiras had a son Harita, the pure, after whom our poet's family received the name—'Harita-gotra' (the family or descendants of Harita).

Select verses from the *Sāhitya-ratnākara*.

1. तेष्वङ्गिरोमुनिवरो दुरवं प्रपेदे
भास्वानिवोदयगिरेर्हसितो मुनीन्द्रः
दोषानुषङ्गरहितश्च न भोगमार्ग-
भ्रान्तो निराकृततमाः शुचिचीवदीप्तः. (12)

2. गोत्रे च तस्य समभूदभिजातवंशो
वाराणशैलुपपदेन भुवि प्रसिद्धः
तत्रामनन् बुधवरा त्रिपुरारि-सोम-
यज्वाग्रजः श्रुतय इत्युत शीलकृताः. (13)

3. देवान् हविर्भि रतिथीनशनैश्च शिष्यान्
विद्योपदेशविधया परितोषयद्भिः
वाराणसीनिहितनित्यनिवासदीक्षै
र्यैः पण्डितै र्भरतखण्ड मनण्डि पुण्यैः. (14)

4. सर्वज्ञतः शमितकामरुषो गिरीशा
दृष्टीपार्थतीप्रियतमाद् त्रिपुरारिनाम्नः
तस्माद्बुधाद् बहुमुखोद्भूतयाविभूति
र्धर्मोदयः समुदभून्महितः कुमारः. (15)

5. नागाम्बिकां शुभगुणां प्रतिपद्य कन्या
मेकां गृहाश्रमनिवासकृते चिरं यः
अन्यप्रतिग्रहभरो निगमागमानां
सत्सम्प्रदाय मकरो वचनावलम्ब्यम्. (16)

6. शम्भो वदीयशतरुद्रकृताभिषेक-
तोयैर्ललाटगलतापहरैः कपर्दे
गङ्गातमना परिणतै र्दधिरेऽभिषिक्ता
मूर्तं जटावलिलताः शशिपुष्पशोभम्. (17)

7. यः साम्बरविहितै र्वैरदात्प्रहृष्टात्
प्रासादमन्त्रसुपुरश्चरणै र्महेशात्
लात्वामाद् वरमणिजिवर्षराजनां
विच्छेदशून्यविमलाखिलशास्त्रबोधम्. (18)

8. विधिवदनुष्ठितकर्मा धर्मोदयसुधीः सुसंस्फुरद्धर्मा
जनयांबभूव तनयान् नारायण-पर्वतेश-रामाख्यान्. (19)

9. पद्मकमजटाक्षरकमवदजनारोहणा-
वरोहविषमक्रमाक्रमसुखावचानाच्चनि
परिभ्रमणचक्रमर्त्यनिधयाष्टदिग्विजया
चचार बहुधः क्षितौ द्विजवरेण नारायणः. (20)

10. जित्वा रामावधानिप्रवर सुकमस्द्वेगवद्वेदवर्चा-
गोष्ठयां नारायणार्यः सदसि बुधवरैः श्लाघ्यमानावचानः
संतुष्टायर्मभूपालभात शिविकां चामरच्छत्रपूर्वं
गर्जाखर्वावधानीश्वरशरभपटाराण्डमेरुष्वधिरुह्म्. (21)

11. तस्यानुजः पर्वतनाथसूरि रासीदशेषागमपारदृश्वा
ऐकात्म्यलीलायितमादिमानां, षड्दर्शनीजन्मभुवां मुनीनाम्. (22)

12. एकं कोऽपि सुदर्शनं भ्रमकरं पाणौ, ललाटे द्वयौ
कश्चित् कामविधातुकं, पवतले कश्चिच्छिवशोभकं
निःशेषभ्रमनाशिकां शिवकरीं कामप्रदां पर्वता-
धीशार्यैः समदर्शयद् रसनका षड्दर्शनी मद्भुतम्. (23)

13. वाग्मित्वद्युतिशुद्धिविष्णुभजनामीष्टार्थसिद्धाग्नौ
यैस्मिन् विस्मयमावहत्यहिपतौ निर्व्यैकता वारिता
द्वित्वं पुष्पवतोः कृशानुषु गतं निरवं चतुष्टं चिरा
दुत्सर्गं सनकादिषु प्रशमितं पश्चत्यमिन्द्रद्रुषु. (24)

14. येन स्वैरं नवाणि पाणिनिमतं प्राणादि कालादवान्
गुम्फे स्पष्टमघटि भाट्टगुरवा गुटीकते कुट्टिमे
निःशङ्कं निरटङ्कि शङ्करमतं चाक्षोदि चाक्षालुविद्यान्
खन्यश्चन्युदलास्यखण्डि विलिला पायञ्चषण्डाटवी. (25)

15. यो वादेन जनार्दनाह्वयगुरुं मध्ये विचक्षिसभं
जित्वाविन्दत वादिकेसरिपदं प्रौढं तदीयं स्वयं
मायावादिभवद्वराख्यविरुदा दत्यूर्जिता दार्जितात्
किंशोदवयति स्म कीर्तिं मधुलां प्रत्यावचन् वैष्णवम्. (26)

16. आढोपोढघटनाजघूर्जटिजटाकोटीरकोटीनटद्
गङ्गाहुङ्कृतरङ्गरिङ्गणभरप्रस्पर्धिवाग्वैभवः
सोऽयं स्वप्रतिमादपत्रिकपणग्रोद्दीप्तषड्दर्शनी-
रत्नस्तम्भनकन्धरो यदुगुरो रामाङ्कयः पण्डितः. (27)

17. तस्मात् पर्वतनाथसूरिजलधेः श्रीबाल्मम्बायिया
गङ्गासङ्गतयो रसद्गुणमणे र्लम्भोदय धन्यकृत्
सोऽहं धर्मसुधी र्गवां वितनितैः कर्तुं रसार्थैक्यया-
संस्कृतिं समुदञ्चनेयमधुना साहित्यरत्नाकरम्. (28)

18. इदानीं स्वग्रन्थवैयर्थ्यं परिहर्तुमाह—
अलंक्रियाः पूर्वतरैः प्रणीताः, न योजिताः काञ्चन नायकेन
कैश्चित्तु कुक्षिम्भरिभि र्निबद्धाः, क्षोदीयसा काञ्चन नायकेन.
—*S.R.* I. p. 15 (Bamra ed.) p. 16. (Tel. ed.)

19. दिव्येनोत्तमनायकेन घटिता सेयं समालंकृतिः
सद्गुणाकृतिना विदेहतनयावक्षोरुहस्थायिना
तत्तादृग्दशकण्ठकीर्तिपयसो नैस्यालहृीगुम्फा
निम्नातेन महेन्द्रनीलमणिनोदारेण संशोभते.
—*S.R.* I, p. 16 (Bamra Ed.) p. 17 (Tel. Ed.)

20. सारस्वामन्दिर भिन्दिराग्रणिनो देवस्य रामात्मन
स्तत्तद्गुणतरङ्गरिङ्गणभरै रङ्गीकृताम्बरः
तादृङ्निर्मलधर्मसूरिकविताकोशासकल्लोलिनी-
पूर्णः कर्णमनोहरो विजयते साहित्यरत्नाकरः.

21. धर्मान्तर्वाणिवर्यलिभुवनविदिते वारणाश्यन्वये यः
संजातः पर्वतेशा त्सुभगगुणगणभू र्बालम्बाम्बागर्भे
व्याख्याविख्यातकीर्ते र्विवरणमुखवाक्सौख्यमुख्यागमानां
तस्यालङ्कारशास्त्रे रघुपतिविबुके चादिमोऽयं तरङ्गः.
S.R. I. *ll.* 36-37, p. 34 (Tel. ed.), pp. 30-31 (Bamra ed.)

Colophon at the end of I Taraṅga, p. 33 (Tel. ed.).

इति श्रीमत् त्रिभुवनपवित्र–हरितगोत्रावतंस–वाराणशीवंशपद्माकरप्रभातभानुना, पद–वाक्य–प्रमाण–पारावार–पारीण–श्रीमद्दोषाध्याय–पर्वतनाथसूरि–पण्डितमण्डलेश्वरसूनुना, श्रीबालम्बागर्भरत्नाकरपात्रेजातेन, त्रिसीलाचारपूतेन, चतुर्दशविद्याविभूषणवता, श्रीधर्म–सूरियाचता विरचिते श्रीमद्रघुकुलतिलक–यशोधनसारसूरिभिते साहित्यरत्नाकरनामन्यलंकारशास्त्रे ग्रन्थारम्भसमर्थनं नाम प्रथमस्तरङ्गः.

23. धर्मान्तर्वाणिवर्यं त्रिभुवनविदिते वारणाश्यन्वये यः
संजातो यज्ञम्बाकृतसुकृतफलं, पर्वतेशस्य भाग्यं
काव्यालङ्कार–कृष्णास्तुति–रविजातकोत्राटकादिप्रणेतु
स्तस्यालङ्कारशास्त्रे रघुपतिचरितेऽयं तृतीयस्तरङ्गः.
—*S.R.* III. p. 110 (Tel. ed.)

24. धर्मान्तर्वाणिवल्ली–विवरणसरणी–माधुरी–साधुरीत्या
द्राक्षा द्राक्षारभावं भजति समुचितं यत्सुधायाः सुधात्वं
क्षोदं क्षौद्रप्रकरैः समुचितमगमच्छर्करा शर्करात्वम्
क्षीरं च क्षीरमासीत् सुदृगचररते साधुता सा पुनात्मूः.
—*S.R.* VII 174 *ab.* p. 248 (Tel. ed.).

25. प्रचीनाभिनवप्रबन्धविहितग्रन्थानुसन्धायिना
सोऽयं साहसिकेन सम्प्रति मया नूतनः प्रबन्धः कृतः
कस्तुष्येदसुनाम्बना श्रमुलभो बोद्धा च निर्मत्सरः
सर्वज्ञो यतमत्सरोऽस्ति हि रमारामः स संतुष्यतु.

26. भो मातः, कमिते! हितं मम वचः किंचित् समाकर्ण्यतां
श्रीमद्रामगुण–स्तवान्मुखवती सत्यंस्तुतिं मा कृथाः
कस्तूरीघनसारचन्दनरसन्यासोत्सवास्वादवित्
को वा निम्बसाल्मलीकपिशितालेह्यामिलाषी भवेत्.
—*S.R.* X 93-94 *ab.* (p. 375.).

27. सञ्जातो हरितान्वये महति यः श्रीकूर्मतेजः सुधीः
पण्यां दर्शनकारिणीं कृतिमतां (सुमनसां?) नैकाग्र्यलीलाकृतिः
धर्माख्येन मनीषिणा विरचित स्तत्सूनुना तादृशा
सोऽयं यावदिलातलं विजयतां साहित्यरत्नाकरः.
S.R. X 95 *ab.*, p. 376 (Tel. ed.) ; p. 390 (Banra ed.)

28. विख्यातेऽजनि पर्वतेश्वरसुधीः श्रीवारणाह्वान्वये
पण्यां दर्शनकारिणीं सुमनसां नैकाग्र्यलीलायितः
धर्माख्येन मनीषिणा विरचितं स्तत्सूनुना तादृशा
व्यायोगो रसजृम्भितोऽस्ति नरकध्वंसाभिधो नूतनः.
—*Narakāsura-Vijaya*, *ab.* 13, p. 6.

29. तर्के कर्कशतां गतापि नितरां वाग्वैखरी सत्कवेः
माधुर्यं प्रकटीकरोति कविताकालेषु किं वाद्भुतम्
पक्वात्यन्तकटोरता सुरगता श्रीष्मे नवूलावलिः
किं नाधिक्कुरुते नवामृतभरं भाखालिषेः प्रावृषि.
—*Narakāsura-Vijaya*, *ab.* 16, p. 8.

This verse has a striking parallel in the following verses :—

I सूत्रधारः—' तदहमिह चन्द्रिकाचन्द्रातपयोरिव कवितार्किकलतयोरेकाधिकरणप्रतिष्ठामालोक्य कौतुकितोऽस्मि. '
सूत्रधारः—' किमिह कौतुकम् ?
येषां कोमलकाव्यकौशलकलालीलावती भारती
तेषां कर्कशतर्ककर्कणधियोद्धारेषु किं ह्रीयते
यैः कान्तास्तनमण्डले करसहाः सानन्द मारोपिताः
तैः किं मत्तकरीन्द्रकुम्भदलने नारोपणीयाः शराः
—Jayadeva's *Prasanna-Rāghava*, I. 18.

The above śloka was attributed by Mrs. Mālatī Sen to Raghunātha,[1] the famous Bengali 'Naiyāyika.' (15th & 16th centuries).

II. तर्केषु कर्कशधियो वयमेव नान्ये
तन्त्रेषु वन्द्यतधियो वयमेव नान्ये
काव्येषु कोमलधियो वयमेव नान्ये
कृष्णे निवेशितधियो वयमेव नान्ये.

South-Indian tradition attributes the above verse to the renowned Vaiṣṇavite scholar-poet Śrī Vedānta-Deśika (1268-1369 A.D.) while Mrs. M. Sen assigns this also to Raghunātha (*C. O. J.* II. i. p. 24.)

III. *a.* तर्के कर्कशकोक्तिनिह्नुता तस्य भारती
काता मधुरसन्दर्भे काव्येऽस्मिन् मृदुला कथम्!

b. तर्के कर्कशकवाक्यगह्वने या निह्नुता भारती
सा काव्ये मृदुलोक्तिसारसुलभा स्यादेव ने कोमला
या प्रातः प्रियमिश्रुफवनिताहृत्कर्तने कर्तरी
प्रेयो ललितयौवतेन मृदुला सा किं प्रसूनावलिः.

—Kāśīpati's *Mukundānanda-bhāṣa* 9; 11 śl.

(Telugu ed. Vāgīśvarī Press, Bangalore, 1896).

The second of the above verses, strangely enough, is also attributed in Mrs. Mālatī's paper to Raghunātha.

IV. For a further parallelism, the curious scholar is referred to Venkaṭādhvarin's verse in the *Viśvaguṇādarśa*, śl. 299, p. 169 (Nirṇayasāgar ed. 1923.)

V. A still further parallelism is found in the *Vasanta-tilaka-bhāṣa* and *Yatirāja-Vijaya* (otherwise known as *Vedānta-vilāsa*) by Śrī Vātsya Varadācārya, son of Ghaṭikāśata Sudarśanācārya of Kāñcīpura.

a. *Vasanta-tilaka-bhāṣa* (Vavilla & Co's Telugu ed. Madras, 1915).

"किं ब्रूष—'तस्य तर्केषु कर्कशहृदयस्य कथं एतादृशं उक्तिमाधुर्यं'—इति.
(स्मृतिमभिनीय) हन्त! सन्तः खलु एवमादिशन्ति—

'तर्केषु कर्कशतराः स्थिरधापि पुंसां
काले भवन्ति हृदयः कविताप्रवाहः
दैत्येन्द्रशीलकुलिशं दयिताकपोले
नाथस्य कोमलमुदाहरणं नखं नः'"

—śl. 5, p. 4.

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1. 'Some Literary Anecdotes'—IX. By Mrs. Mālatī Sen, M.A., (*Calcutta Oriental Journal*—II Vol. No. 1 pp. 26-27 Oct. 1934).

b. *Yatirāja-Vijaya-nāṭaka* *

नटः—' तस्य तर्कशुहस्य निकामकर्कशा वाणी सार्वतनसमयसमुल्लसित-मालतीमकरन्द-परिमलसुचि सहृदय-जन-हृदयानन्दकन्दलिरावेधिनि सारस्वत-प-(च) रमसीत्रि नाटकमहिम्नि कथमिव पदमाधत्तुमर्हति ! '

सूत्रधारः—(विहस्य) ' मारिष ! मैवमाशङ्कनीयम्,

शास्त्रेषु शस्त्रपदवा अपि नाट्यमार्गे
कर्णामृतानि च भवन्ति कवीन्द्रवाचः

दैत्येन्द्रशैलकुलिशं दयितानितम्बे
नाथस्य कोमलमुदाहरणं नवं नः '.

—pp. 2-3.

* Printed in Telugu characters. Edited by S. N. Rangaśāthācārya. Śri Niketana Press, Madras. (1893-94.)

THE "VAIŚYAVAṂŚASUDHĀKARA" OF KOLĀCALA MALLINĀTHA

By

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Kolācala Mallinātha, the scholiast on the Mahākāvyas, is a very well-known writer. Besides the commentaries on the *Raghuvaṁśa*, the *Kumāra-sambhava*, the *Meghadūta*, the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, the *Śiśupālavadha*, the *Kirātārjunīya* and the *Naiṣadhīya-carita*, he has given us a commentary on the work of poetics, *Ekāvalī* of Vidyādhara, and a commentary on the *Tārkika-rakṣā* of Varadarāja. It has been pointed out by Mr. Vidhyeśvari Prasad DVIVEDI in his introduction (p. 33) to the Paṇḍit Reprint of Varadarāja's *Tārkika-rakṣā* with Mallinātha's gloss, that Mallinātha wrote a commentary on the *Praśastapādabhāṣya* or the *Padārtha-dharma-saṁgraha* of Praśastapāda and that this work of his, Mallinātha refers to twice in his gloss on the *Tārkika-rakṣā*. It has also been pointed out by Mr. K. P. TRIVEDI in the Introduction to his edition of the *Ekāvalī* with Mallinātha's *Taralā* that Mallinātha refers in his *Taralā* to two more works of his, a commentary on the *Tantra vārtika* and another on the *Svara Mañjarī*. Kumārasvāmin also cites his father's *Siddhāñjana* on the *Tantra vārtika* in his gloss on the *Pratāparudrīya*. We knew of no other work of this Kolācala Mallinātha, though we knew of a number of other Mallināthas, some of them also of the Telugu country, who have been mistaken frequently for our Kolācala Mallinātha. We knew that BHANDARKAR, TRIVEDI and others fixed his date at the end of the 14th century A.D., that Kumārasvāmin, commentator on the *Pratāparudrīya-yaśobhūṣaṇa* was a son of his, and that the genealogy furnished by a descendent of this Mallinātha, a Nārāyaṇa, in his gloss *Padayojanā* on the *Campū-rāmāyaṇa* (Madras Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, D. 12281) is inaccurate. In the present article, some new Mallinātha material is placed before the scholars.

On p. 563 of the *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.* in the Government Library, Mysore, 1922, we find our Kolācala Mallinātha as the author of a work called *Vaiśyavaṁśa-sudhākara*. It is noted here that the work is in Āndhra-bhāṣā. A Devanāgarī transcript of this work secured by Dr. N. VENKATA-RAMANAYYA, Reader in Indian History, University of Madras, who has noticed this work on pp. 181-184 of his book "Vijayanagara, Origin of the City and the Empire", was kindly placed by him at my disposal. On perusal, I find that there are only two passages in it, in the middle and at the end, in Telugu; the work is mainly in Sanskrit.

That our Kolācala Mallinātha is its author is clear from the colophon which runs thus:

इति पदवाक्यप्रमाणपारावारीण कोलाचलमल्लिनाथसूरिविरचिते वैश्यवंश (वंस) सुधाकरे (-करे?) [चातुर्वर्ण निर्णयो नाम] स्मृति पुराणेतिहास नैगंटि(ट्ठ)कादि प्रतिष्ठि (ष्ठ)

वैश्य वाणिज्य वणिङ् नागर अरुण वैश्यवृत्त (त्त) काञ्चीस्थलशासनोद्धरणोपरञ्जितविद्वज्जनहृदयानन्दकन्द चातुर्वर्ण्यनिर्णयो नाम द्वादशोऽध्यायः ।

The work is firstly useful in that it decides the date of Mallinātha. The document was the result of an enquiry ordered by King Vīra Pratāpa Praudhadevarāya of Vijayanagara. We find at the beginning of the document :

"× × × इति श्रीमद्राजाधिराज राजपरमेश्वरश्रीवीरप्रताप प्रौढदेव महारायेण विज्ञापितम् । आज्ञापनानन्तरं तच्छासनमादाय त्वदं (दृष्टम्) । तदवष्टम्भेनैव वियानगर[1] धर्मासन प्रकारोऽयम् ।"

This king is Devarāya II who ruled between 1422 and 1466 A.D. See also Mysore Arch. Rep. 1927, p. 26.

This *Vaiśyavaṁśasudhākara* is a very interesting document. It is more or less of the nature of a report made or decision given by commissioners appointed on a board to enquire into a case or problem. A social trouble evidently arose in Devarāya II's time over the identity of the community of Vaiśyas. It seems there was an inscription in Kāñcī (*Kāñcī sthala śāsana*) in which a previous decision on the same question was recorded. This inscription has not come to light. It is the basis of the discussion in this document of Mallinātha and is therefore frequently mentioned by him. In that inscription it has been decreed that the characterisation *Vaiśya, Nāgara vaiśya, Nageśvara devatopāsaka* and *Tṛtīya jātīya* applied only to a certain section of the merchant community. And King Devarāya II desired that only they and not others also should call themselves by those names *Vaiśya* etc. Where was the necessity to discuss this question and what was the advantage that those who were permitted to call themselves so enjoyed? The advantage seems to be the license to trade in the 24 cities and the 108 shrines [*caturvinśati purīṣu, aṣṭa (uttaras) śata tirpate (ti) (su)*]. The eligibility for this trade is frequently mentioned in the course of the discussion. Evidently subcastes (*Vaijāti*, as they are frequently referred to here) like the Komati claimed this right of trade. The King seems to have entrusted the case to the court (Dharmāsana) at his capital Vidyānagara. Kolācala Mallinātha was either presiding over this court or was on the board of judges. It is natural that a scholar of his reputation, well-versed in literature, should have been called upon to decide the correct meanings of the names appying to the main and subsidary mercantile castes. On the order of the King, the *Kāñcīśāsana* was brought for examination and on the basis of its decision, the Vidyānagara Dharmāsana presented the following report on the case.

"मङ्गले विधाय वाणिज्यनैर्जात्या (ति) विवदमानयोः विवादशान्त्यर्थं काञ्चीस्थशासनोद्धारप्रकारेण वैश्यशब्दाभिषेकत्वं नागरवैश्य नगरेश्वर देवतोपासकत्वं तृतीयजातीयत्वं काञ्चीस्थलशासने

1. It is to be noted that Vijayanagar continued to be called Vidyānagara at the time of Devarāya II. See Dr. VENKATARAMANAYYA, *Vijayanagar, Origin of the city and Empire*, p. 184.

यस्य प्रवर्तते तस्य भवतु नेतरस्येति श्रीमद्राजाधिराज + + + प्रौढदेवमहारायेण लिखापितम्। आज्ञापनानन्तरं तच्छासनमानीय त्वर्थं (दृष्टम्)। तद्दृष्टान्तेनैव विद्यानगर धर्मासनप्रकारोऽयम्। वस्तु वैश्यः स एव नागरः etc."

The report first summarises the findings of the epigraph thus : He who is called Vaiśya is Nāgara, Ūruja and Tṛtīya ; his occupation and privileges are agriculture, trade, Svādhyāya, Yajana, and Dāna ; he alone can marry a woman of his caste ; he who is called Vaṇik is born to him through a woman of the lower caste, (Vijāti). The Komaṭis, Vāṇi vyāpāris, Vāṇijya vaiśyas, Uttarādi vaiśyas are then mentioned, perhaps as coming under the Vijāti Vaiśyas. The right to carry trade in the 20 cities and the 108 shrines belongs only to the caste Vaiśyas and not to the Vijāti vaisyas like the Komaṭi. The Komaṭi is permitted only to buy and sell paddy and other grains.

एतादृशी शासना पर्यालोचनाय (-नीया)।

The document then proceeds to examine the above verdict. The evidences sought for the clarification of the question are Veda, Smṛti, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Kāvya, and Koṣa. The chief of the few Śruti texts met with in the discussion is the passage in the Puruṣa-sūkta on the origin of the four Varṇas. In the Telugu resumé at the end of the document, the Vedic commentator, Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara is also mentioned as an authority used for this discussion. Some old smṛtis and later commentaries on some of them are cited. Under Itihāsa, we find the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, the Āśvamedhika and the Śānti-parvans of the Mahābhārata, and the Itihāsa-samuccaya, the well-known compilation from the Mahābhārata. The only text of Vālmīki discussed is the Phalaśruti at the end of the *Saṅgraha Rāmāyaṇa*, i.e. Bāla, Canto I, *paṭhan dvijo* etc., where in the third quarter, Vaṇig jana is blessed with Paṇyphala as a result of reading the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The passage is discussed with special reference to its explanation by a commentator on the Rāmāyaṇa, whom we shall speak of in the section on writers and works quoted in this document. The Itihāsottama is utilised for its section dealing with the Jābāli-Tulādhāra Upākhyāna (taken from the Mahābhārata). A number of Purāṇas and the Padma among them frequently, is referred to. Among Kāvyas, the only work used is the *Dharmapālacarita*. The synonyms of Vaiśya in the *Amarakośa* (II. 9, 1, 98) and the low sub-castes (vivaraṇa, II. 10, 16) mentioned in the *Amarakośa* and a number of commentators on the *Amarakośa* are met with during the discussion. In the light of evidential materials, Mallināṭha submits the Kāñci award to a searching examination, abolishes its distinction of the mercantile community into the two classes of Sajātīyas and Vijātīyas and declares that all the current names of the class refer to one and the same class of traders.

"काञ्चीस्थलशासनोक्त वैश्य नागर वणिग् वाणिज वाणि व्यापारि ऊरुज तृतीयजातीय स्वजातीय नेदज उत्तरादय नगरेश्वरदेवतोपासक शब्दानां एकार्थतेति सिद्धम्। अत एव वैश्यो

वणिक्, वणिगेव वैश्यः, वणिगेव नागरः, वणिगेव ऊरुजः, वणिगेव तृतीयजातीयः, वणिगेव नगरेश्वरोपासकः, स एव उभयकुलप्रसिद्ध सद्वैश्य इत्यर्थः।"

The liberal outlook of Mallinātha is evident in this decision.

The following are other points of interest in the discussion :—

1. It is urged in an examination of the term 'Vaijāti' that it is a corruption (Ābhāsa) of the full word Vaiśya jāti, and as an analogy, it is said here that the word Brāhmaṇa becomes Bhāṇa. But Mallinātha rejects this pseudo-philology.

2. Mallinātha says that the Vaiśyas are born of the *Ṛg Veda* and suggests that it is because of a Vedic (Naigama) origin, the Vaiśyas are called Naigamas. The real meaning of Nigama in Naigama (=merchant) is however City or Bazar.

The Authors and Works cited in the Text.

1. *Svayambhū and his Commentary on the Rāmāyaṇa.*

After citing the last verse of the first canto of the first Kāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, "Paṭhan dvijo" etc., Mallinātha reproduces the comments which one Svayambhū, son of Viśvambhara, offered on the verse. The comments of Svayambhū on this last verse of the canto close thus :

वाल्मीकीयाद्यसर्गस्य व्याख्यानं रचितं स्फुटम्।
विश्वंभराख्यपुत्रेण स्वयंभू र्गो यदि मतम् (?)॥

Since this verse says that Svayambhū commented on the first canto of the epic, it is not likely that Svayambhū was only called upon on the occasion of this discussion and asked to give his exposition of the verse, "Paṭhan dvijo" etc., only. But we cannot decide whether Svayambhū produced a commentary on the whole of the epic, or commented only on the Saṅgraha Rāmāyaṇa. Mallinātha refers to Svayambhū's interpretation of the line referring to the Vaiśya more than once :

i. भवतु स्वयंभू व्यान (व्याख्यान) बलात् (द्) वणिग्जनः etc.
ii. तथा च वाल्मीकाद्यादि (आदिसर्गं) व्याख्याने स्वा (स्व) यंभूक्त वणिक् शब्दस्य वैश्यार्थकत्वम्।
iii. स्वयंभूव्याख्यानबलेन वणिग्वैश्यशब्दयोरेकार्थता।

2. *Purāṇas.*

The Purāṇas quoted are : *Padma* (frequently), *Varāha*, *Vāyu*, *Nārasiṁha*, *Bhāgavata*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, and *Viṣṇu*.

3. *Itihāsa Samuccaya.*

This compilation based on the *Mahābhārata* is referred to more than once and the chapter utilised for the discussion here is the dialogue between the Brāhmaṇa Jābāli and the Vaiśya Tulādhāra.

The Śānti parvan of the *Mahābhārata* is quoted once and so also the Āśvamedhika parvan on the sin of a Vaiśya not observing Dharma and the merit of a Vaiśya observing it, respectively.

4. *Smṛtis.*

The Smṛtis and commentaries thereon quoted here are : *Parāśara* and *Mādhaviya* on it (frequently), *Manu*, *Yājñavalkya* and *Vijñāneśvara* and *Nārada*.

5. *Kāvya.*

The only kāvya used for this discussion is the *Dharmapāla-Carita* and it is frequently cited. It is a Telugu Kāvya, in Dvipada metre and two long passages from it are cited during the discussion. It is these passages, as well as a final resumé in Telugu of the discussion that is responsible for the information in the *Mysore Catalogue* that the *Vaiśya vaṃśa sudhākara* is a Telugu work. The *Dharmapāla-Caritra* is the life of a Komaṭi and his family and, in the second passage extracted here, the various Vaiśya-names discussed in this document occur. The 25 cities referred to as centres of their trade, are mentioned here ; they are not confined to South India only. The charities done by the Komaṭi-family are detailed. I find here two important towns of the Tanjore Dist. mentioned, Kumbhakoṇam and Tiruvārūr, the latter (the present writer's native place) having offered a bride for a member of this family. This Telugu kāvya is a rare and hitherto unknown work.

6. *Kośas.*

The *Ratnamāla* is twice mentioned. Besides that, the only other Kośa met with here is the *Amarakośa*. The *Amara* and its names for the mercantile class form one of the bases of discussion and in this connection some known and unknown commentators on *Amara* are cited.

The following is a list of the commentators and commentaries on *Amara* cited here :

Kṣīrasvāmin, Nāgabhaṭṭa, Vandyaghaṭīya (i.e. Sarvānanda, author of the *Ṭīkāsarvasva*), *Subodhinī*, *Subhūticandrīya*, *Haridīkṣīya*, *Bālaprabodhī*, *Prabodhinī*, *Marma bhedinī* and *Liṅgābhaṭṭīya*. In the final Telugu resumé, which lists all the authorities, two more commentaries on the *Amara*, *Suprabodhaka* and *Kācināthīya*, are mentioned.

Of these, the commentaries of Kṣīrasvāmin, Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda and Subhūticandra are well-known.

The *Liṅga*(or *ā*)*bhaṭṭīya* or the *Amarakośa-pada-vivṛti* by Vaṅgala Liṅgabhaṭṭa, son of Vaṅgala Kāmyabhaṭṭa, is a commentary well-known in South India. It is usually presumed to be a late work. Mr. Seshagiri Sastri said in his Second Report, p. 32,[1] that it was the latest commentary on the

1. The extracts from the Liṅgabhaṭṭīya are given by Mr. Seshagiri Sastri on p. 186 of his II Report. But the extracts given prove that the commentary is Bommagaṇṭi Appayācārya's and not Liṅgabhaṭṭa's, as the colophons mislead us to take.

Amarakośa. That this is not a fact and that the Liṅgābhaṭṭīya is earlier than Mallinātha i.e. earlier than 1400 A.D., is proved by its citation in the *Vaiśyavaṁśa-sudhākara*.

The *Subodhinī* is the commentary of Jātaveḍadīkṣita, son of Yājñika Devaṇabhaṭṭopādhyāya who wrote a *Vivaraṇa* on the *Mīmāṁsābhāṣya*. The *Subodhinī* is also called *Bṛhadvṛtti*. Mss. of it are available in the Madras Government Oriental Library. See *Triennial Catalogue*, II, R. no. 1844.

The commentary of Nāgabhaṭṭa, given as Nānābhaṭṭa in the final Telugu resumé, is a Telugu commentary on the *Amarakośa*. See *Madras Descriptive Catalogues*, III, No. 1673; also *Triennial Catalogue* R. no. 4151.

Haridīkṣita, mentioned as a commentator on the *Amarakośa*, is evidently not the grammarian who was Nāgeśa's teacher. This commentator on *Amara* must have lived earlier. No Ms. of his *Amarakośa vyākyā* is known.

Bālaprabhodhikā or *Gurubālaprabodhikā* is a commentary on the *Amarakośa* in Telugu and Sanskrit available in many Mss. Its author belonged to the Tālappākam family of Tiruppati, one Tiruveṅkaṭārya, son of Cinna Timma, son of Tirumalaguru, son of Tāllapāka Annamācārya. See *Madras Des. Catalogue*, III. No. 1709. Evidently this is not *Bālaprabodhi* which Mallinātha refers to. In the Sanskrit section, the passage where this name occurs is corrupt and it is from the final Telugu resumé that I have given the name *Bālaprabodhi*. Besides this, the Sanskrit portion refers to a *Prabodhinī* and the Telugu resumé, to a *Suprabodhaka*, of both of which nothing is known.

The *Marmabhedinī* on the *Amara* cited by Mallinātha is obscure; I have not been able to gather any information about it.

The *Kācirājīya* mentioned in the final resumé is evidently the *Nācirājīya* or *Nācarājīya*, of which two Mss. are noted in the *Mysore Catalogue*, I, p. 607.[1]

Did Mallinātha write on Jyotiṣa?

The scion of Mallinātha who wrote a commentary on the *Campū-Rāmāyaṇa* and gave us an incorrect genealogy, says that the great Mallinātha wrote on Jyotiṣa also. See *Madras Descriptive Catalogue* No. 12281. In the final Telugu resumé at the end of the *Vaiśyavaṁśa sudhākara*, some Jyotiṣa authorities are mentioned like the *Pañcapakṣi Śakuna* and the *Rāśinighaṇṭu*. In the Sanskrit portion itself, soon after the discussion of the *Rāmāyaṇa*-verse, Mallinātha refers to the caste-classification of the planets and in this connection quotes the *Nīlakaṇṭha tājika*; the passage mentioning the name of this work is corrupt. Under *Madras Triennial Catalogue* R. no. 2387 (b), we find the chapter on Nakṣatrapīṭa from a work ascribed to Kolācala Mallinātha.

इति कोलाचलमल्लिनाथ विरचितायां नक्षत्रपीठाध्यायो द्वितीयः ।

1. At the end of his Sanskrit Introduction to the *Tārkika rakṣā*, Mr. Vindhyeśvarīprasad Dvivedi says that he has not examined the *Bhaṭṭi-Ṭīkā*, the *Kāvyali-Ṭīkā* and the *Amarakośa Ṭīka* of Mallinātha. It must be noted that Mallinātha who wrote the *Amara pada pārijāta* on the *Amara* is not our Kulācala Mallinātha, but Bollāpinni Mallinātha, son of Nṛsiṁha. See *Madras Descriptive Catalogue*, III, No. 1696.

It is also possible this Jyotiṣa work was written by some other Mallinātha, falsely specified as Kolācala. In the *Madras Descriptive Catalogues*, XX, No. 11846 is found as Kolācala Mallinātha's gloss on Kālidāsa's *Nalodaya* and most probably, Kolācala Mallinātha's authorship of this gloss is only as true as Kālidāsa's authorship of the *Nalodaya*.

The last point to be noted here is the significance of the expression "वैद्यवंशसुधार्णवे (-सुधाकरे) × × × दशमोऽध्यायः" in the colophon to this document. This perhaps implies that this portion forms the tenth section of a series of decisions given by the court of paṇḍitas at the Vīdyānagara Dharmāsana.[1]

1. Besides Kumāraswāmin Kolācala Mallināṭha had a son named Girināṭha Sūri, pupil of Nṛsimha. Nṛsimha wrote the *Svarasamañjūa mañjarī* and Girināṭha commented upon it. See *Madras Triennial Catalogues*, IV, R. No. 3488. It may be that Girināṭha was only another name of Peddibhaṭṭa, whom Kumāraswāmin mentions as his elder brother. There is cause for some confusion regarding the authorship of this work, *Svarumañjari parimala*, since Mallināṭha cites a work of this same name as written by himself in his *Tarala* on the *Kēdvali*, p. 59 (TRIVEDI's edn.).

THE NUMERALS IN THE MOHENJO DARO SCRIPT

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The numerals in the Mohenjo Daro script are generally represented by strokes. This is the most natural and simple way of writing numerals. In the tablets of Jemdet Nasr, in Sumer, several numerals are still represented in the same way,[1] but later on, in the developed Sumerian writing they were shown by dots or small circles.

Number 1. Accordingly number 1 corresponds to one stroke, thus



This numeral is very seldom found alone for the simple reason that any singular object is one. Yet at times it is used for the sake of emphasis. For instance, once when mentioning the city of Mūnŭr, which means "three cities," the numeral 1 is put before the sign meaning Mūnŭr thus :  which reads : *or mūnŭr*, "one Mūnŭr," just to show that this city, though called "three cities," is nevertheless one unit only.

On the other hand this sign is phonetically used for making the plural of some nouns. This is obtained in two different ways : first, by compounding this sign with the sign expressing the noun thus :

 *nanḍ*, "crab" ;  *nanḍor*, "those of the crab"

 ēl, "man" ;  *ēlor*, "Men."

 *moram*, "tree" ;  *maramor*, "the men of the tree"

The second way to obtain the plural with the numeral is by suffix-

1. LANGDON, *Pictographic Inscriptions from Jemdet Nasr*, Nos. 41, 57, etc. Cf. HERAS, *'The Origin of the Sumerian Writing,' Journal of the University of Bombay*, VII, pp. 21-22.

ing this sign to the sign of the noun, thus forming a phonetic combination of two signs for instance :

 *ari*, "rare";

 *aroir*, "noble men"

 *kāl*, "leg";

 *kālor*, "people who have legs," "Kalers" (a tribe).

Moreover,  is also found in some compound signs that require this numeral either pictographically or phonetically, for instance :

 *orūr*, the name of a city which means "one city."

Number 2. Two strokes represent No. 2, thus  *or*  *ir*, though this second form is used once or twice only when space is lacking. This as well as all other numerals are used before the nouns they qualify.

Yet occasionally, these two strokes are found after nouns, and then though the phonetic value of the sign is always the same, *ir*, it is not a numeral any more. For instance,

 *velir*,

 *aramaramir*

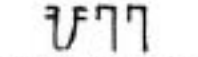
 *tirair*

This is another way of forming the plural, *ir* becoming the plural termination. Accordingly *velir* will mean "the people of the trident," or "kings"; *armaramir* "the people of the pipal trees;" *tirair*, "the Tirayars" (a tribe).[1] This seems to be the most primitive way of forming the plural in Dravidian languages. Whatever is not one, two for instance, is already plural.

1. Cf. Heras, *The Tirayars in Mohenjo Daro*, *JBBRAS* (N.S.), XIV, pp. 73-78.

This way of obtaining the plural by suffixing the numeral two is expressed in four different ways in the Mohenjo Daro script system. The first is that explained above.

The second is obtained by representing the sign twice; as in the two following inscriptions:



Tirair adu, "of the Tirayars."



Paravir pali, "the city of the Paravas".

The third is by adding the sign corresponding to the substantive verb, which also reads *ir*, thus:

 *tirair*, "the Tirayars."

The fourth by qualifying the noun with the determinative of collectivity which is two strokes above each other on either side of the noun sign. This way is only used with names of persons, for instance:

 *kalakūr*, "united countries"

 *kalakūrir* "people of the united countries"

 *mīnan*, "one of the Mīnas";

 *mīnanir*, "the Mīnas."

Elsewhere I have explained another way of forming the plural, but it has no connection with the subject of this paper.[3]

The sign for two is also found forming compound signs, for instance:

 *irūr*, name of a city meaning "two cities"

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1. Photo, H., Neg. 3040, No. 13; H., Neg. 3064, No. 10.
2. MARSHALL, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, M. D. No. 338.
3. Cf. HERAS, *Karnataka and Mohenjo Daro*, *Journal of the Karnataka Historical Society*, III, pp. 4-5.

Number 3. It is represented by three strokes usually in this way :

 and very rarely thus  The sign is always put before the noun :

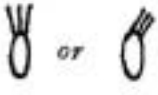
 *mũn kaṇ*, "three eyes"

 *mũn ãṟu*, "three rivers"

Sometimes it is found after the *noun*, then meaning "before."

 *kõn mun*, "before the king."

These three strokes are often combined with other signs forming compound sign thus :

 *mũnũr*, a city of this name corresponding to the Sanskrit "*Tripura*."

 *mũnkal*, "three canals"

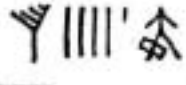
 *mũnmala*, name of a city meaning "three mountains," responding to the Saṃskṛta "*Triparvata*."

Number 4. It is represented by four strokes , always before the noun. For instance :

 *nãl koḍi*, "four flags".

Now the word *nãl* besides meaning "four" means also "several," "many."

So, on many occasions this is the meaning of  in the inscriptions. Thus



1. MARSHALL, (*op. cit.*,) M.D., No. 449.

which reads : *Tāṇḍavanir nāl maram*, "many trees of the dancers."
or

Tāṇḍavan ir nāl maram, "many living trees of the Tāṇḍvan" (the dancing Āṇ, the proto-type of Śiva).

Now since many trees make a forest, this inscription might be properly translated : "A forest of the dancers" or "the living forest of the Tandavan."

Besides the word *nal* means "good" in Dravidian languages, and accordingly sometimes the sign  has this meaning, and then as an adjective is also put before the noun. Thus :



nāl tūku, "good teacher"



nal āl, "good man"

Finally, this sign is found in compound signs which read phonetically, like the following :



talnāl̤ūr, "the illustrious Nalur"



nalam, "prosperity"



mīnāl̤, "the day of the Fish"



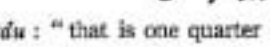
nalkīl̤, "under four", "subject to four."

The sign representing the ordinal "fourth" is very common in our script. This sign is  . A very similar sign is found in Sumerian, meaning one-sixth, but in no Dravidian language is there any simple word corresponding to this fraction. In point of fact our sign is one quarter of the circumference :



Its original meaning, therefore, had to be "a quarter" or "one-fourth". This

is said in Dravidian languages *kāl*. Such is therefore the phonetic value of this sign. It may be seen used in the following epigraphs :


[1]

Pali nād kāl aḍu : "that is one quarter of the fields of the city."


[2]

Parava nīla mīnir kāl ūril, "in the country one-fourth of the Mīnas (are) Moon Paravas".

This sign is often read phonetically both as *kāl* and as *kal*, meaning stone, foot, leg, pillar, column, forest, measure, place, etc. Elsewhere I have explained the series of combinations formed with this sign and its opposite


lak, "to rise." [3] But it is also found in a number of compound signs

with the above meanings or phonetically combining with other values. For instance : -


arikāl, "a measure of toddy"


kālāḷ, "a foot soldier"


kalei, "morning," "dawn," "the morning star"


kalavorlak, "the rising of the people of the rocky river."

The following inscription will give an idea of the phonetic use of this sign :

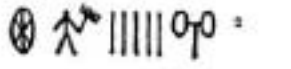

[4]

Mūn kavel valilire kal : "three black acacias[5] which make a weak support." This seems to be a popular saying. From other inscriptions we know that for building their houses they used four logs as support of the roof.

1. MARSHALL, *op. cit.*, M.D., No. 311.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 36.
3. HERAS, *Mohenjo Daro, the most Important Archaeological Site in India*, *J. I. H.*, XVI, pp. 2-3.
4. MARSHALL, *op. cit.*, M.D., No. 473.
5. *Acacia arabica*.

Consequently three logs would not make a good support. This kind of tree is still used in southern India for building purposes.

Number 5. Following the ordinary way of representing these numerals by large strokes, number 5 would be expressed thus :  Yet this is not the ordinary sign for five, and only once or twice is this sign found meaning five. Ordinarily this sign means "cultivated fields," *nāḍ*, as Dr. HUNTER suggested with an extraordinary foresight.[1] For instance in this epigraph :

 [2]

Ter nad peraluyarel, "Perāl, (for the modern Perumal) of the chariot and the cultivated fields (is) the high sun."[3] These five strokes represent the furrows of the fields.

The ordinary way of representing number 5 is by five small strokes in either of these two ways :  *or*  These signs read *ai*, "five."

For instance :

 *ai kap*, "five banners"

 *ai ir*, "five dwellings"

This numeral is also found in combination with other signs, but then the five strokes are parallel or semiparallel, as in the above sign which reads *nāḍ*.

For instance :

 *aiṉūr*, name of a city which means "five cities"

 *aien*, "to think five times" or "five thoughts."

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1. HUNTER, *The Script of Harappa and Mohenjodaro*, p. 204.
2. MARSHALL, *op. cit.*, M.D., No. 37.
3. The denomination "Peral (or Āṉ or kadavul), of the chariot and of the cultivated fields" is very common in the Mohenjo Daro epigraphs (Cf. *ibid.*, Nos. 50, 325, etc.) The chariot and fields are the symbols of war and peace, of destruction and generation. Cf. HERAS, '*The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to the Inscriptions*', *Journal of the University of Bombay*, V, p. 8.

Number 6. This sign is never represented by six long parallel strokes but by six small strokes placed in two rows, thus :  which read *ār*, six.

For instance in the following inscription :



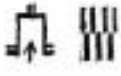
kudu perper īro ār min kay "see the six stars (Pleiades) that have the very great one of the union."[2]

Six is also represented by six parallel strokes in the case of compound signs. For instance :

 *ārkopa*, "six hamlets."

Number 7. It is represented in two rows also just as in the two preceding signs, thus  or  for instance :

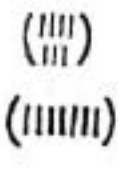
 *ēḷ tira*, "seven seas"

 *ēḷ kā*, "seven deaths"

Only on one occasion are seven parallel strokes used with a determinative as we shall see below :

I have not found this numeral in a compound sign as yet.

This sign is found in two different ways with the determinative of country, thus :

 *ēḻnāḍ*, "seven countries."

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1. MARSHALL, *op. cit.*, M.D., No. 314.
2. To see the *arumin*, as the Pleiades are called in Tamil up to the present, is considered a very auspicious event.

Number 8. It is also but only rarely represented by eight small strokes in two rows, thus :  The ordinary sign for eight is  .It reads *eṭ*.

In proto-Chinese writing these two curved lines are placed opposite each other  . This sign reads *bah*, "eight". What real relation exists between this sign and the sign *kāl*, one-fourth, is difficult to say. The use of sign is very common.

 *eṭ ūr*, "eight paths" or "sides"

 *eṭ vilā*, "eight Bilvas"

Now the word *eṭ* means also "to reach," for eight was the last number for the very early Dravidians. So to count up to eight, *eṭ*, was to reach the end. Thus *eṭ* became "to reach." Thus this sign is also used with the meaning of "reaching." With this meaning it is also used in compound signs :

 *kadireṭ* "being reached by a ray of light."

 *eṭire*, "having reached"

The compound signs having *eṭ* with the numeral meaning have always eight strokes instead :

 *eṭuḍa*, "eight dresses"

 *eṭūr*, "eight countries"

Beyond eight all the numerals refer to ten, which was evidently introduced at a later period. In our script we have the following :



onpad, "nine"



padrāḍ, "twelve"



mūnɛṭ, "twenty-four"

There exist also in the inscriptions phonetic combinations of two numerals giving high figures.



nūn mūn, "nine"



mūn ēḷ, "twenty-one"



mūn et, "twenty-four"



mūn padraḍ, "thirty-six"

Occasionally signs for numerals are found with the plural termination. So it happens when the numerals refer to persons. For instance,



eṭïr, "eight persons"



mūnru, "three persons"



mūnāïru, "twelve persons"



ēḷïr, "seven persons."

It has been said above that the numeral always precedes the noun. There is nevertheless an exception in the case of verses. Sometimes the metric combination demands that the numeral should be postponed, as it happens in the following beautiful *vaṃśa* :



In this case the numeral  *nāl* "four," "many" is placed after the sign

 *kuḍaga*, which is qualified by *nāl*

Reading : *Kāḷor mīnan mīn kaṇ kaḍa ēr vaḷīl aḍu*
Kaḷakūṟir vāḷ kei kuḍaga nāl

Translation :

"Many strong Kudagas of the People of the United Countries that had a fort which was seen with great perfection, crossed and taken over by Mīnan of the Kāḷors."

1. MARSHALL, *op. cit.*, M.D., No. 321.

SHĀH ṬĀHIR OF THE DECCAN

By

M. HIDAYAT HOSAIN, Calcutta.

I.

His Ancestors and Early Life.

Shāh Ṭāhir was a descendant[1] of Abū Muḥammad 'Ubaidallāh who declared himself to be al-Mahdī and claimed to be the Caliph and prince of the faithful. In A.H. 297, A.D. 909, 'Ubaidallāh made himself master of the whole of North Africa with the exception of the Idrīsid kingdom of Morocco.

1. The genealogical table of Shāh Ṭāhir is as below :—

Muḥammad.

1. 'Alī = Fāṭima.

The seven Imāms of the Ismā'īlīs.

2. Ḥasan, d. 50 A.H.

3. Ḥusain, d. 61 A.H.

4. 'Alī Zain al-'Ābidīn, d. 94 A.H.

5. Muḥammad al-Bāqir, d. 113 A.H.

6. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, d. 148 A.H.

7. Ismā'īl.

Muḥammad ar-Riḍā.

Aḥmad al-Mūfī.

Qāsim at-Taqī.

Ar-Riḍā.

Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh or 'Ubaidallāh al-Mahdī.

Abu'l Qāsim Muḥammad.

Abu't Ṭāhir Ismā'īl.

Abu't Tamīm al-Ma'add.

Abu'l Manṣūr Nazār.

Al-Ḥākim.

(*Continued on next page.*)

7. Mūsā al-Kāẓim, d. 183 A.H.

8. 'Alī ar-Riḍā, d. 202 A.H.

9. Muḥammad al-Jawād, d. 220 A.H.

10. 'Alī at-Hādī, d. 252 A.H.

11. Ḥasan al-'Askarī, d. 260 A.H.

12. Muḥammad al-Muntaẓar Ṣāḥib az-Zamān disappeared about 260 A.H.

The Twelve Imāms of the Ithnā 'asharīya.

His capital was the city of Al-Mahdiya (the 'Africa' of FROISSART) near Tunis. He is the founder of the Fāṭimid dynasty and claimed to be a descendant of Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet. Jawhar, a general of the dynasty annexed Egypt and Southern Syria to the dominion in A.H. 356,

'Alī aṭ-Ṭāhir.
|
al-Mawlā Muḥammad.
|
al-Mawlā Mustanṣar Aḥmad.
|
al-Mawlā Nazār.
|
Aḥmad Miṣṭar.
|
al-Mawlā 'Alī.
|
Mawlānā Ḥasan al'Alam.
|
Kibār Muḥammad.
|
Ḥusain Jalīl ad-Dīn.
|
Mawlā Jalīl ad-Dīn.
|
Mawlā Muḥammad.
|
Al-'Ālim.
|
Muḥammad Zardūz called Sharaf Ṭabrīzī Shāh Khūr Shāh.
|
Mu'min Shāh.
|
al-Mawlā Mu'min Shāh.
|
Shāh Raḍī ad-Dīn.
|
Shāh Ṭāhir.

See *Tārīkh Firishta* (Bombay ed.) Vol. II, p. 213. Hamdallāh al-Mustawfī in *'Uyūn at-Tawārīkh* mentions the ancestors of al-Mahdī as follows :—

7. Ismā'īl.
8. Aḥmad ar-Riḍā.
9. Qāsim.
10. An-Naqī.
11. 'Abdallāh.
12. ar-Riḍā.
13. Muḥammad.
14. 'Al-Mahdī (Abū Muḥammad 'Ubaidallāh).

Frishta Vol. II, p. 213 further remarks that according to Sunnis the Fāṭimid rulers of North Africa are descended from 'Abdallāh bin Sālim and some of the scholars of 'Irāq hold them to be descendants of 'Abdallāh bin Maymūn al-Qaddāh (the oculist). At any rate there is a difference of opinion about Fāṭimid rulers being descendants of the Prophet.

For further information regarding the Genealogy of Shāh Ṭāhir see *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, January 1938, pp. 68 and 69.

A.D. 969 and founded the fortified place of al-Qāhira which developed into the city of Cairo. The Fāṭimid rulers were Ismā'īlīs[1] in their faith. The kingdom endured with this dynasty from A.H. 297 to 567, A.D. 909-1171. Saladin supplanted the last Fāṭimid Caliph al-'Āḍid Abū Muḥammad 'Abdallāh in A.H. 567, A.D. 1171.

In the beginning of their reign one of the forefathers of Shāh Ṭāhir had gained considerable fame by his piety, devotion and learning and had renounced the Ismā'īlī Faith and become *Ithnā' Asharī*, "the follower of the *twelve Imāms*." Through his preaching the sect was much benefited and the spiritual leadership fell to the lot of his family. But when in A.H. 567, A.D. 1171, the kingdom was transferred to Ayyūbids, (A.H. 564-648, A.D. 1169-1250) who were staunch Sunnī,[4] the family found it difficult to live in Egypt. They came to Khūnd, a village, in the province of Qazwīn on the boundary of Jīlān and become known as the Sayyids of Khūnd. After they had settled with dignity and honour for more than 300 years, the spiritual leadership of the family passed to Shāh Ṭāhir. He was a profound scholar, well-versed in *belles-lettres*, skilful and eloquent and so well equipped with all the qualities of a leader that he outstripped his forefathers. The Shī'as of Qazwīn and

1. Ismā'īlī, a Shī'a sect, so called as according to them Ismā'īl, the eldest son of the sixth Imām, Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, was the true Imām. His father Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq had at first nominated him as his successor, but having learned of his eldest son's intemperance, had changed his decision and declared Mūsā, his second son, as his successor. The Ismā'īlīs or followers of Ismā'īl refused to recognize this alteration, claiming that the Imām, once appointed, cannot be changed as the appointment of the Imām is by divine providence and it is not permitted by God to change His decree. They explain the Qur'ān in allegorical exposition and consider the drunkenness of the Imām as an evidence that he accepted the hidden meaning of the verses of the Qur'ān and not its outwards meaning. They are sometimes called Sab'īya (the partisans of the seventh Imām), because their doctrines restrict the number of visible Imāms to seven and they consider Ismā'īl to be the 7th Imām. For further details and doctrines of the sect see *Ency. of Islām* Vol. II, pp. 549-552.

2. *Ithnā 'Asharīya* a name given in contrast to the Sab'īya (the partisans of the seven Imāms), to that leading orthodox sect of Shī'as who receive the following twelve Imāms as the rightful Caliphs and successors of the Prophet. (1) 'Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet. (2) Ḥasan, the son of 'Alī. (3) Ḥusain ash-Shahīd, the second son of 'Alī. (4) 'Alī surnamed Zain al-'Ābidīn, the son of Ḥusain. (5) Muḥammad al-Bāqir, son of Zain al-'Ābidīn. (6) Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, son of Muḥammad al-Bāqir. (7) Mūsā al-Kāẓim, son of Ja'far. (8) 'Alī ar-Riḍā, son of Mūsā. (9) Muḥammad at-Taqī, son of 'Alī ar-Riḍā. (10) 'Alī an-Naqī, son of Muḥammad at-Taqī, (11) Al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī, son of 'Alī an-Naqī. (12) Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Ḥujja son of al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī, or the Imām al-Mahdī who is supposed by the Shī'as to be still alive and hidden. He will again appear as the Mahdī or "director" when Islām will be in great danger as the Prophet prophesied about him.

3. The Sunnī is the name of the four Islamic sects who follow any of the teachings founded by the four Imāms viz. :—

1. Abū Ḥanīfa (died A.H. 150, A.D. 767).
2. Mālik bin Anas (died A.H. 197, A.D. 795).
3. Muḥammad bin Idrīs ash-Shāfi'ī died A. H. 204, (A.D. 820).
4. Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal (died A.H. 241, A.D. 855).

other neighbouring places became his staunch followers and rallied round him. Shāh Ismā'īl I. (A.H. 907-930, A.D. 1502-1524) of the Ṣafawid dynasty who was ruling over Persia at the time, became jealous of his power and wanted to exterminate him on the plea of the safety of the kingdom. But one of the ministers of Shāh Ismā'īl I, Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain Iṣfahānī, who was a disciple of Shāh Ṭāhir, informed him through a messenger about the intentions of his king and advised him to present himself immediately before the king and to disperse all his followers. Shāh Ṭāhir, seeing no other course open, acted on the advice of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain Iṣfahānī and in A.H. 926, A.D. 1519 presented himself before Shāh Ismā'īl I. Through the intercession of Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain he was included among the literati attending the king and was subsequently appointed a Professor of a college at Kāshān. At Kāshān, he soon came to wield great influence and his followers became so numerous that at last the Shāh's agent wrote :—

"Shāh Ṭāhir is trying hard to propagate his sect and infidels are coming in large numbers to him. True faith is suffering disgrace and negotiations are being carried on between him and the neighbouring kings."

The Shāh, infuriated at this news, ordered that Shāh Ṭāhir should forthwith be put to death. But before the Shāh's order reached Kāshān, Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain had informed Shāh Ṭāhir of the peril that awaited him and Ṭāhir fled with his family from Kāshān towards the end of the year 926 A.H., 1519 A.D. He reached the port of Jarūn to leave for India. Fortunately a ship was sailing for India that very day. Ṭāhir boarded the ship on Friday and after a week landed at Goa. The king's men chased him upto Kāshān and came in close pursuit upto Jarūn but found, to their utter disappointment, that he had left for India two hours before their arrival. Landing on the soil of India Shāh Ṭāhir made straight for the court of Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh, the reigning chief of Bījāpūr in the Deccan.

II.

SHĀH ṬĀHIR'S ADVENT IN BĪJĀPŪR AND AḤMADNAGAR.

In those days the Deccan was split up into five important and independent Muhammadan kingdoms. The 'Imād Shāhs (A.H. 890-960, A.D. 1484-1572) ruled in Birār, Niẓām Shāhs (A.H. 896-1004, A.D. 1490-1595) in Aḥmadnagar, Barīd Shāhs, (A.H. 897-1018, A.D. 1492-1609) in Bīdar, 'Ādil Shāhs (A.H. 895-1097, A.D. 1489-1686) in Bijāpūr and Quṭb Shāhs (A.H. 918-1098, A.D. 1512-1682) in Golconda. Of these independent dynasties, the 'Ādil Shāhs of Bījāpūr only were Shī'as. Firishta (Vol. II. p. 18, Bombay Edition), remarks that Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh (A.H. 895-916, A.D. 1489-1511) was the first to introduce Shī'aism in India on Friday in the month of Dhī'l Ḥijja A.H. 908, A.D. 1502. Consequently Shāh Ṭāhir, on his advent in India, came straight to Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh, (A.H. 916-941, A.D. 1511-1534) the son of Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh in the hope of gaining his favour. He, however, received no sympathetic treatment at the hands of Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh, who was a clever and shrewd ruler and was a Shī'a for the sake of kingdom only. Ismā'īl only wanted Shī'a soldiers who could fight for him in battles and had little

concern with scholars and spiritual leaders. Naturally he was indifferently disposed towards Shāh Ṭāhir. Ṭāhir thus bereft of all hopes had no recourse but to return back. He resolved to go to Mecca and Madīna and to visit the holy shrines of the Imāms and then proceed homewards if conditions in the country happened to have undergone a propitious change in the meantime. It came as a strange but happy coincidence that while passing through Paranda he came in contact with Khāja Jahān, the Bahmanī noble. Khāja Jahān had for sometime been in quest of a good tutor for his children. Accordingly he received Shāh Ṭāhir as a God-send and accorded him a cordial and hospitable welcome.

About this time Maulānā Pīr Muḥammad of Shirwān, who was a follower of the Ḥanafī sect, was sent on some errand to Khāja Jahān by Burhān Shāh Niẓam-ul-Mulk (A.H. 914-961, A.D. 1508-1553), the king of Aḥmadnagar. The Maulānā was a literary man of mediocre ability but having been the tutor of Burhān Shāh commanded great respect and honour and was considered to be a profound scholar. At Paradah he was much impressed with the vast learning and scholarship of Shāh Ṭāhir and began to read with him *al-Majisṭī*,[1] a difficult book on Astronomy. When on his return to Aḥmadnagar, Burhān Shāh enquired about the cause of his delay, he admired the erudition of Shāh Ṭāhir in the most eloquent terms and added that he had so long been studying Astronomy under him. A great patron of learning as he was, Burhān Shāh requested the Mawlānā to bring such a great scholar to his court. So in A.H. 928, A.D. 1521 the Maulānā came again to Paranda and took Shāh Ṭāir with him. All the nobles of the court travelled eight miles to welcome him (Shāh Ṭāhir) and Burhān Shāh conferred upon him a dignified position among the nobles of his court.

III.

Shāh Ṭāhir as an Ambassador to Gujarāt.

In the early part of A.H. 937, A.D. 1530 Burhān Shāh sent Shāh Ṭāhir, with the presents of elephants and other valuables, to Sulṭān Bahādur Shāh (A.H. 932-943, A.D. 1526-1536) in Gujarāt. Bāhadur Shāh knew that Burhān Shāh had not recited his name in the sermons excepting once. So he did not pay any attention to Shāh Ṭāhir, and also did not call him to court either. Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh I, (A.H. 926-942, A.D. 1520-1535) the ruler of Khāndīsh wrote to Bahādur Shāh that though Burhān Shāh had not recited his name in the sermons for the sake of the nobles of the Deccan, yet in his heart of hearts he had been a well-wisher of the king.

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1. *Al-Majisṭī*, or *Taḥrīr al-Majisṭī*, is a famous compendium of the astronomical system of Ptolemy. It is also called *Kitāb al-Majisṭī*. It was translated from Greek into Arabic by Isḥāq bin Ḥunain (d. A.H. 298, A.D. 910) and annotated by Naṣīr ad-Dīn Muḥammad bin Muḥammad at-Ṭūsī (d. A.H. 672, A.D. 1274). The Arabic version of Naṣīr ad-Dīn is printed in Constantinople, 1801. For further details see Ahlwardt, *Berlin Cat.* No. 5665 and Brockelmann. *Gesch. d. Arab. Litter*, Vol. I. p. 511.

On this recommendation Bahādur Shāh permitted Shāh Ṭāhir to come to his court but did not show him any favour. Mullā Khudāwand Khān, his minister, was a great patron of learning and came to appreciate the depth of Shāh Ṭāhir's erudition. He recommended him in the presence of the king, whereupon Bahādur Shāh held a special court and bestowed much honour upon Shāh Ṭāhir. Shāh Ṭāhir, thus successful in his embassy, rose in the esteem of Burhān Shāh and soon became the trusted friend and adviser of the king.

IV.

Conversion of Burhān Shāh to Shī'aism.

When Bahādur Shāh conferred upon Burhān Shāh the title of "the Niẓām Shāh," the latter began to realise the worth of Shāh Ṭāhir and became his staunch follower. He became so fond of listening to the Ṭāhir's eloquent speeches that he had a mosque built in the fort and appointed him a lecturer there. Scholars used to assemble there twice a week and hold important discussions. Burhān Shāh attended these discourses very regularly and listened with such great attention to the lectures of Shāh Ṭāhir that he even checked the calls of nature to hear the same without interruption and did not move until he had finished his discourse.

In the beginning, Burhān Shāh was so deeply attached to the scholars of the Nūr Bakhshīya[1] sect that he married one of his daughters to one of

1. Nūr Bakhshīya sect was founded by Sayyid Muḥammad Nūr Bkhsh son of Muḥammad son of 'Abdallāh. The father of Nūr Bakhsh migrated from his birth place Qatīf to Qā'in in Quhistān (Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 352) where Nūr Bakhsh was born in A.H. 795, A.D. 1392. He first learnt the Qur'ān by heart and after that studied the different branches of Arabic learning and became a profound scholar of his days. He became a disciple of Khāja Isḥāq Khuṭalani (see Rieu *Cat. Br. Mus.* Vol. II, p. 650b) who in obedience to a dream gave his pupil the surname of Nūr Bakhsh (the light-giver). He declared himself Mahdī and gained numerous adherents. In A.H. 826, A.D. 1423 he raised the standard of revolt in a fortress called Kūh Tīfī in the province of Khuṭṭalān, west of Badakhshān. The governor of the province, Bāyazīd, acted promptly and sent him along with a band of his leading supporters as prisoners to Sulṭān Shāhrukh (A.H. 807-850) at Hirāt. All the prisoners were put to death, but Sayyid Muḥammad's life was spared and he was imprisoned in the fort of Ikhtiyār ad-Dīn, situated to the North of the city of Hirāt and thence in Shīrāz where he was released by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān. After travelling through Baṣra, Hilla, Baghdād, Karbalā' and Najaf he went to Kurdistān, where he was again arrested under Shāhrukh's order and brought to Ādharbā'ījān. He made his escape and after much suffering reached Khal Khāl where he was recaptured and sent back to Shāhrukh, who made him mount the pulpit and abjure Mahdiship. In A.H. 848, A.D. 1444 he was released on condition that he would confine his activities to teaching; but, having been a suspect, he was sent to Tabrīz, thence to Shīrāz and then to Gīlān. After Shāhrukh's death he was set free, and took up his residence in the village of Sulṭān in the neighbourhood of Ray, where he died on Thursday the 15th Rabī' I. A.H. 869, 15th November 1464 at the age of 73.

The Nūr Bakhshīya doctrines, according to English translation of *Tārikh*

its members. But when he began to follow Shāh Ṭāhir, he became so disgusted with them that he drove them out of Aḥmadnagar.

During the period of Burhān's devoted attachment with Shāh Ṭāhir, Prince 'Abd al-Qādir, the youngest son of Burhān Shāh, was attacked with high fever. The king sent for Qāsim Beg and other famous physicians, Hindūs and Muhammadans both, and said to them, "My life depends upon his life. Cure him in any way possible. I am ready to sacrifice my life even, if it be required for his medicine."

The physicians tried their best, but could not cure the prince. Brahmins, mendicants and people of talismanic power were sent for and even offerings were made to deities. Alms were freely distributed and no stone was left unturned to save the prince, but all appeared to prove abortive.

Shāh Ṭāhir, who was always on the look-out of an opportunity for propagating his faith, took it for an opportune moment and went to Burhān Shāh. After a lengthy prologue, he came to the point and said that he had thought of a good plan for the treatment of the prince but could not dare to disclose it. Burhān Shāh urged him to speak out on the assurance that none in the kingdom would harm him. Shāh Ṭāhir said that he feared none except the king. At this Burhān Shāh became more inquisitive and entreated him to disclose the secret adding that for nothing on earth he could prove ungrateful to a person who would tell him the ways and means of saving his beloved son. Shāh Ṭāhir then asked the king to make a vow that he would give an enormous sum of money to the descendants of the "twelve Imāms" on the recovery of the prince 'Abd al-Qādir. Burhān Shāh said; "Who are these *twelve Imāms*? Perhaps I have heard their names in my childhood." (The mother of Burhān Shāh was a Shī'a). Shāh Ṭāhir recited the names and the praises of the *twelve Imāms*. Burhān Shāh said that since offering had been sent to the temple, there was no harm if

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Rashīdī by E. Denison Ross, (London 1895) p. 434, etc., were first introduced in India through Kashmīr in the reign of Fatḥ Shāh who was reigning in A.H. 894 (Haig, *JRAS.* for 1918, p. 451) by a man named Shams (ud-Dīn) who came to Kashmīr from Tālish in 'Irāq. He gave himself out as a follower of Sayyid Muḥammad and "introduced a corrupt form of a religion giving it the name of Nūr Bakhshī." Jarrett, in the translation of *Ā'īn*, Vol. II, p. 389 says "that Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn was a disciple of Shāh Qāsim Anwār and he promulgated the Nūrakhshī doctrines in the reign of Fatḥ Shāh." From Kashmīr the sect spread throughout India. *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, p. 211 says that Shāh Jalāl Shirāzī, a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Nūr Bakhsh, came from Mecca and settled in Delhī during the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar Lūdī (A.H. 894-923, A.D. 1488-1517). From Ethé, *India Office Cat.* Column 459 No. 1086 it appears that the poet Fikrī, who was related to the family of Nūr Bakhsh, came to the Deccan when Shāh Ṭahir was there. It is quite probable that the king gave his daughter in marriage to him.

Bibliography :—

Nūrallāh Shushtarī, *Majālis al-Mu'minīn* (Tehran, 1299) pp. 313-315; Ethé, *Cat. India office*, Nos. 1078-86; *Ency. of Islām*, Vol. III, p. 961, Prof. Muhammad Shafī's article on the Nūrbakhshī sect, published in the *Proceedings, Third Oriental Conference*, Madras 1924 pp. 683-705 and Titus's, *Indian Islām* p. 106.

alms were given in the names of the Imāms. After all they had been great personages in Islām. When Shāh Ṭāhir saw that he was successful so far, he told the king that it was not all he wanted to say. He had to say something more. He was willing to disclose everything if he got an assurance from the king that no harm would befall him, should his words incur the displeasure of His Majesty and if at all he was to be punished, he should be sent to Mecca with his family. The king promised and swore by the Holy Qur'ān that neither would he do him any harm nor would he allow any other person to do so. Shāh Ṭāhir praised the king much, made him puff up with prayers for his prosperity and for perpetuity of his kingdom and said, "This is the night of Friday. Make a vow that if God cures 'Abd al-Qādir for the sake of the Prophet and the twelve Imāms you would recite their names in sermons and would propagate their faith (i.e. Shī'aism)." The king despairing of his son's life, did not hesitate to accept Shāh Ṭāhir's advice and made a solemn vow to keep his promise. Shāh Ṭāhir then proceeded homewards while the king went to see his son. When the king saw the prince restless, he was filled with despair and thought that the latter would die in a few hours. So he ordered the quilt to be taken off so that the prince might take rest and breathe his last with peace and comfort. Thereafter the king laid himself besides his ailing son and fell asleep.

The author of *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* writes that the king saw in a dream a very august and pious personage with six more on each side. He approached and accosted them. A certain person said that the central figure was the Prophet and the others were twelve Imāms. Then the Prophet himself spoke and said that God had cured 'Abd al-Qādir for the sake of 'Alī and his descendants and enjoined upon Burhān Shāh to follow the advice of his descendant Ṭāhir. The king, thereupon, awoke from his dream and saw 'Abd al-Qādir covered up with the quilt. "Who has covered the prince with the quilt?" enquired the king of the queen and the attendants. They said that they had not covered the prince with the quilt but had seen the quilt coming up by itself and covering the prince. They had become so very terrified at the sight of this occurrence that they remained dumb-founded. The king then felt the body of the prince, and found that fever had left and that he was sleeping peacefully. He was now convinced that it was the result of his vow that the life of his son had been saved and ordered that Shāh Ṭāhir should be summoned immediately.

Shāh Ṭāhir prayed the whole night for the recovery of the prince, for he knew that if the prince was not cured his fate was doomed. When he heard the rap at the door he thought the prince must have died and he was being called for punishment. He, therefore, wanted to make good his escape but found himself faced with seven or eight men coming one after another with the message to present himself before the king immediately. Having no other alternative he calmly resigned himself to his fate and bidding farewell to his family went to Burhān Shāh escorted by the messengers. At the gate he saw the king who welcomed him and brought him to 'Abd al-Qādir with his

hand interwoven into his own. At the request of Shāh Ṭāhir, the king related to him the incident of the night and then expressed a desire to accept the creed of the *Ithnā Asharīya*, in order to fulfil the vow he had made. Shāh Ṭāhir converted him to Shī'aism and taught him the doctrines thereof which consist of love for the Prophet, his family and the *twelve Imāms*; and hatred for their enemies. With Burhān Shāh, his son, his wife and all the rest of the royal family became Shī'as.[1] This came about in 944 A.H., A.D. 1537.

V.

Shī'aism declared as the State Religion.

According to the doctrines of Shī'aism Burhān Shāh wanted to exclude the names of the three early orthodox Caliphs from the sermon. But Shāh Ṭāhir advised him not to take such a hasty step. He counselled the king to invite the scholars of all the four sects of the Sunnās i.e. the followers of Imām Abū Ḥanīfa, Imām Mālik, Imām Shāfi'ī and Imām Aḥamad bin Ḥanbal to an assembly and to hold religious discourses in order to establish the true creed. This seemed to be more expedient. So Burhān Shāh convened an assembly in which he invited all the scholars of the four Sunnī sects in Aḥmadnagar including Mullā Pīr Muḥammad, Afḍal Khān and Mullā Dā'ūd of Delhī and others. Discussions were held in the sermon-room in the fort. The scholars of each sect tried their level best to prove the supremacy of their faith over those of the others. Burhān Shāh often attended these meetings but being unlettered, lacked the intellect to appreciate the different view-points or to ascertain the soundness or otherwise of the contending views.

At last after six months he addressed Shāh Ṭāhir saying that none could convince him of the truth of his creed. Therefore Shāh Ṭāhir should take the trouble of naming one so that he might follow it after proper examination. Shāh Ṭāhir, thereupon, recommended the faith of the *Ithnā Asharīya* for his consideration. Burhān Shāh accepted the suggestion and a Shī'a scholar named Shaikh Aḥmad Najafī was searched out after much difficulty to argue with the Sunnīs. At the end of the discussions Shāh Ṭāhir seconded Shaikh Aḥmad and declared him to be right. It was now that the Sunnīs came to know that Shāh Ṭāhir was a Shī'a. Before this they had taken him for a Sunnī, because for all these sixteen years, he had posed himself as such. Shāh Ṭāhir now opened a discussion against Abū Bakr the first Caliph and also brought the points of "Qirṭā"[2] and "Garden of Fidak."[3] His eloquence

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1. Firishta Vol. II. p. 225 remarks that the dream of Burhān Shāh was absurd, and holds that the Shī'as have concocted this story in order to give currency to their doctrines. In *ar-Rawḍ al-Mamṭūr fi Tarājim 'Ulamā' Shaykh as-Ṣadūr* by Dhū'l Faqār Aḥmad, printed at Akbarābād A.H. 1307 pp. 206-210 explanations regarding this dream by Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz ad-Dihlawī, Mawlānā 'Abd al-Qādir and Mawlānā Rafī'ad-Dīn are given.

2. *Qirṭās* means paper. When the prophet was on his death-bed he asked for paper, pen and ink to write something. But seeing him in great trouble Abū

stood him on irrefutable ground and the Sunnī scholars were too ill-equipped to be a match for him.

When Burhān Shāh saw that no one could cope with Shāh Ṭāhir he related the facts concerning the illness of 'Abd al-Qādir and his dream before the Assembly; and declared himself publicly to be a Shī'a. Many other Shī'as who could not expose themselves, now declared their faith openly. A number of the Sunnīs also followed the court-religion and about three thousand men adopted the doctrine of the Shī'as on that very day. The sermon of the faith now read excluded the names of the first three Caliphs. The white standard given by Sulṭān Bahādur Shāh was rejected and henceforth the green flag continued to be the Royal insignia.

VI.

SUNNĪ RISE UNDER MULLĀ PĪR MUḤAMMAD.

Mullā Pīr Muhammad and others, sore at the unexpected turn that the assembly took walked away to their houses. A raging confusion came a-foot in the land. All the nobles assembled in the house of Mullā Pīr Muḥammad. They took the Mullā to task for having by his intercession introduced into court Shāh Ṭāhir who had ultimately misled the king and proposed for the assassination of Shāh Ṭāhir as an antidote against further spread of the new faith. But Mullā Pīr Muḥammad threw out the proposal as inexpedient and impossible of execution during the regime of Burhān Shāh and suggested installation of Prince 'Abdul al-Qādir on the throne on deposition of the reigning ruler, adding that this in itself would bring about the change they all desired. This met with the approval of the assembly and accordingly with a troop of infantry and cavalry, twelve thousand strong, they marched upto the gate of the fort near Kālā Chabūtara. The gates of the fort were shut under the order of the king. Shāh Ṭāhir had a cool mind. He knew full well that the rebels were not organised. They lacked unity and a good leader. He asked Burhān Shāh to ride before the rebels and said that the rising would subside by itself. The king acted upon his advice and with four hundred horsemen, one thousand infantry and five elephants, came out of the fort with the royal umbrella on his head. He sent proclaimers crying, "Those who are loyal to the king should come to him; and those who will disobey will be punished." At this all the nobles and soldiers deserted Mullā's camp, came over to Burhān Shāh and were pardoned. Mullā with a few men went to his house. Thus the rebellion was brought completely under control without a single drop of blood being shed. Mullā was arrested. The king

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Bakar the first orthodox Caliph forbade the bringing of paper and pen. The Shī'as say that the prophet wanted paper to write a will about the Caliphate of 'Alī which Abū Bakr purposely stopped.

3. *Fidak* was a garden of the Prophet. After his death his daughter Fāṭima claimed it as her inheritance. But it was denied to her by the first Caliph, Abū Bakr, on the strength of a tradition that the Prophets have nothing as their personal property and their true inheritors are their followers.

sentenced him to death. But Shāh Ṭāhir, for his past kindness, interceded and the capital sentence was reduced to one of imprisonment. After four years on the recommendation of Shāh Ṭāhir, the Mullā was released and restored to his former position.

VII.

Shī'ās Swarm in Aḥmadnagar.

After embracing Shī'aism Burhān Shāh began to evince much bigotry as well as a strong bias against the Sunnīs. He built a mosque where he had seen the dream and named it Baghdād. He stopped the pensions of the Sunnīs and granted them to the Shī'as. He built an alms-house before the fort of Aḥmadnagar and called it *Langar-i-Duwāzada Imām*, i.e. the Alms-House of the twelve Imāms. He endowed Jaunpur, Sanaur, Asyāpūr and some more villages for meeting the expenditure of this alms-house where food used to be distributed daily to the poor. Shāh Ṭāhir began to gather the Shī'as from all quarters. He sent money from the royal treasury to 'Irāq, Persia, Gujarāt and Āgra and invited the eminent scholars of his new faith. Ismā'īl Ṣafavī, Ḳhāja Mu'īn Sā'idī, Shāh Ḥusain Anjū, Shāh Ja'far, the brother of Shāh Ṭāhir, Mullā Shāh Muḥammad of Nīshāpūrī, Mullā 'Alī Gul of Astrābād, Mullā Rustam of Jurjān, Mullā 'Alī of Māzindarān, Ayyūb Abu'l Barakah, Mullā 'Azīzullāh of Gilān, Mullā Muḥammad Imāmī of Astrābād and many other scholars assembled in the court of Burhān Shāh. He married one of his daughters to Sayyid Ḥasan Madanī who was a Shī'a and came from Madīna. A considerable sum of money was sent to Karbalā' and Najaf. The pilgrims to the Shrines of the Imāms were granted money. In short, in those days Aḥmadnagar was second only to Irān in the propagation of the Shī'a faith. The Shī'ās began to curse and abuse the three early Caliphs openly in the streets. The neighbouring monarchs inflamed at this state of affairs at Aḥmadnagar, planned to unite themselves against Burhān Shāh and consequently Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Gujarāt, Mīrān Mubārak Shāh Fārūqī of Khāndīsh, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpūr and Daryā 'Imād al-Mulk of Birār made arrangements to attack Burhān Shāh and divide his kingdom among themselves. When Burhān Shāh saw that the neighbouring chiefs had risen against him he sent Rāstī Ḳhān on embassy to Emperor Humāyūn to ask for help. But, as Sher Shāh, the Afghān, had revolted against the Emperor, the ambassador could not succeed in getting his help. After that Burhān Shāh, on the advice of Shāh Ṭāhir, sent ambassadors to Mīrān Mubārak Shāh, ruler of Khāndīsh and Maḥmūd Shāh of Gujarāt with numerous presents. Burhān Shāh's messengers had no difficulty in winning them over to their side and they readily agreed to help Burhān Shāh. The four-power alliance, mentioned above, against Burhān Shāh thus came to be frustrated. Burhān Shāh now, in revenge, gathered together a large army and launched an attack on Bījāpūr against Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I (A.H. 941-965, A.D. 1535-1557). He inflicted a crushing defeat on him and captured a hundred ele-

phants, artilleries and a large booty. This victory over Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh not only consolidated his position but also made him famous but the laurels of the victory must go to Shāh Ṭāhir who, apart from being a great scholar, played an important role as a politician and statesman. His tact, skill and eloquence and his foresight rendered, at times, immence services to Burhān Niẓām Shāh who reposed great confidence in him and acted on his advice. The alliance with the neighbouring states and Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia, the consolidation and extension of his kingdom were in the main, due to the statesmanship of Shāh Ṭāhir.

Though the cause of Shī'aism was matured in the Deccan before Shāh Ṭāhir's arrival, as stated before, yet truly speaking the propagation of Shī'aism in the Deccan and in other parts of India was mainly due to his efforts. Besides being an eminent scholar, prose writer and politician, Shāh Ṭāhir was also a poet of a very high order.

According to some Shāh Ṭāhir died in A.H. 952 (A.D. 1545) but according to *Burhān-i-Ma'āṯhir*, p. 3. (Translated by HAIG, the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, January 1921) he died in A.H. 953, A.D. 1546. Some of the learned men of the age composed a Qaṣīdah on his death, one couplet of which contained four Chronograms. The couplet was as follows :—

۹۵۳	۹۵۳	۹۵۳	۹۵۳
مانع اشرار ملك	واقف آثار دین	کاشف اسرار ملك	عارف اسرار علم

"One conversant with the mysteries of learning and proficient in the art of government, well-versed in the ceremonials of religion and a restrainer of the wicked in the kingdom." Further HAIG remarks that "Firishta (Vol. II, p. 229) places the death of Shāh Ṭāhir in A.H. 956, A.D. 1549, but he appears to be wrong, for each of the four Chronograms here, given, gives the death 953." In my opinion the date given by Firishta seems to be correct, as he is the author of *Fatḥ Nāma* which was composed in A.H. 955, A.D. 1548. See *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IV, Letters, 1938. He was buried in Aḥmadnagar but soon after, his dead body was removed to Karbalā and interned there. Four sons and three daughters survived him. The sons were Shāh Ḥaider, Shāh Rafī'ad-Dīn Ḥusain, Shāh Abu'l Ḥasan and Shāh Abū Ṭālib. Shāh Ḥaider was born in Persia and was at the time of the death of his father in the service of Shāh Tahmāsp in Persia. His father on his death-bed declared him as his successor and when he came to Aḥmadnagar during the reign of Ḥusain Niẓām Shāh (A.H. 961-972, A.D. 1553-1565) A.H. 964, A.D. 1556 he was appointed a courtier and was granted the *jāgīrs* of Dandārājpūrī and other states which his father possessed.[1]

Shāh Ṭāhir, according to Firishta, Vol. II. pp. 230,—is the author of the following books :—

1. For detailed accounts of Shāh Ḥaider, see HAIG, Translation, *The Indian Antiquary* Vol. LI, 1922, pp. 34 & 35.

A. Arabic Works.

(1) *Sharḥ al-Bāb al-Ḥādī ʿ Ashar.*

It is a commentary on Ḥasan bin Yūsuf al-Ḥillī's (d. A.H. 726, A.D. 1325) work on the Principles of religion.

(2) *Sharḥ al-Faʾjarīya.*

A commentary on ʿAlī bin ʿAbd al-ʿĀlī al-Karkī's (d. A.H. 945, A.D. 1538) work on prayer according to the Imāmīya School.

(3) *Ḥāshiya ʿalā Anwār at-Tanzīl.*

A super-commentary to al-Baiḍavī's famous commentary of the Qur'ān.

(4) *Ḥāshiya ʿAlā Shrḥ al-Ishārāt.*

A Super-commentary on the commentary of Naṣīr ad-Dīn at Ṭūsī (d. A.H. 672, A.D. 1273) upon the *Ishārāt*, a philosophical work by Ibn Sīnā (d. A.H. 428, A.D. 1036).

(5) *Al-Ḥāshiya ʿAla'l Muḥākamāt.*

A gloss on the *Muḥākamāt*. The latter work is by Quṭb ad-Dīn ash-Shīrāzī (d. A.H. 710, A.D. 1310) and deals at length with the controversies between aṭ-Ṭūsī and ar-Rāzī expressing his own opinions on the points raised in the two commentaries on the *Ishārāt* of Ibn Sīnā.

(6) *Al-Ḥāshiya ʿAla'l Majisṭi.*

A gloss on the commentary of Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī upon the *Kitāb al-Majisṭi*, a compendium of Astronomical system of Ptolemy.

(7) *Ḥāshiyat ash-Shifā.*

A gloss on the fourth and last part of the famous philosophical encyclopaedia by Ibn Sīnā (d. A.H. 428, A.D. 1036). The work, *ash-Shifā*, is divided into four parts : (*i*) Logic, (*ii*) Physics, (*iii*) Mathematics and Astronomy and (*iv*) Metaphysics. The fourth part of the work on Metaphysics is known as *Ilāhiyāt ash-Shifā* and is treated as an independent composition on the subject. A number of scholars composed glosses and annotations on it. Ṣadr ad-Dīn ash-Shīrāzī's (d. A.H. 1050, A.D. 1640) Gloss on this part is much appreciated and is remarkable for the critical acumen shown in it.

(8) *Ḥāshiyat al-Muṭawwal.*

A super-commentary on at-Taftāzānī's (d. A.H. 792, A.D. 1390) larger and earlier commentary called *al-Muṭawwal* on al-Qazvīnī's treatise on rhetoric called *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ*.

B. Persian Works.

(1) *Sharḥ Gulshan-i-Rāz.*

A commentary on Maḥmūd Shabistarī's (d. A.H. 720, A.D. 1320) famous sūfi poem known as *Gulshan-i-Rāz* or " the rose-bed of Mystery."

(2) *Sharḥ Tuḥfah-i-Shāhī.*

A super commentary on ' Alī al-Bakhshī's Persian commentary on Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī's (d. A.H. 672, A.D. 1273) book on scholastic theology called *Tajrīd al-Kalām*.

(3) *Risāla-i-Pālkī.*

A treatise written while he was travelling in a palankeen (a kind of litter).

(4) *Inshā'-i-Shāh Ṭāhir.*

A collection of letters written by Shāh Ṭāhir, partly in the name of Burhān Niẓām Shāh I and partly in his own. The first letter is addressed to Shāh Tahmāsp. The second letter is from Burhān Niẓām Shāh to Bābar. Extract of this letter is given by Firishta, (Bombay edition, Vol. II, p. 203). Further on are found letters written to Humāyūn; to Qāḍī Jahān, Minister of Shāh Tahmāsp; to Shaiḫh Ibrāhīm Mujtahid; to Quṭb al-Mulk; to Khudāwand Khān Vazīr of Bahādur Shāh, to Mīrza Shāh Ḥusain and to many other nobles and friends. See for their names *Bankipore Suppl. Cat. of the Persian Mss.* Vol. II, p. 96, No. 2121.

(5) *Fatḥ Nāma.*

An account of the conquest of Sholāpūr by Burhān Niẓām Shāh. See *Ibid.*, p. 94, No. 2119. Printed in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* of Bengal, Vol. IV, Letters, 1938. Besides the above-mentioned books the Majālis al-Mu'minīn, p. 344 names the following works of our learned author :—

(*i*) *Sharḥ at-Tahdhīb*, a commentary in Arabic language on the second part (treating on scholastic theology) of Sa'd ad-Dīn at-Taftāzānī's work *Tahdhīb al-Manṭiq wal Kalām.*

(*ii*) *Unmūdhaj al-'Ulūm*, a treatise in Arabic giving a specimen of different branches of Arabic learning.

(*iii*) *Risāla dar Aḥwal Ma'ād*, a treatise in Persian about the day of resurrection.

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THE PATMĀNAK-I KATAK-XʷATĀĪH

By

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In the *Pahlavi Texts contained in the Codex MK*, edited by the late Dastur Jāmāspji Minocherji JĀMĀSP-ĀSĀNĀ there occurs a remarkable piece dealing with the marriage contract among the ancient Iranians. In that volume this text occurs at pp. 141-143. In the Introductory remarks by Mr. Behramgore Tehmurasp ANKLESARIA this text has been translated (pp. 47-49).

This is more or less a legal document, couched in legal phraseology and full of the long-winded verbosity so dear to all legal minds. It seems to be the actual legal marriage settlement and thus it throws a considerable light on the legal status of the married woman in ancient Irān. I acknowledge gratefully the very substantial help I have derived from ANKLESARIA's translation. I have striven here to make the document clearer by indicating the various people meant. The text has the word *vahāmān* (Pāzand *falān*) occurring so very often as to be confusing; I have tried to make this clear. As far as possible I have adhered to the actual text as printed. The date given in the text is the year of the actual writing down of this piece in the manuscript. A few notes have been added where necessary.

The Solemn-Contract of Marriage.

In the Name of God.

1. In the month of Vohuman of the year six hundred and twenty and seven, as reckoned from the end of the year 20[1] of His Majesty Yazdakart, King of Kings, son of Satroiyār, grandson of His Majesty Aparwēz Xōsrōē,[2] King of Kings, son of Auharmazd, on the exalted and pure day of Daδu-pavan-Mitr, when the noblest among the good people had gathered together at the place of assembly, (at that time) a certain person named (Ardeshir Bahman),[3] son of (Bahman), who dwells in the town of (Hormuz) in the district of (Kirmān), took to wife, as a free-born person, a certain maiden

1. This is the so-called "Pārsī" era which is often found mentioned in old mss. It dates from the time when the Arab rule was officially established in Irān, as marked by the first Khalīfa coinage. The Zoroastrians, naturally, refused to recognise the new power and so (as there was no Sāsānian King on the throne) they began to reckon the "Pārsī" era. It begins, therefore, from the year A.D. 631 plus 20, i.e., A.D. 651.

2. Khusrav II, surnamed Parvīz (A.D. 590-628), son of Hormuzd IV (579-590).

3. The proper names enclosed in brackets are imaginary names. I have inserted these to make matters clear; the original text has all through the word *vahāmān* (such-and-such) which leads to considerable confusion.

named (Khurshēt Kaikobād), a free-born maiden likewise, who dwells in the district of (Yezd).

2. Thus she has come under the *potestas*[1] of (Ardeshīr's) father as soon as she is by him admitted to wifehood and daughterhood for the continuance of the lineage and with unanimous consent of the family ;[2] and she has not come under that of any other.

3. Thus (Ardeshīr) of his own freewill and as a gift from (Khurshēt's father, and to the satisfaction and with full[3] consent of the said (Khurshēt) accepted as a pious-gift the said (Khurshēt) as his free-born[4] wife.

4. And (Kaikobād), the father of the said (Khurshēt), has given away as a pious-gift the said (Khurshēt) to (Ardeshīr) to be his free-born wife with the triple word.[5]

5. And the said (Khurshēt) accepted him whole-heartedly[6] as if she had likewise promised this,—" To the end of life never will I depart from my wifely duties and the practice of love and obedience and devotion to the said (Ardeshīr) as laid down by the rules of Aryan[7] conduct and of the Good Religion.[8]

6. And (Ardeshīr) promised likewise :—" To the end of life will I regard her as beloved wife and as mistress of my home, and with food and clothing will I provide her and clothe her to the limit of my ability and as circumstances permit ; I will maintain her with due respect under my protecting care as husband ; and the children who will be born of her I will regard as my own free-born progeny."[9]

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1. The original word is *xardārih*, lordship, and it is here used in the technical legal sense of *potestas*.

2. These phrases "for the continuance of the lineage" and "with unanimous consent of the family" are also used in the Pāzand *Āfrīnāk* (Marriage Service) of the Parsis. The words "when the noblest among the good people had gathered together at the place of assembly" (in para 1) are also found at the beginning of the Pāzand *Āfrīnād*.

3. Literally, "mutual consent"—*hamō-dānāk* : the word is the same as the Avesta word *daēnā*, which in several passages (such as Yasna xxvi. 4) represents the seat of feelings and emotions. Hence I have translated rather freely "full consent", implying free-will.

4. This is the *paēshāk-zan*, i.e., a maiden not born in slavery, with whom the marriage has to be performed in accord with strict legal and religious forms.

5. This refers to the triple commandment—*humata, hū* χ *ta, hvaršta*—of Zoroastrian faith. The father consents to the marriage "by thought, word and deed". It may be noted here that in the actual marriage ceremony to-day the marriage contract and the "responses" thereto by all parties (the bridegroom, the bride, and two witnesses) have to be repeated thrice.

6. Literally, "consented completely".

7. The original word is *airih* and means literally "Aryan-dom"; see WEST, *Glossary to Ardā-Virāf*, p. 68.

8. The true faith taught by Zarathushtra.

9. [This is a fairly long and a very complex paragraph. It refers first of all to the gift in cash and jewels made "as a mark of affection" at the time of the wedding

7. And besides, this property has been settled upon her in this manner :—The said (Ardeshīr) upon winning her made over to the said (Khurshēt) its ownership. And after he had done that the said (Ardeshīr Bahman) considered it proper and did bestow upon the said (Khurshēt Kaikobād) by solemn pledge[2] as a mark of his affection[3] three thousand *zūzins* of silver current in the realm.[3] Also he considered it proper to endow her with jewels worth three thousand *ūzins* of silver current in the realm.

[Further the said (Ardeshīr Bahman) made the following settlement upon his wife the said (Khurshēt Kaikobād)][4] :—" Out of the total aggregate property which has come into my possession and ownership, regarding which I have authority in me vested for giving it away, and that likewise which may hereafter come into my possession and ownership, regarding which also I may have the authority of giving away—of all this property out of two parts one undivided part do I give to (Khurshēt Kaikobād), and I have constituted the said (Khurshēt Kaikobād) rightful owner over the said property in such a manner that whenever (Khurshēt) or any other administrator[5] for (Khurshēt) shall make a claim for it I will deliver it to that person without reservation, and I will practise therein neither evasion nor equivocation".[6]

8. And the said (Khurshēt Kaikobād) accepted this document[7] about the property together with the jewels worth those three thousand *zūzins*, and was agreeable regarding this.

9. And the said (Khurshēt Kaikobād's) father has become adminis-

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ceremony. The woman becomes absolute owner of it. This gift seems to be partly in cash and partly in jewellery. Besides this marriage *gift* (given out of the bridegroom's affection and goodwill) there seems to have been another marriage settlement which had to be made legally. By this half the property the man possessed at the time of the marriage and also half of all that he might earn thereafter had to be settled upon the bride as hers by right of marriage. This was also to be in full ownership.]

1. This refers to the *patmān* or the solemn marriage contract.

2. The word used, *dōšet*, means literally " treats with favour ".

3. The *Āšīrvād* in Pāzand mentions in this connection " two thousand *dirhems* of bright white silver and two *dinārs* of red gold from (the Mint at) Nishāpūr." Jewellery is also mentioned there. I think personally that the sum mentioned (3000 *zūzins*) was not necessary in every case. The main idea seems to be a certain sum in cash and jewellery to a like amount.

4. The words in square brackets have been inserted by me to make the passage clearer.

5. The word is *dātak*, literally " representative at law ". The girl would need someone to look after her affairs, and para 9 mentions her father as her representative in this matter.

6. The word is *ristārīh*, literally " extent " or " long-windedness ", so common when one wants to get out of an agreement. Hence I have rendered it as " equivocation ".

7. I have translated the phrase here as " document about the property ", on the strength of a word *madīt* (a Semitic word) mentioned in HAUG and HOSHANGJI'S *Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary*, p. 150.

trator for her; and the said (Khurshēt Kaikobād) has accepted this settlement and has not disputed for more.

10. And as regards the above matter as also others usually found in the solemn contract of marriage, I, (Peshotan Shāhpūr),[1] have arrived here, as was my duty, to ask, to inquire and to investigate.

11. This, then, is the mutual agreement (Peshtan Shāhpūr) has attested in the presence of (Rustam Sohrāb) and (Tehmuraap Vīstasp). Such is this dowry[2] settled by the attestation and the declaration of mutual agreement between the said (Ardeshīr Bahman) and (Kaikobād), who on behalf of the said (Khurshēt)—being the father of the said (Khurshēt Kaikobād)—has acted as surety for (Khurshēt Kaikobad).

In the presence of the said (Peshtan Shāhpūr) and (Rustam Sohrāb) and (Tehmuraap Vīstasp).

Completed.

1. This is probably the notary who made out this document. The only clue to this explanation is the first person singular in the words "I have arrived".

2. This is a difficult word. As given in the text it reads *dez* or *diz*; but a variant reading *dez* is mentioned. I have ventured to correct it to *dakēz* which means "dowry" and thus suits the context admirably. The Modern Irānī word for "dowry" is *jakēz* which may very well be a misreading of the original Pahlavi word. In Urdu, too, we have the word *dakēz*, which also means the same thing.

THE HERO

By

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Conquest of fear, unruffled calm in the presence of the greatest danger, these have been considered the characteristics of the hero whether in the East or in the West. Primarily these virtues may have been exhibited on the battle-field ; *dhīra* has also been the *dhanurdhara*.[1] But at no very late stage the victories of peace were accorded equal if not greater merit. And to-day except when shaken by spasms of war-mentality we esteem the intellectual or moral heroes who have the courage of their convictions, at least as much as the soldier or martyr who gladly lays down his life for country or cause. The giving up of one's life still continues to appear as the ultimate sacrifice ; but it no longer dominates our minds as of old. The giving up of a cherished belief, the conquest of a devouring passion, the abandonment of an alluring romance, these are appreciated by us as no less heroic. We have come to realise that it is far harder to live than to die well. The former calls for wisdom ; the latter very often goes with rashness. And when we lightly extol the warrior and promise homes for heroes, we do not pause to distinguish wisdom from rashness or, what is worse, a mournful indifference. A legitimate assessment of heroism will lay stress on the aspect of wisdom, i.e., that perfection of personality which alone makes possible the distinction of the true from the false, of value from dis-value, and then leads to such action or expression as is consistent with perfection. The soldier who dies for his country is a hero ; but the conscientious objector who goes to prison is perhaps a greater hero ; he too has to suffer present pain, persecution and ignominy, for the sake of what he has deliberately concluded to be the higher interests of his country. While not scoffing at the simple soldier, he will himself follow a higher light with a courage and persistence that are not less praiseworthy. There can be and are grades of heroism ; and the assessment has to proceed on the degree of wisdom that impels the-would-be hero. The greater hero sees more, judges more accurately and respects more suitably than the lesser one.

The importance of wisdom in the constitution of the hero is evident from the repeated interpretation of *dhīra* as the wise one (*dhīmān*), who can discriminate the good from the pleasant, the fruitful from the unfruitful, as the swan is reputed to separate milk from water.[2] Such a wise one, like Naciketas, has also the courage (*dhṛti, dhairya*) to put behind him all the pleasures of the world as not worth while.[3] If the simple round of duties (like offering sacrifices

1. *Rāmapūrvatāpinyupaniṣad*, IV, 7.
2. Śaṅkara on *Kaṭha*, II, 2.
3. *Ibid.*, II, 11.

to gods or sacrificing oneself for the country, etc.) and pleasures has failed to satisfy as supremely worth while, where then does the *dhīra* seek value? He turns within and reflects on the resplendent self. The lower values are uncertain; they please, but they also pain. They exalt us at certain moments, but they also degrade us at others. Two decades of peace have not yet found the homes for the war-heroes. Even heavenly enjoyments achieved through sacrifice are short-lived; when they are consumed, we fall back into depression and despair. Hence abandoning these which are attendants on the self, the hero contemplates the self itself as the resplendent one incapable of exaltation or degradation; through such reflection he attains that unruffled state where he neither grieves nor rejoices.[1] If the worldly sense of heroism is transcended and worldly joys are abandoned, it is only to conserve better the central core of heroism even in the worldly sense. So long as one is an automaton, there is no question of heroism or any other virtue. But even one who attempts to judge for himself is primarily an extrovert. He allows himself to be influenced by external considerations, material gain and loss or social praise and blame. Even where duty is stuck to in scorn of consequence, the conception of the duty is as of something relatively alien to oneself, something whose appeal may fail to-morrow or the next day, with achievement or even without it. For the extrovert there can be no fixity, no unruffled calm; hence the need for introverted contemplation (adhyātmayoga).

The dhīra who is an introvert also faces death, like the extrovert hero. The latter hopes to attain immortal renown; the former achieves immortality. For, through this path of contemplating the self, one realises; "realisation is that attainment which, as knowledge ripens, culminates in ultimate results, as eating culminates in satiety."[2] By the path the wise ones (*dhīrāḥ*), men of illumination, attain liberation "being released, even while living." Death has no terrors for the hero in the battle-field; for the hero who is a sage there is no death at all. Having realised himself as the sole reality, the supreme Brahman, death for him is not. Both face death; but while one defies, the other has subjugated. Thus here too we have a point of contact with the lower notion of heroism, a notion whose core is preserved even when it is transcended.

The hero is single-minded; he wastes neither words nor effort. He does not tolerate argumentation or vain repetition. To the extent that he is wise he conserves his energy and spends it with the greatest economy and effect in his one quest. In this respect too soldier and saint are alike. The intelligent aspirant after Brahman (*dhīraḥ, brāhmaṇaḥ*) should concentrate on attaining Brahman-intuition; "he should not meditate on many words, for that is a weariness of speech."[3]

The soldier-hero is not always a dead hero. He may win through as often as he fails. It is the defiance of death that is his characteristic, not

1. *Kaṭha*, II, 12; cp. *Bhagavad Gītā*, II, 15; XIV, 24.
2. Śaṅkara on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, IV, iv, 8.
3. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, IV, iv, 21.

his succumbing to death. So too the saint who is a *dhīra* does not have to succumb to death. He *is* immortal; he is not to *become* immortal after death. The latter possibility indeed is inconsistent with the negation of death for the wise ones. Hence it is they are spoken of as released "even while living." Some texts no doubt speak of departing from this world;[1] but this departure, as the commentator shows, consists in nothing more than turning "away in disgust from this world, the creature of ignorance, consisting in the false notion of 'I' and 'mine'."[2] The view that the wise ones become Brahman itself cannot consistently be held with a requisition that they should submit to death. When the philosophic quest is due to the attempt to escape deprivation, loss and grief, all of which are compendiously denoted by 'death,' it is idle to promise success for that quest after death is submitted to. Both soldier and saint defy death, the former because he cares not if his body perishes, the latter because he knows that nothing real perishes.[3]

The essential characteristics of heroism would thus appear to be the same whether in the extrovert or the introvert. Their modes of expression are bound to differ as well as the scope of their application. The soldier-hero belongs to a country or a nationality while the saint belongs to all humanity. Achievement in either case calls for courage and steadfastness, the wisdom to discriminate the worth while, the firmness to eschew the worthless, and above all fearlessness. The entire absence of fear can result in the last resort only from the realisation that there is nothing to fear, since there is no 'other' to cause fear.[4] Such realisation is possible for the saint alone, who is thus not a person fearfully fleeing from the world, but one who has joyously conquered the world, having realised its inability to cause him joy or grief. The saint is the super-soldier, in sooth "a verray parfit gentil knight."

1. *Pretyāsmāl lokād amṛtā bhavanti—Kena*, II, 13.
2. Śaṅkara's Commentary on the above.
3. Cp. *Bhagavad Gītā*, II, 13: *dhīras tatra na muhyati.*
4. *Dvitīyād vai bhayam bhavati: Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, I, iv, 2.

BENGAL AND THE RAJPUTS IN THE EARLY MEDIÆVAL PERIOD

By

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Mahārājādhirāja Gopacandra and some other Bengal kings of the sixth century A.D. were very powerful monarchs ruling over extensive territories. Their political relations with other parts of India are however as yet unknown. Bengal appears to have been a prominent factor in Indian politics under Śaśāṅka in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. Śaśāṅka had his capital at Karṇasuvarṇa, near modern Murshidābād, and his kingdom comprised large portions of Bengal and Orissa. He formed an alliance with the later Guptas of Malwa against the Maukharis of Madhyadeśa. The signal success of this alliance was responsible for a counter-alliance between king Harṣavardhana (606-647 A.D.) of Thanesar, a relative and friend of the Maukharis, and king Bhāskarvarman of Kāmarūpa. Whatever be the value of the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* tradition regarding Śaśāṅka's defeat by Harṣa in a battle near Puṇḍravardhana (modern Mahāsthān in Bogra Dist.), the success of the counter-alliance is proved by epigraphic evidence. The Nidhanpur grant of Bhāskarvarman was issued from Karṇasuvarṇa itself. In the period between the death of Śaśāṅka about the end of the first quarter of the seventh century and the rise of the Pālas about the middle of the eighth century A.D. the history of Bengal is obscure. Some scholars think that the country was divided into several small principalities; that the military prestige of the disunited Bengalis sank low; and that powerful kings from other parts of India became encouraged to lead expeditions against the unfortunate land. This however seems to be an exaggerated account of the conditions of Bengal during the period of about 125 years that intervened between Śaśāṅka and the Pālas. There are reasons to believe that the period of *mātsya-nyāya* referred to in the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla and in Tāranātha's work as prevailing in Bengal before the accession of Gopāla, lasted for a few years only. According to Vākpatirāja's *Gauḍa-vaho*, king Yaśovarman of Kanauj who is known to have sent an embassy to the Chinese court in 731 A.D., met the king of Gauḍa, sometimes also called the lord of Magadha, not far from the Vindhyan region, and defeated him. He is also said to have persued and killed him, and afterwards compelled the king of Vaṅga to acknowledge his suzerainty. This shows that in the early half of the eighth century Gauḍa and Magadha were under the rule of one king, and that kings of Gauḍa-Magadha sometimes went on *digvijaya*. Whatever be the historical value of the traditions regarding the relation with Bengal of Lalitāditya and Vinayāditya of Kashmir as recorded in Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarangiṇī*, Kalhaṇa seems to support the above fact when he says that

Puṇḍravardhana was a dependency of the Gauḍa kingdom. The ruler of Vaṅga at the time of Yaśovarman may have been a later Khaḍga prince, dependent on the king of Gauḍa-Magadha. The claims of Lalitāditya and Vinayāditya, and of the Kāmarūpa king Haṛṣa or Harṣa (first half of eighth century) who is called lord of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kaliṅga, Kośala and other lands, are too vague to attach any special importance to. The Śaila prince Śrīvardhana who was a Vindhyeśvara, according to the Raghoḷi grant of his brother's grandson, conquered the country of Puṇḍra after destroying its ruler. Palæography seems to show that he was a contemporary of Yaśovarman. It is not impossible that he was a feudatory of the Kanauj king and came to northern Bengal with the latter's army. The ruler of Puṇḍra may have been a feudatory of the king of Gauḍa-Magadha killed by Yośovarman.

About the middle of the eighth century, Gopāla, son of a valiant warrior who killed many enemies and may have been a military officer of some king, was made king in order to end the *mātsya-nyāya* that was prevailing at that time. Evidently Gopāla thus received only a small principality; but thanks to the ability of himself and of his son Dharmapāla, the Pāla kingdom soon swallowed many of the states of Bengal and Bihar. The principality of which Gopāla was first made king is difficult to identify. Verse 2 of the Badal *praśasti* seems to show that Dharmapāla was originally a king of the eastern direction, but afterwards became king of all the directions. Verse 3 of the Munghyr grant of Devapāla may suggest that Gopāla's kingdom lay not far from the sea. The Sagartal inscription refers to the supporter of Cakrāyudha, who is no other than Dharmapāla, as Vaṅgapati. The Baroda grant of Karkarāja refers to victory over a Gauḍendra and a Vaṅgapati. The Chatsu record refers to the victory of a feudatory of Bhoja I over Gauḍa king named Bhaṭa who was evidently not a Pāla. These facts may possibly suggest that the Pālas rose to power in Vaṅga, and soon subjugated the neighbouring principalities including Gauḍa. But they removed their capital to that region after the extinction of the royal line represented by Bhaṭa. This seems to be the cause why after more than three centuries Varendrī was described as *janakabhū* of the later Pālas. Bengal became a prominent factor in all-India politics under Dharmapāla.

The so-called trilateral struggle amongst the Pālas of Bengal, the Pratihāras of Rajputana and Kanauj and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Dekkan is generally represented by scholars as one for the possession of Kanauj which is supposed to have acquired, even before the age of the Pratihāras, the political prestige of the capital of northern India comparable to that of Delhi in later times. The above hypothesis however does not appear to be an established fact. The Prathihāras and the Rāṣṭralkūṭas were inveterate enemies from about the beginning of their political existence. They had been fighting even when the former did not establish themselves at Kanauj. The Pālas and the Pratihāras appear to have drawn swords for two rival claimants for the throne of Kanauj, Indrāyudha and Cakrāyudha who might have been brothers. Some time before A.D. 783 Indrāyudha occupied the throne, and Cakrāyudha

possibly repaired to Dharmapāla's court for help. After some time, Dharmapāla defeated Indrarāja (Indrāyudha) and other enemies who must have been the Kanauj king's allies, and thus possessed the *śrī* (i.e. *rāja-lakṣmī*) of Mahodaya or Kanauj, which he however handed over to Cakrāyudha. It may be significant that Dharmapāla himself did not transfer his capital to Kanauj. It is also interesting that in this connection the ruler of Avanti, among others, is said to have readily accepted Cakrāyudha as the king of Kanauj. This seems to suggest that the king of Avanti was related to the Kanauj king either as a friend or as an enemy. If we believe the Jain *Harivaṃśa* tradition (supported by a verse of the Sanjan grant referring to the celebration of a Hiraṇyagarbha at Ujjayinī where Dhruva compelled the Gurjareśa and other kings to serve as *Pratihāras*) that in 783 A.D. Pratīhāra Vatsarāja was ruling the eastern country as *avantibhūbhṛt*, it may be suggested that the Pratihāras of Rajputana for a time ruled the Malwa region. The Wani grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas says that Vatsarāja possessed two white umbrellas belonging to Gauḍa, i.e., the Gauḍa king who at the time of Gopāla and Dharmapāla could have been no more than a subordinate ally of the Pālas. This grant also says that Vatsarāja was intoxicated owing to his easy possession of the *kamalā* (*rāja-lakṣmī*) of the Gauḍa kingdom. The Baroda grant of Karkarāja, dated A.D. 811 or 812, refers to the defeat of a *gauḍendra* and a *vaṅga-pati* by a *gurjareśvara* who may be Vatsarāja himself or his son Nāgabhaṭa II. These facts may possibly prove that Pratihāra Vatsarāja was a friend of Indrāyudha and fought against Dharmapāla as the Kanauj king's ally. It may further be conjectured that Indrāyudha had defeated his rival and occupied the throne of Kanauj with Vatsarāja's help.

Now, Vatsarāja was defeated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva Dhārāvarṣa who was living in 783 A.D. and is mentioned in the Jain *Harivaṃśa* as Śrīvallabha son of Kṛṣṇa. It is difficult to determine in the present state of our knowledge whether Dhruva, who claims to have defeated the Gauḍa king in the Ganges-Jumna Doab came to the Madhyadeśa as an ally of any of the rival claimants for the Kanauj throne, or as a friend of a third pretender still unknown. Dharmapāla's victory over Indrāyudha and the installation of Cakrāyudha on the throne of Kanauj appear to have taken place after the discomfiture of Vatsarāja, Indrāyudha's friend, at the hands of Dhruva. The table was however turned at the time of Vatsarāja's son and successor Nāgabhaṭa II. According to the Sagartal inscription, Nāgabhaṭa defeated Cakrāyudha whose lowly demeanour was shown by his dependence on others (or on the enemies of Nāgabhaṭa) and also the king of Vaṅga, who is evidently Dharmapāla, the supporter of Cakrāyudha. According to the evidence of the Radhanpur and Sanjan grants, Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III, son and successor of Dhruva, defeated the Gurjara king Nāgabhaṭa and possibly also the latter's father Vatsarāja. In connection with Govinda's *digvijaya*, he is said to have advanced as far as the Himalayas where Dharma (king Dharmapāla) and Cakrāyudha surrendered to him of their own accord. It is possible that after the defeat of their army at the hands of Nāgabhaṭa, Dharmapāla and Cakrā-

yudha tried to win over the help of the powerful Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of the Deccan. But whether Govind III helped them as an invcterate enemy of the Pratihāras and his activities against Nāgabhaṭa were independent of the struggle between the Pālas and the Pratihāras is not clear. Dharmapāla is however known to have married the daughter of a Raṣṭrakūṭa and he may have secured Govinda's help through his wife's relatives. Evidence of the Barah grant of Bhoja and of the *Prabhāvakacarita* which refers to the death of Nāgāvaloka (Nāgabhaṭa II), king of Kanyakubja, in Vikrama 890=A.D. 833 proves the Pratihāra occupation of Kanauj, which possibly occurred after the death of Govinda III. The line of Indrāyudha, friend of the Pratihāras, may have been extinct by this time. The cause of this removal of capital by the Pratihāras appears to have been constant Rāṣṭrakūṭa pressure from the south.

But the struggle between the Pālas and the Pratihāras continued. According to the Badal inscription, Devapāla, son and successor of Dharmapāla, reduced the conceit of the Draviḍa and Gurjara kings. It is difficult to determine Devapāla's relations with the king of Draviḍa, i.e., the Tamil country; but the Draviḍas cannot possibly be identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who were Karnāṭas. According to the Sirur and Nilgund records, Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govind III fettered the Gauḍas, and his son Amoghavarṣa I was worshipped by the rulers of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Magadha. Some scholars think that the expression *vaṅg-āṅga-magadha* refers to the kingdom of the Pālas; but it is also possible to suggest that it signifies the Pāla king and his *sāmantas* in Aṅga and Magadha. In such cases, it is sometimes even impossible to determine if some of the names in the list of humiliated countries are brought in for the sake of metre and rhetoric. There is also the possibility of error and on confusion on the part of the *praśastikāras*. The relation of the Pālas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas is represented as sometimes friendly and sometimes hostile, and the true position can hardly be determined in the present state of our knowledge. According to the evidence of Pratihāra records discovered in Bihar, the Pālas during possibly the later years of Devapāla lost much of Aṅga and Magadha to the Pratihāra king Bhoja, grandson of Nāgabhaṭa II, and to Mahendrapāla, son of Bhoja. The discovery of the Paharpur inscription shows that Mahendrapāla's dominions extended over large portions, if not the whole, of northern Bengal. Bhoja's success against Devapāla is possibly suggested by verse 18 of the Sagartal inscription which according to Dr. R. C. MAJUMDAR says that the *rāja-lakṣmī* of Dharma's *apatya* (i.e., Dharmapāla's son, Devapāla) was remarried to Bhoja Pratihāra. Bhoja's feudatory Kakka Pratihāra claims to have fought with the army of his overlord against the Gauḍas in a battle at Mudgagiri (Munghyr) which is known to have been a *jaya-skandhāvāra* of the Pālas. Guṇāmbhodhi or Guṇasāgara I belonging to the Gorakhpur branch of the Kalacuri family, was another feudatory of Bhoja. In the Kalha record, Guṇāmbhodhi is said to have stolen the fortune of the Gauḍas. Another feudatory of Bhoja appears to have been the Guhila prince Śaṅkaragaṇa. According to the Chatsu

inscription (BHANDARKAR's List, No. 1537), Śaṅkaragaṇa who received some territories from Bhojadeva defeated Bhaṭa king of Gauḍa (cf. *bhaṭaṃ jitvā gauḍa-kṣitīpaṃ*, v. 14), and his grandson Guhila vanquished the Gauḍa king. These princes appear to have been feudatories of Pratihāra Bhoja, while Bhaṭa was possibly a *sāmanta* of the Pāla kings.

The Kalacuris of Ḍāhala had intimate relations with the Pālas. King Kokkalla who ruled in the last quarter of the ninth and the first quarter of the tenth century is said to have defeated a king of Vaṅga. His son-in-law, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II (c. 877-913), has been represented as *gauḍāṃś vinaya-vrat-ārpaṇa-guru* and as worshipped by the rulers of Aṅga and Magadha. It is possible that the early Kalacuris of Ḍāhala were allies of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and that Kokkala actually fought against a Pāla king with the army of his son-in-law. It is interesting to note that Vigrahapāla I who succeeded Devapāla and possibly ruled in the third quarter of the ninth century married a Haihaya or Kalacuri princess. The princess may have been related to Kokkalla's family. At the time of Kṛṣṇa II Rāṣṭrakūṭa, however, Aṅga and Magadha were possibly ruled at least for some time by representatives of the Pratihāra kings of Kanauj. It may be noted in this connection that a Calukya feudatory of Indra III Rāṣṭrakūṭa (c. 913-22) claims to have defeated the Pratihāra king Mahīpāla, and to have pursued him to the place where the Ganges meets the sea. Aṅga and Magadha may have been recovered by the Pālas after this discomfiture of the Pratihāras. Kalacuri Yuvarāja I Keyūravarṣa, grandson of Kokkalla and father-in-law of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa III Vaddiga (c. 933-40), is said to have fulfilled the ardent desire of the minds of Gauḍa women. His son Lakṣmaṇarāja claims to have conquered a king of Vaṅgāla. Whether these two instances refer to a single expedition is not known. Contemporary Pāla kings appear to have been Rājyapāla (c. 911-35), Gopāla II (c. 935-92), Vigrahapāla II (c. 992) and Mahīpāla I (c. 992-1040). If traditions recorded by Abu'l Fazl Allami that the original name of Bengal was *Bang*, that its former rulers raised mounds measuring ten yards in height and twenty in breadth throughout the province which were called *Āl*, and that from this suffix the name *Bangāl* took its rise and currency are to be believed, Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla signified the same region (JARRET's tr. of *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, p. 120). The king of Vaṅgāla defeated by Lakṣmaṇarāja may have been an early Candra king of eastern Bengal. Early Candras were however probably subordinate to the Pālas.

It is interesting that Candella Yaśovarman also claims to have conquered Gauḍa sometime before 954 A.D. It is possible that in connection with the recovery of Aṅga and Magadha the Pāla king Rājyapāla or Gopāla II led expeditions to the west and had to fight with these western powers. It is also interesting that some Bengalis probably served the Candella kings. Jaddha who served Dhaṅga (c. 950-1000), and Jayapāla who was a *kāyastha* under Jayavaram (c. 1017) are called *gauḍa*, though, it must be noted, sometimes that word is found to be a Sanskritised form of *Goṇḍa*. The most significant fact regarding the settlement of Bengalis outside Bengal during the early

mediæval period however appears to be the establishment of a royal family from Bengal into South Kośala which was afterwards the seat of the Kalacuri Rajputs. According to the Jatesinga-Dungri inscription (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1556), king Mahāśivagupta I Yayātideva was lord of Trikaliṅga, which he acquired through the power of his arms. He is also called the full-moon in the sky of Vaṅga and is said to have seized Gauḍa and Rādha. Whatever be the value of these claims, the fact that his family has been called *vaṅgānvaya* has led BHANDARKAR to suggest that the family of the king came from Vaṅga or eastern Bengal. The king possibly reigned about the eighth century.

The Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Cola refers to Mahīpāla I as king of Uttara Rāḍha and to some other princes such as Raṇaśūra of Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha and Govindacandra of Vaṅgāladeśa who were possibly feudatories of Mahīpāla. The Baghaura inscription dated in the third year of Mahīpāla's reign proves that Samataṭa (modern Comilla region) to the east of Vaṅga formed a part of Mahīpāla's kingdom. The Śūras of South Rāḍha are known to have been feudatories of the later Pālas from the commentary of the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandī. During the reign of Mahīpāla, Tirabhukti or North Bihar was conquered by Gāṅgeyadeva, called *Gauḍadhvaja*, before 1019 A.D. He is generally identified with the Kalacuri king of the same name (c. 1030-41).

Mahīpāla was succeeded by Nayapāla in whose reign Kalacuri Karṇa (c. 1041-71), successor of Gāṅgeya, attacked the Pāla kingdom. The claims of Vigrahapāla to have defeated Karṇa appears to prove that he was the leader of his father's army against the Kalacuri king. Karṇa's attempts were unsuccessful. A *kapālasaṁdhi* (peace on equal terms) followed, and Karṇa's daughter Yauvanaśrī was married to Vigrahapāla. The Paikkore pillar of Karṇa is witness to the Kalacuri king's relation with Bengal. Karṇa's other daughter Vīraśrī was married to Jātavarman king of East Bengal. Jātavarman's claim that he conquered Aṅga possibly shows that he only helped his father-in-law against the Pālas. The Nagpur record of the Paramāras says that Karṇa allied himself with the Kamāṭas and conquered the earth. According to the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126), son of Someśvara Āhavamalla (1042-68) defeated Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa. It is not possible to determine if Karṇa and Vikramāditya allied themselves in their eastern expeditions.

The later Pālas appear to have had other enemies amongst the Rajputs. Though the claims of the *praśastikāras* are sometimes palpably absurd and sometimes appear only to be partially true, it may be unwise to pass over even such claims in silence. According to the Kiradu inscription, the Kiradu Paramāra Udayarāja, feudatory of Solaṅki Jayasimha Siddharāja (1094-1144) spread his might in Gauḍa. The *Sukṛtakīrtikallolinī* refers to Solaṅkī Kumārapāla's (1144-73) claims to have been attended by the lords of Vaṅga, Gauḍa and Aṅga. The earlier Solaṅkī king Bhīma I (c. 1022-64) claims to have received presents from the king of Puṇḍradeśa, who may have been governor of North Bengal under the Pāla king Mahīpāla I. Paramāra Bhoja (c. 1010-

55) according to Merutuṅga, ruled Dakṣiṇāpatha with Gauḍa. Paramāra Lakṣadeva (c. 1090) who was a contemporary of Rāmāpāla (c. 1084-1126) is said to have entered the city of the lord of Gauḍa. The historical value of these claims cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. But the relation of Bengal with the Paramāra Rajputs is illustrated by the life of the poet and religious teacher Madana who was a Gauḍa Brahmana and became *rāja-guru* i.e. preceptor of the Paramāra king Arjunavarman (1211-15). According to the Rahan grant of Gāhadavala Madanpāla (1100-14) prince Govindcandra vanquished the Gauḍa elephants.

During the early mediæval period when Bengal had to fight with many powers from different parts of India, a number of adventurers settled in Bengal. The Pālas themselves were possibly outsiders. Of other dynasties settled in Bengal during this period the most important are the Candras of Rohitāgiri, the Varmans of Siṃhapura and the Senas of Karṇāṭa. I do not mention the Kambojas who are supposed to have become *gauḍeśvara* for some time before Mahīpāla I, as I have elsewhere suggested that there was possibly no Kamboja occupation of Bengal. Local Bengali chiefs had to fight hard with the neo-Bengalis, and, as Prof. RAYCHAUDHURI suggests to me, the revolt of the Kaivarta leader Divya or Divvoka who snatched away Varendrī or North Bengal from Mahīpāla II may possibly be represented as a struggle of the natives of Bengal with warrior clans coming from other parts of India. Divya and his brother's son Bhīma who succeeded him are actually known to have fought with Jātavarman and Vijayasena and with the Pāla kings Mahīpāla II and Rāmapāla. The commentary of the *Rāmacarita* mentions no less than fourteen *sāmantas* who fought for Rāmapāla against the Kaivarta king Bhīma. It is not possible to determine how many of these feudatories belonged to outside families settled in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa; but the references to the help rendered by the king's *mātula* Mathana or Mahana, the latter's sons the *Mahāmāṇḍalikas* Kānhuradeva and Suvarṇadeva, and brother's son the Mahāpratīhāra Śivarājadeva, appear to show that the rebellion of Divya may have been the outcome of the unpolitically excessive favour shown to non-Bengali relatives of the king during the reign of the *aṭṭika-āraṃbha-rata* Mahīpāla II. And the case may not be quite different from that in England during the reign of Henry III (1210-72). Mathana was the governor of Aṅga and probably a field-marshal in the Pāla army. He is said to have recovered the country by defeating the Pīṭhipati or Magadhādhipa Devarakṣita who appears like Divya to have rebelled and become independent in Magadha. Devarakṣita then married a daughter of Mahana and appears to have remained a friend of the Pālas for the rest of his life which however was possibly short. It is not known if Devarakṣita and Divya were allies at the time of their rebellion against the authority of the Pālas.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE COLLECTION IN THE PATNA MUSEUM

By

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In 1915, the Government of Bihar and Orissa appointed a committee to work out a scheme for the establishment of a Provincial Museum at Patna. The scheme was well received by Government and the public for everyone felt the necessity of a museum in this province. On account of the after effects of the Great War over the financial resources of the Government, it was decided to start the museum at once without having a separate building, for the time being, and to house the exhibits in a wing of the Patna High Court where a few rooms were set apart for the purpose. With the ever-increasing numbers of exhibits, the Museum had to be expanded as the Patna High Court wing could not accommodate them. The scheme materialised as we had a brilliant and enthusiastic Finance Member on the Cabinet of the then Government (1921-26) in the person of Dr. Sachchidananda SINHA, the present Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, who readily sanctioned the proposal for a building for the Patna Museum. Government's support, it would thus be seen, was essentially needed and the then Governor, Sir Henry WHEELER, who had always felt the necessity of having a separate building for the Museum, gave practical shape to the proposal. The result was that a beautiful building of Moghul-Rajput Architectural design was built at a cost of three lacs of rupees, on one of the most important roads—the Patna Gaya Road. It was formally opened by His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown STEPHENSON, the Governor of Bihar and Orissa, on the 7th of March, 1929. The Museum was fortunate in having at the time as President of its managing committee Mr. P. C. MANUK, Barrister-at-law, the art connoisseur, a man of catholic taste who appreciated the qualities of Eastern and Western Art alike. Under his guidance and by his influence the museum was organised on up-to-date scientific lines, as a cursory glance at the different galleries of the Patna Museum will bear testimony. Prior to the separation of Bihar and Orissa from Bengal in 1912, the treasure trove antiquities had already been transported to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, with the result that many important articles fell to the lot of an institution outside the Province of Bihar.

The very idea of the existence of a museum does not carry us very far. It often suggests that it is no better than a lumber room where all sorts of inartistic, ugly-looking, broken and defaced articles are displayed with indifferent attention and care. But the real significance lies in its close association with archæologists and research students and a leisure hour spent by the laymen in visiting a museum might not be spent in vain. There may be

many who would not care to turn back the pages of history, to replace and substitute for the beautiful carved sculptures and works of art of the last three or four centuries, the seemingly crude, often unfinished, and generally broken or defaced figures and terracottas of the past, but even they would hesitate to efface from memory the splendour and grandeur of the past. The supplementary insight which these antique specimens give into the fashion of the day are remarkable in their own way. The cultural history of the ages before the present era is made vividly clear by a careful study of such articles. It will, therefore, be seen that a museum is not a "gelidus tumbo" but a living organ for the education and training of both research scholars and people of the humbler classes.

Not only the stone sculptures, gateways, pillars, sati memorial stones etc. but also a considerable number of smaller images not yet published, as well as the Didarganj Yakshi, the unrivalled and almost completely preserved stone image, and perhaps the earliest Jaina images hitherto discovered of the same period, made of the same Chunar stone and showing the identical high polish of the Mauryan times will easily attract the attention of a visitor to the museum.

The Didarganj Yakshi was discovered just by accident on the bank of the Ganges a few miles away from Patna in 1917. The figure is that of a female Chauri (Fly whisk) bearer of stately proportions, measuring 5 feet 2½ inches in height. It is cut out of a single piece of variegated Chunar stone having a mirror-like polish over the entire piece. The glaze and smoothness which are outstanding characteristics of the sculptures of the period, are remarkable. The true test of determining the age of a figure of the 3rd century B.C. is the high polish which the Mauryan sculptors bestowed on their work. The sculptor has very successfully modelled it in the round. The drapery is very attractive and is worn round the hips. The striking fashion of the dress has been shown in a remarkable degree of perfection. The upper portion of the body is absolutely uncovered. The sculpturing of jewellery is also very graceful and simple. The uncovered breasts produce a vivid picture of the robust health and beauty of the women of those days. Standing erect as she is, it shows that her well developed breasts would obstruct from her view her own feet. The model is so exquisitely charming and natural to a degree that even Phidias, the great sculptor of ancient Greece could not have restrained his admiration. Dr. SPOONER said more than 20 years ago (which still holds good) that it was "the chiefest treasure of the Patna Museum".

It was only in early 1937, just about 20 years after the discovery of the Didarganj Yakshi, that a highly polished stone torso of a Jaina Tirthaṅkara was recovered from the suburban village of Lohanipur, about a mile and a half from Patna. The mirror-like polish which the sculptor has imparted to this figure, definitely proves that it must belong to the Mauryan period. It is finely cut in the round of a single piece of speckled Chunar sand stone with the same polish which is assigned exclusively to the Mauryans. No

museum boasts a highly polished nude like this one possessed by the Patna Museum. It is unique in its own way as will be seen that "this is the first definite stone image for worship of the Mauryan period yet discovered."

As has already been pointed out, because of the absence of a Museum in Bihar all the important antiquities unearthed in the old capital of Asoka were exiled to the Indian Museum in Calcutta, but much however still remains hidden under ground for us to explore.

It is only by chance that Lt. Col. WADDELL found some stone sculptures in Bulandibagh, the Pataliputra area, which caused him to excavate the site in 1903. Further exploration continued with the result that the Patna Museum now possesses a unique collection of terracottas and other specimens of Mauryan period. The sites of Kumrhar and Bulandibagh (Pataliputra) chosen for the excavations yielded unique antiquities. Hiuen Tsang has given a vivid picture of the place which Thomas WATTERS has translated, an extract of which is given below :—

"South of the Ganges was an old city about 70 li in circuit, the foundations of which were still visible, although the city had long been a wilderness. In the four past when men lived for countless years, it has been, "Kusmapur City" from the numerous flowers (Kusum) in the Royal Enclosures (pura). Afterwards when men's lives still extended to millennium the name was changed to "Pataliputra City".

The antiquities thus brought to light by excavations at Bulandibagh and Kumrhar clearly show that Bihar was at least a provincial offshoot of the same culture and civilisation as that of the Indus Valley. According to Sir John MARSHALL "The Pre-Aryan Mohenjodaro culture was largely destroyed in the 2nd or 3rd millennium B.C. by the invading Aryans from the North". But still a close study of the antiquities of the 3rd Millennium B.C. and the 3rd century B.C. now scientifically arranged in the Museum side by side as a contrast, may enable an inquisitive visitor to examine how the Mauryans maintained and developed their culture from generations to generations on the banks of the river Ganges. Among the extensive relics discovered from the Pataliputra ruins is the terracotta known as the "Bodh Gaya" plaque, the subject matter of which is a controversial item of the day. Whether the temple on the plaque is not a prototype of the Bodh Gaya shrine as it does not agree with Hiuen Tsang's description of that building or is a representation of a temple at Pataliputra, it certainly goes back to the Mauryan age. The importance of the find lies in the facts that the inscriptions on the plaque though not yet deciphered is in Kharoṣṭhi character, a script the Mauryans used and that the article itself, was discovered at Asoka's capital. The plaque appears on the cover of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*

Not only in Bulandibagh and Kumrhar which are already known to scholars but also in modern Patna itself equally important and varied finds have been made during the sewerage excavations. The Pataliputra finds are supplemented by a vast number of terracotta figurines and other antiquities

of which the Museum has got a fully representative collection. Mohenjodaro, Taxila, Mathura and Gwalior have all yielded terracotta figures, but none possesses such a rich and varied collection of terracottas as the Patna Museum. A guide towards dating of these terracottas thus discovered from the sewerage excavation is supplied by an inscription, "Visakha" (Visakhasa) in Mauryan character, on a round steatite object (Toy wheel) found during that excavation and found at the same level of 14 ft. as many of the terracottas. The discovery of these terracottas proves that the area was inhabited in Mauryan times and earlier. The whole site has yielded throughout household article of everyday use. Evidence, also of an ancient industry of bead making in this town is in abundance. The development of the lapidary industry from crude stone to the finished products of cornelian, agate, glass and other semi-precious stones unearthed during these excavations is shown in this Museum. The most remarkable work in terracotta yet discovered is the torso of a female figure (Patna Museum No. 975) coming from a depth of 14 ft. 6 inches. It is modelled in the round and is a beautiful specimen of modelling. As jewellery the torso wears elaborate and highly decorative ornaments. It is surely a rival of the Didarganj Yakshi and belongs to the early Mauryan times. Another remarkable acquisition is the Surya Plaque, diam. 3½ inches, which was recovered from a depth of 14 ft. These terracottas are very artistic and unique specimens of Mauryan Art. They are quite free from any of the defects like shrinkage, bad fitting, disproportionate modelling and last but not the least they are never overdone.

The supplementary insight which these terracottas give into the fashion of the day, the human type and ethnic currents which must have brought these types to Bihar is inestimable and we have not such informative material for many of the later periods.

It is however not only in terracotta figurines from the site of Patna itself that the Museum is rich but also from other contemporary sites in Northern India such as Mathura, Buxar, Basarh, Kausambi etc.

The excavations in Bihar have not only yielded important stone sculptures and terracotta figurines, but also numerous seals which throw light on the history of the culture and civilisation of the ancient people of the Magadha Empire. Thanks are due to General CUNNINGHAM who first noticed the ruins at Basarh as the remains of Vaisali, the capital of the Lichchavi kings. It was very surprising indeed that excavations at Vaisali, the birth place of the last Jaina Tirthaṅkara Vardhamāna Mahāvīra did not yield any Jaina relics of any consequence. It naturally follows that with the rise of Buddhism in Pataliputra, Jainism was soon eclipsed by the former as Hiuen Tsang found Vaisali a deserted place in 635 A.D. No less than 120 varieties of seals were discovered hidden underground at Vaisali which were mostly of unbaked clay and went back to the Imperial Gupta Kings (4th and 5th Centuries A.D.). The scripts on the seals are of the Gupta type, but the emblems on them have no Buddhist symbols. The most numerous of the

seals refer to Officials, Guilds, Corporations, temples and private individuals. A representative collection of these seals, exhibited in the Museum will also show from the grooves on their back that they were perhaps attached to letters or documents very much similar to the Nepalese palm-leaf deeds (Patna Museum Nos. 218-232) having clay seals on them.

The various subsequent schools of sculptures are also fairly well-represented in the Museum; especially important of these later images are Buddhist images from Cuttack. Artistically these sculptures from Orissa may be placed as high as any sculpture in any other part of India after the 3rd and 4th Century A.D. The two hills Udayagiri and Ratnagiri of the Assia Range in Orissa have yielded remarkable sculptures. The inscriptions found on some of these sculptures of the Bodhisattvas and Mahayana deities show that they go back to the early Mediaeval Period of Ancient India. The standing Tārā image (Patna Museum No. 6502) in Tribhanga pose and the twelve armed Śiva-Bhairava (Patna Museum No. 6505) are marked off by definite traits. It is curious that Hiuen Tsang during his travel in those places where "Art is always the hand-maid of religion and the idea of the sculptures was to give the visual forms to the religious thoughts" does not mention such sculptures. It is quite possible that he may not have been interested in them.

As important as the Mauryan and Gupta finds to the history of Art and Culture, are the metal images from Kurkihar. Not only to the history of Indian Art but also to the history of Buddhism they are equally important. They range from approximately the 7th to the 12th Century A.D. and represent half a millennium of Buddhist creed in that part of India. The village Kurkihar in Bihar yielded quite a large number of bronzes and other antiquities in 1930 at a depth of 15 ft. below the top of a mound. A few of these images are plated with gold. Smaller pieces of bronze figures were discovered hidden underground in earthen jars. By analysis the metal composition of the images have been determined as follows:—

(1)	Copper	83·051	per cent.
(2)	Lead	1·4	Do.
(3)	Tin	13·009	Do.
(4)	Iron	1·081	Do.

The Kurkihar collection as a whole is the most unique metal group of the Pala Period and no Museum in India can boast of a collection to rival it. Quite a large number of these images are inscribed and as such they considerably strengthen our knowledge of early Mediaeval work of Art in Central and East India. Studied in connection with the very similar images found at Nalanda they will give a full insight into the development of Buddhism in these centuries and the connection of Indian Art at that phase with the Art of Greater India and specially of Java. The discovery of these bronze images from Kurkihar shows the importance of Bihar in the History of India from the Mauryan Period to the Mohammedan conquest by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna. Thanks to the generosity of Mr. S. Khuda Bakhsh,

(Retired Indian Police) the Museum acquired by gift from him a very striking large wooden carved figure of "Narasimha" (Patna Museum Art No. 702) which has given an opportunity to a visitor to study Javanese Art.

Not only the spread of Buddhism from India to Indonesia can be studied with the help of bronze images of Kurkihar. A large collection of Tibetan temple banners acquired by gift from the Rev. Rahula SANKRITYAYANA shows the share the "Eastern School of Art" as Tāranatha calls it, had in the shaping of Art in Tibet and that it survived as an almost unbroken tradition to the present day. All this can be most profitably studied with the help of over 200 banners in the Patna Museum.

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

We are glad to announce that Dr. Lakshman SARUP, M.A., D.PHIL., Professor of Sanskrit, Punjab University, Lahore, has projected an edition of a Pre-Sāyaṇa and hitherto unpublished Commentary on the *Ṛgveda* by Veṅkaṭa Mādhava. This Commentary supplies links in the chain of the literary tradition of Vedic interpretation. V. Mādhava does not belong to any particular school of Vedic interpretation and consequently his explanation is not coloured by any sacerdotalism or any other sectarian notions. Dr. SARUP'S edition is based on a collection of palm-leaf Malayalam MSS and Devanāgari transcripts. From the details of the proposed edition it appears that it is designed to be a "thesaurus of Rgvedic interpretations", providing to a critical student of the Ṛgveda all the different interpretations in one place at a glance without his spending labour and time in studying different commentaries on the Ṛgveda.

In view of the national or rather the international character of the proposed edition which is expected to cover about eight volumes of 500 pages each, all the present-day scholars of repute like Dr. F. W. THOMAS and others have endorsed their approval of it and have promised their co-operation in making the edition a success. It is also gratifying to note that a few American Indologists are trying to raise some funds for this edition in appreciation of Dr. SARUP'S project of great importance and value to Indology. Will it be too much to hope that such a scholarly project, which is estimated to cost about Rs. 40,000 on printing alone, will receive generous support from the Indian public in general and in particular from the Universities and other learned bodies all over the world who care to preserve this rich heritage of the Aryan race in its proper historical and exegetical perspective? We fully endorse the remarks on the present edition by Dr. L. RENOU of the University of Paris when he states : "The commentary of Veṅkaṭa Mādhava will enrich our knowledge of the text of the Ṛgveda and will help us to go further than Sāyaṇa. In presence of a text as important and obscure as the Ṛgveda, no means which facilitate its study and help in its understanding should be neglected."

REVIEWS.

Bibliography of the Published Writings of Mr. P. K. Gode, M. A., Curator, B. O. R. Institute, Poona, 1939. (For private circulation only)

This brochure contains a chronologically arranged list of the important publications of the author during a period of nearly a quarter of a century extending from 1916 to 1939, both inclusive. No one interested in Sanskrit literature and the Indian history of the Moghul and Maratha periods and trying to keep himself in touch with the fresh contributions made thereto from time to time by the Indian scholars can pretend not to know Mr. P. K. Gode of Poona. Besides being the Curator of the B. O. R. Institute in special charge of the Government Mss. Library he is a very ardent student and an enthusiastic research worker, the results of whose labours appear very frequently in the form of papers read before learned societies and articles written for several Commemoration Volumes presented to eminent Indologists and for almost all the important first-class oriental journals edited from the different centres of research activity throughout India, besides Poona which is of course in the forefront. Barring a complete volume of reprints of these contributions, it is only a catalogue like this which could have given in one compass a bird's-eye-view of the extent and nature of his entire literary activity. This *Bibliography*, therefore, deserves to be welcomed not only by the friends of Mr. Gode, whose number is great owing to his amiable and winning manners, but also by all the others interested in the subjects of his study because they can find out from it where they can get the latest contributions on any of those subjects made by a profound scholar who, though not possessing the hall-mark of a degree of a British or German University, has been able to build up an international reputation by his patient industry, profound study and maturity of judgment.

It redounds much to the credit of Mr. Gode that he has been able to publish as many as 166 papers during a course of 24 years while discharging the heavy duties of the Curator of the Government Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, to which were recently added those of the editor of two excellent monthly journals of international reputation namely the OLD[1], and the NIA[2]. The number of subjects that he has studied and to the knowledge of which he has made valuable contributions evokes our admiration. It is to some extent his position as the Curator of a library containing up-to-date books and rare mss. of works on a variety of subjects which has enabled him to pick them up for many of his papers and get all the literature required to be studied in connection therewith in order that he might have to say something about it which those versed in the subject did not till then know and to select the right vehicle for giving publicity to the results of his researches. But it could not have been a part of his official duty to do all this labour of love. Therefore instead of detracting from the value of his contributions it enhances it, in that it testifies to the existence in him of an inexhaustible store-house of energy, of a resolute will to avoid all temptations to fritter away his superfluous energy, in the enjoyment of pleasures or in running after profitless or selfish pursuits, and to apply it to the best possible use and of a burning desire to render the best service to the cause of literature that he is capable of rendering on developing all his potentialities by making the utmost use of the opportunities that lie in his official path. The possession of these virtues, although they may have failed to enable him to realize all his ambitions, have at least enabled him to raise his personality above those of many

1. *Oriental Literary Digest.*
2. *New Indian Antiquary.*

other Curators at libraries and museums in India and even above those of many a professor who, though believed to be expert in their respective subjects lack the necessary nerve to make the most of their leisure and opportunities and the fiery ambition to be of service to a wider and higher circle than that of the streams of raw youths who sit at their feet in the college-rooms from year to year. This by itself should suffice to enthuse Mr. Gode to put forth a more sustained effort to leave behind himself a lasting monument of his capabilities in the shape of a connected history of Sanskrit literature of the mediæval and modern periods, which this *Bibliography* shows to be his forte and since the quality of the service that he has till now rendered to the cause of literature has earned for him the golden opinions of scholars of the eminence of Dr. A. B. KEITH, Sir J. N. SARCAR, Dr. O. STEIN, Dr. Raghubir SINHA and others, the Bhandarkar Research Institute, which he has served so faithfully and zealously, would be more adequately appreciating his services by publishing that history in its name than by a mere mention of them in its reports as it has done in that of the last year.

Ahmedabad. P. C. DIVANJI.

The Book of the Discipline (Vinaya-Piṭaka), Vol. I (Suttavibhaṅga), translated by I. B. HORNER, M.A., London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, Amen Corner, E. C., 1938 (8-vo, lxiii + 339), 10s. 6d.

To those accustomed to read the *Vinaya Texts* in the brilliant translation in parts by Rhys DAVIDS and OLDENBERG (*SBE.* 13, 17 and 20) it will be a great relief to turn to this volume which attempts a complete translation of this interesting book dealing with the earliest monastic system in the world. If we miss here the spark and the style which characterised everything which Rhys DAVIDS wrote, we find here, on the other hand, a fulness of details taking cognisance of the research done during the 50 years since the publication of Vinaya Texts. To those unable to read the original Pāli, the present translation will come as a timely gift and Miss HORNER is to be congratulated on her selfless devotion to Pali Buddhism which has not only given her the courage to undertake the translation but also inspired her to bear some part of the cost of publication as Volume X of the Sacred Books of the Buddhists.

One word here about the notes given in the Introduction. The translator writes one paragraph on the interesting word *pārājika*, but no reference is given to its cognate in Ardhamāgadhī *pārāñci(y)a*—a term already discussed by E. J. THOMAS in his short paper on pre-canonical Prakrit in the Pāli canon contributed to *Festschrift Moriz Winternitz* (1933). But this is only a minor detail.

The translation is on the whole accurate, clear and very intelligent, and will on its completion, prove indispensable for the history of early Buddhist monasticism.

S. M. K.

JAINA ICONOGRAPHY

As illustrated by the Collection of Jaina Antiquities in the Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay

By

H. D. SANKALIA, Poona

Jaina iconography has never been properly studied. BURGESS wrote a small monograph on Jaina mythology[1] and on the images worshipped by the Digambara sect.[2] But his treatment of the subject was never intended to be either historical or geographical as would show the evolution of mythology, its representation and regional distribution. Dr. D. R. BHANDARKAR explained in an article[3] the representation in sculpture of two scenes known as *Śakunikāvihāra* and *Aśvāvabodha*. Recently, Mr. NAWAB[4] has given a fairly good idea, more or less chronological, of the representation of Jaina stories on palm-leaf, paper and textile MSS. in Gujarāt, 11th century onwards; whereas Muni JAYANTAVIJAYA[5] has described the stone and metal images obtaining in the Jaina temples at Mt. Abu. Each of these works is good in its own way. What is now required is a work which will trace first the evolution of Jaina mythology in its widest sense from the canonical and non-canonical works of the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras; secondly correlate it chronologically with archæological evidence as available in the north as well as in the south. From this correlation will be evident the chronological and regional evolution of Jaina iconography, its dependence on and departure from the classical texts (*śāstras*) and relation with the Hindu (and also Buddhist?) iconography. Some texts are admittedly late and as in the case of some Hindu works on the subject, might be laying down rules for icons following the existing icons.

The present Jaina pantheon is very extensive. It consists besides the 24 Jinas or *Tīrtha (ṅ) karas*, of Bhavanapatis (deities of ten different 'worlds'), Vyantaras or Vānamantras (forest deities), Jyotiṣka (planets, constellations and stars), Vaimānikas (deities) who live in different heavenly (*kalpa*) and beyond heavenly (*kalpātīta*) worlds,[6] Yakṣas, Yakṣiṇīs and (as

1. *On the Indian Sect of the Jainas* (1903), pp. 60-79.
2. *Digambara Jaina Iconography* (1904), pls. i-lv.
3. *Jaina Iconography, Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1905-06, p. 141.
4. *Jaina Citrakalpadruma* (in Gujarāti, Ahmadabad, 1936).
5. *Abu* (in Gujarāti), *Yaśovijaya Jain Granthamālā* (Ujjain, 2nd edition, 1933).
6. For names of these 4 classes of deities see BURGESS, *op cit.*, pp. 72-74.

will be shown below) god Gaṇapati, goddess Aṃbikā, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī and even Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva deities.

Roots of a part of the above pantheon are found in the Jaina Sūtras, known as Āgama or Siddhānta, which constitute the earliest Jaina literature (c. 300 B.C.), whereas the rest developed by the contact of Jainism with different branches of Hinduism. From the Jaina Sūtras we can gather that many of the Jaina doctrines were preached before Mahāvīra by Pārśva who was regarded as a Jina and worshipped by the people,[1] whereas other Jinas, Ariṣṭanēmi, Śāntinātha, Mallī were known and their images worshipped[2]; that Mahāvīra was attended upon by the four orders of gods above mentioned and that Indra worshipped him after having erected a pavilion and placing therein Mahāvīra on a throne;[3] that a diversity of opinion existed (which was at that time reconciled, but which later resulted in a schism among their followers known as Śvetāṃbara and Digaṃbara), with regard to the law of Pārśva which allowed monks to wear an under and an upper garment and the law of Vardhamāna which forbade clothes.[4]

Gradually by the time of the *Nirvāṇakalikā*,[5] the Jaina mythology comprised over and above the deities of the *sūtras*, Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs all having definite characteristics, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Mother-goddesses (*Mātṛdevīs*), Protectors of Directions (*Dikpālas*) and Fields (*Kṣetrapālas*), Household deities (*Gṛhadevatās*), Planets (*Grahas*) and others which also find place in Hindu mythology.[6]

Of course, the principal cult-image was that of a Jina and though all the above deities formed part of the daily worship (*nityakarmavidhi*),[7] they were there to ensure internal and external purity of the place of worship.[8] They were and should be regarded properly as attendant deities (*parivāra devatās*).

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1. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, Tr.* Jacobi, *SBE.*, Vol. XLV, p. 119. Parents of Mahāvīra were also his followers. *Ācāraṅga Sūtra, op. cit.*, Vol. XXII, p. 194.

2. *Jñātādharmakathā, adhyāya* 16, p. 210; *Bhagavati Sūtra, śataka* 20, p. 170 and p. 793; *Upāsakadaśāsūtra*, p. 14; *Āvaśyakacūrṇi*, p. 259; *Āvaśyakaniryukti*, p. 169 (pages referred to are of the editions of these works published by the Āgamodaya Samiti, Mehasana). These references were collected in a 17th century work, *Sāmācāriśataka*ṃ by Samaya Sundara. It is being published in *Jinadattasūri Jñāna Granthamālā*. They are used in the *Ancient History of Moorti Pooja* (in Hindi), Muni Gyan Sunderji, published in *Sri Ratnaprabhakar Jñāna Puṣpa Mālā*, No. 154, pp. 110-114 (Phalodhi-Marwar, 1936).

3. *Ācāraṅga Sūtra, op. cit.*, p. 196.

4. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra, op. cit.*, pp. 121-23.

5. Edited by M. B. Zhaveri, *Mohanlalji Jaina Granthamālā*, Vol. 5, A.D. 1925. Mr. Zhaveri on the strength of the colophon credits it to Pādaliptasūri, and places the work in the 1st century A.D. But, from internal evidence, the work in its present form does not seem to be of Pādalipta who, according to Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 522, lived at least before 400 A.D., but seems to be late (c. 700 A.D.).

6. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*.

7. Zaveri, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-5. 8. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

It is admitted by Mr. ZAVERI[1] that the development of the Jaina pantheon and religious practices as described in the *Nirvāṇakalikā*, were due to the influence of *Sāṁkhya-Yoga* philosophy and Tāntric doctrine and practices. The latter, about the 7th century A.D., had caused almost a revolution in Buddhism. But whereas the Buddhists evolved an independent pantheon of their own, the Jainas incorporated,[2] as they seem to have been doing from the earliest times, Hindu deities for the purposes of daily ritual, but unlike the Buddhists, always assigned to them a place subsidiary to the Jinas.

Three centuries later, many of the *parivāra devatās* seem to have acquired a little independent existence within a Jaina temple, as Vardhamāna-sūri in his *Ācāradinakara*[3] gives separate description for their installation ceremony.[4]

Further contribution to the Jaina pantheon appears to have been made in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., when the Bhakti cult became extremely popular and Hinduism was split up into numerous sects. With this came into existence small brass icons. These essentially Hindu images also seem to have been adopted by Jainism, particularly by the lay devotee, as they are mentioned in a Jaina work on architecture and sculpture of the end of the 14th century.[5] This is shown by a number of images in our museum which besides having all the characteristics of Hindu images, possess others which betray Jaina influence.

Archaeology—epigraphy and monuments—confirm to a certain extent the evidence from literature. The inscription of Khāravela[6] testifies to the fact that images of Jina were worshipped[7] in Magadha and Kaliṅga during the 4th century B.C. The finds in the Kankāli Tilā (mound) at Mathura prove that in the Kuṣāṇa and also perhaps in pre-Kuṣāṇa period *parivāra devatās*, Indra (?), Ambikā[8] and others were sculptured round the images of a Jina.[9] Gupta inscriptions, likewise, refer to dedication of images of Adikartṛ[8] (Jinas), which still decorate the pillar at Kahaum. Other Jaina sculptures of the period have reached the museums at Mathura, Lucknow and Allahabad,[9] while some

1. *Ibid., Introduction*, p. 2.

2. Cf. GLASENAPP, *Der Jainismus*, pp. 314-16 cited by WINTERNITZ, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

3. Published in two parts in the *Kharataragaccha Granthamālā*, 1922-23.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 210-13.

5. *Śrī-Vatthulāpayaraṇaṃ* (*Vastusāraprakaraṇa*) by Thakkura "Feru" Tr. into Hindi by Pandita Bhagvandas JAIN, *Jaina Vividha Granthamālā*, 1936, p. 101, verse 54, and p. 127, verse 40-42.

6. *Ep. Ind.*, X, Appendix p. 160-1. Later re-edited and discussed by JAYASWAL and BANERJI.

7. SMITH, *The Jaina Stūpa, ASI* (NIS)., Vol. XX pl. xcviii.

8. FLEET, *Gupta Inscriptions*, CII, III, p. 67; and CUNNINGHAM, *ASI.*, Vol. I, pl. xxix. The term is used in this sense in the Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu, *SBE.*, Vol. XXII, p. 225.

9. Numerous Jain sculptures mostly from Kosam (?) and other sites are lying outside the Allahabad Municipal Museum. They do not seem to have been studied and published.

might be lying unnoticed throughout the U. P. and C. I., as were those of Kāthiāwād.[1] Only a proper field survey will enable us to determine the state of Jaina iconography at this period.

During the post-Gupta period Jainism flourished under the Gurjara-Pratihāras, Gāhaḍvālas, Candellas and the Kalacūris in Rājputānā, the U. P., C. P., and C. I.[2] References to dated Jaina images and temples can be had from their inscriptions, whereas ruins of some of them are noted by Cunningham[3] and Banerji.[4] An image of a Jina (Ajitanātha)[5] published by the latter throws some light on the Jaina iconography in the Kalacūri period. It shows that *Navagrahas* were sculptured on the pedestal of the image of Jina as they were on metal images of the mediæval period.[6] The Candellas in particular built magnificent Jaina temples at Khajurāho, and ruins of some of them are also found at Kālañjar, Ajayagarh and Mahoba. A first-hand study of the ruins of the Jaina temples at Khajurāho, might illustrate the Jaina pantheon of Central India in the 10th century, as do the temples at and around Mt. Abu[7] of the Caulukyan Gujarāt-Rajputānā.

Jainism spread to Karnāṭaka, in the south, according to tradition as early as the 4th century B.C. But no definite archæological evidence of the period has come forward to substantiate this claim. But that the country was a stronghold of the Digambara and to a certain extent other Jaina sects under the Kadambas, Cālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas is attested not only by contemporary literature but by epigraphic references and archæological remains.[8]

It is evident from what has been said above that Jaina iconography in its widest sense comprises the following:

(1) Images in stone, brass or other metals, wood, and paintings of Jinas or Tīrtha(ṅ)karas;

(2) Images of the attendant gods and goddesses of Jinas, called Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs, and others mentioned above.

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1. *J. R. A. S.*, July 1938, p. 426, pls. iii-iv.

2. Bihar and Bengal were predominantly Buddhist under the Pālas and Senas; whereas the various dynasties of Orissa, once a centre of early Jainism, according to epigraphic evidence, were primarily patrons of Hinduism. In spite of this negative evidence, Jainism did exist, at least in Bihar, as it does now, as affirmed by tradition and proved by Jaina pilgrimages to Rājgṛha and other places in Bihar.

3. *ASI.*, Vols. I, III, VII, X.

4. *The Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments*, *MASI.*, No. 23, pls. xii, xlviii, lii.

5. Ibid. pl. xlviii (b).

6. See below No. Ib[2] 21.

7. This has been done to a certain extent by Muni JAYANTAVIJAYA in his *Ābū*.

8. The school continued to flourish after the 10th century A.D., under the later Cālukyas and their successors. Further south Kāñcī and its environs had come within Jaina influence, perhaps before the Pallava period. Hiuen Tsiang saw some Jaina temples at Kāñcī, but so far not much archæological evidence is available except a few sculptures. Cf. Fig. Ia[3] 3 in the present catalogue.

(3) Certain symbolic representations as *samosaraṇa* (*samavasaraṇa*),[1] Śakunikāvihāra and representations of scenes from the life of Jinas.

(4) Jaino-Hindu images (i.e. images of Hindu gods—Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, and goddesses Ambikā, Pārvatī, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī—betraying Jaina influence,[2] after having been incorporated by the Jainas in their temples as *parivāra-devatās* or as family deities (*kula* or *gotra devatās*).

The Museum of the Indian Historical Research Institute at the St. Xavier's College, Bombay, possesses a fairly representative collection of Jaina antiquities. The following catalogue is prepared and published with a view to enabling scholars to use it in their study of the subject. It treats of stone (Ia[3]), metal (Ib[3]) and wooden (Ic[3]) images. The images have been classified on religious bases, those of the Jinas coming first, next those of Ambikā, Vidyādevīs and Sarasvatī. The former, from early times, is associated with the Jinas, and accepted later on as a Yakṣiṇī of the 22nd Jina Neminātha; the latter is regarded as one of the Vidyādevīs. Following this group are the images of Viṣṇu, his consort and Sūrya; then Śiva, Pārvatī (or her aspects, Mahiṣāsuramardinī, etc.), Gaṇeśa and some unidentified images which seem to be Jaina.

Within each group chronological order is followed as far as possible. A geographico-chronological classification could not be had, though desirable, for want of sufficient specimens from different regions. As it is, each image is assigned a date and provenance approximately following a known image, or on stylistic considerations only.

The following terms, *Parikara*, *Toraṇa*, *Kalaśa*, *Eka-Tri-Pañca-tīrthī*, *Kōussaggiya* (*Kāyotsarga*) and *Samosaraṇa* (*Samavasaraṇa*) used in the catalogue require an explanation.

Parikara.

Indian figure sculpture, barring a few exceptions,[5] was rarely modelled completely in the round. It will be found either forming part of architecture, or, when independent, supported by a back-piece. In some early figures this piece was distinct from aureole (*prabhā*), which was made just behind the figure's head.[4] Very soon the *prabhā* and the back-piece were combined into one.[5] This entire piece was called later *prabhā-vali* or *maṇḍala*, the actual *prabhā* being carved or engraved on it,[6] whereas figures of attendants, etc., were carved on either side of the central figure. Jainas call this entire piece

1. For explanation see below p. 503.
2. For this see next page and particularly Nos. Ib[2] 18, Ib[2] 31, Ib[2]60, Ib[2]78 and Ib[2] 32.
3. See BACHHOFER, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Vols. I-II, pls. 9-11, 61, 62, 79.
4. See COOMARASWAMY, *Ancient India*, pl. 34.
5. BACCHOFER, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pl. 81.
6. Cf. Fig. Ia[2] 3 in the present catalogue.

surrounding the central figures *parikara*[1] (which in English may be called a *stele*).

Later on this *parikara* was amalgamated with the *toraṇa*, an ornament consisting of a simple triangular, often richly decorated arch, which was surmounted by a *kalaśa* (egg-like ornament), supported by two pillars, standing either over or in front of an image. The idea in making *toraṇa* for individual icons was that the image should appear to the worshipper as if it were installed in a temple.[2] This practice does not seem to have been popular, for almost invariably the pillars of the *toraṇa* are found merged into the sides of the back-piece, where they appear as pilasters, sometimes in bold relief, and the *toraṇa* itself, with its *kalaśa* into the body of the back-piece. This is evident from a copper image of Gaṇeśa (No. Ib[3] 35) where the *parikara* (or back-piece), *toraṇa* with its pillars, and *kalaśa* are distinctly shown.

In spite of this threefold combination, the later Jaina texts[3] use the words *parikara* as connoting the entire piece surrounding an image, *toraṇa* referring to the arch-like portion of the *parikara*, and *kalaśa* meaning the ornament surmounting the *toraṇa*. The terms have been used in this sense in the catalogue.

And just because the Jaina texts use these terms for describing features of images which have been found in definitely known Jaina images, that other images possessing similar characteristics, and a few others, for instance, silver inlay in eyes, and various parts of a sculpture—are called '*Jaino-Hindu*' images and described in this catalogue. It is to be noted that other Hindu or Buddhist metal images in the Museum *do not possess* the characteristics above referred to, nor could the present writer find them in any image figured in the catalogues of various museums, except those published by COOMARASWAMY[4] from the Boston Museum Collection. He, too, thought that these Hindu images belonged to Jaina school.[5]

A *parikara* is called *ekatīrthī*, when it encloses a single image of Jina; *tritīrthī* when there are three images—one central (called *mūlanāyaka*) and two others one on either side; *pañcatīrthī*, when there is a central image, two (one each) on either side, and two above these. When a *parikara* has all the 24 Jinas on it, it is called a *caturvinśatipaṭa*.

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1. The Jainas seem to have been using it from early times as the *Nirvāṇa-kalikā*, *op. cit.*, p. 4, cites an *āgama*, mentioning it, as *pariyara*.

2. Cf. Feru THAKKUR, *op. cit.*, p. 134, verse 41, describing the parts of a Jaina temple.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-96.

4. *Catalogue of the Indian Collection in the Museum of Fine Arts* Boston, (1923), pp. 106, 108, 142-44, pls. LVIII-IX and LXXXVI.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 108 and 145. His use of the word *caitya*, as I have already pointed out (*Jaina Antiquary*, December 1938, Vol. IV, No. III), for describing the ornament surmounting the *toraṇa* is wrong. It is *kalaśa*, or historically conventionalized *chhatra*, for in early images it is this that is found sculptured over the Jina's head. A few later metal images of Jinas figure both a *chhatra* and a *kalaśa* (see Nos.), but usually it is the *kalaśa* which at times is three-fold: a relic, no doubt, of the triple umbrella shown over Jina's head.

Kāyotsarga (or *Kāussagga*).

This is the name of a pose of Jinas who stand erect and motionless, with their arms thrown down on either side of the body, and hands, very often, touching the ankle. It is usually explained as a standing meditation pose in English books on sculpture[1] and in later Jaina texts.[2] But this explanation is not quite correct. The exact rendering in English would be an erect, standing, motionless posture of the body practising penance. For Mahāvīra in the *Uttarādhyayana*[3] says that "by Kāyotsarga (literally abandoning the body) he (a monk) gets rid of past and present (transgressions which require) *prāyaścitta*." This rite was to be performed every evening. And after that, "he should confess his transgressions committed during the day."[4]

Samosaraṇa (*samavasaraṇa*).

"This word and the verb *samosarā* are commonly used" writes Jacobi, (*Sūtrakṛitāṅga*, *SBE.*, Vol. XLV, p. 315, n. 2.), "when Mahāvīra preaches to a meeting (*melāpaka*) gathered round him." It really meant perhaps 'a true principle' or 'creed' (See *Ibid.*, p. 386, n. 3). To this meeting as told in *Jñātādharmo-kathā*, (*op. cit.*, *Sūtra* 21, pp. 43-45), came kings, princes, officers, gods, and others. So the Jainas now explain *samosaraṇa* as a grand assembly hall designed by gods for listening to the discourse of Jinas (cf. JAYANTAVIJAYA, *Ābū*, p. 254). This explanation is based on the actual representation of the scene in sculpture and painting, which evidently is an exaggerated version of the facts in *sūtras* cited above.

I JINAS, YAKṢA, YAKṢIṆI (STONE)

I a[2] 3

JINA, seated in *ardhapadmāsana*, with hands in *dhyāna mudrā*, over a triple cut pillow-like seat. Right and left cut in low relief, a female (?) and male attendant standing with a fly whisk (*cāmara*) with a high head dress, and scanty costume. Behind the Jina's head a circular *prabhā*, and over it an umbrella (*chhatra*) with triple decorations, and surmounted by a small *kalaśa*. The *parikara* all round is decorated with lotuses in low relief.

Rough, coarse, basic rock. Tirupati Kundram, a Jaina suburb of Conjeevaram (Kāñcī), S. Indian (Pallava), c. 600 A.D.

Dimensions (about) breadth 2' × height 3' 11" × thickness 6.2".

Pl. I

I a[2] 6

A bust of a Jina (*Ādinātha*), originally seated figure, now broken from the waist, left shoulder and right hand. The Jina has curly hair, which fall down over his shoulders, long ear lobes, and behind his head a circular *prabhā*.

Fine grained, compact, light green, basic rock. Bijapur, Karnāṭaka. Rāṣṭrakūṭa, c. 800 A.D.

Hight 2' 10".

Pl. I

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1. CHANDA, *Mediaeval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum*, London 1936, p. 13.
2. Pheru THAKKUR, *op. cit.*, p. 94, verse 30, commentary
3. *SBE.*, Vol. XLV, p. 164. 4. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

I a² 7

Head of Jina, defaced. Reddish sand-stone. Chandor, Goa, W. India, c. 1000 A.D.

Height 12".

I a² 8

The head of a Jina who is known with very long earlobes and curly hair in relief, surmounted by a quarterfoil flower (?) Fine grained, buff sand-stone. Khajurāho, C. I. Candella, c. 1000 A.D.

Height 8.2".

Pl. II

I a² 4

PĀRŚVANĀTHA of Digambara school, standing in penance pose (*kāūssagga*) over a high pedestal. Behind him is a cobra, forming a canopy of seven hoods over his head. The Jina has curly hair and long earlobes.

Lapis lazuli. Baindur, S. Kanara, c. 1100 A.D. Presented by Prof. G. M. MORAES.

Height 27" (about)

Pl. I

I a² 1

Upper portion of the triangular *parikara* of an image of Jina, probably Mahāvira, seated in *padmāsana*, once adorned with a number of seated Jinas, of which two on the left are intact, 3 badly defaced, and the rest broken away. To the right and the left of the head of the central Jina was an attendant with a fly-whisk (*cāmara*), remnants of which are left. Over the head of the Jina is sculptured a triple umbrella (*chhatra*), surmounted by a *kalaśa*, and ornamented with *caitya*-window design on its three facets, central facing the full front and the side ones right and left.

Fine grained, compact, greenish grey, basic rock. Gersoppa, N. Kanara. S. Indian, c. 1100 A.D.

Dimensions 10" × 14" × 2'3"

I a² 2

Pedestal of the image of a standing Jina, together with a portion of the *parikara*, and remains of the feet of the Jina. To the right and left of the feet a male (*Yakṣa*, Ajita?) with four hands carrying a noose (*pāśa*) and fruit (*bījorakaṣa*) in u. l. h. and l. l. h., and rosary (*akṣamālā*) in the u. r. h., (now mostly broken) and l. r. h. in *varadamudra*, seated in *lalitāsana*, (tall *mukuṭa* over the head and a long *hāra* touching the feet round the neck)—and a female (*Yakṣiṇī*, Mahālakṣmī), seated, ornamented and carrying the symbols, an axe (*paraśu*) and *śakti* in the u. r. and l. hands, lower—similar to those in the hands of the male. The sides of the *parikara* are cut in facets, and each side was decorated with a crouching *makara*, having upraised face. On the front of the pedestal an inscription in Kannada characters in six lines.

Fine grained compact basic rock. Bidi, Belgaum, S. Indian, c. 1100 A.D. Presented by the Patil of the Village.

Dimensions 21" × 9".

The inscription is not completely read. According to Mr. Venkata Rao, a postgraduate student of the Institute, it seems to record the installation of the image in Jaina temple (*Jinālaya*).

I a² 5

Left hand fragment of a richly decorated *parikara* of the image of a Jina. On the pedestal a standing female (*Yakṣiṇi*—Cakreśvarī) with 12 arms, holding in the upper eight hands a disc (*cakra*), in the lower right a *vajra*, and an indistinct emblem, perhaps a *vajra*; those of the left broken, but should have held a *bijapuraka* fruit and *varadāmudrā*. (The male attendant on the other side would be *Yakṣa*



I a² 3
P. 503

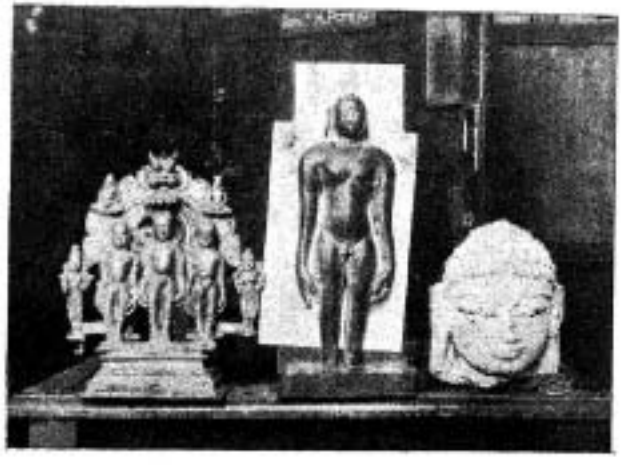


I a² 6
P. 503

I a² 5
Pp. 504-6



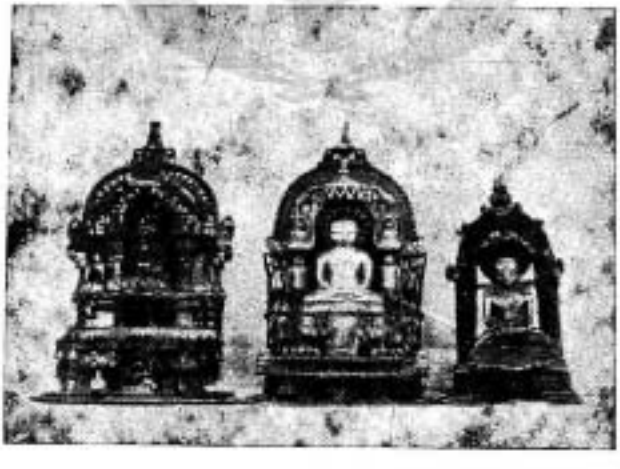
I a² 4
P. 504



I b² 74
P. 506

I b² 73
P. 505

I a² 8
P. 504



I b² 36
P. 507

I b² 21
P. 508

I b² 25
Pp. 505-6

Gomukha and the Jina Ādinātha of the *Digambara* school). Above her figure a vertical row of seated Jinas, then an ornamented *makara toraṇa*.

Fine grained, compact, greenish grey, basic rock. Gersoppa, N. Kanara. S. Indian (Hoyṣaḷa), c. 1200 A.D.

Height 3′ 10″.

Pl. I

I a² 9

Head of a Jina, together with part of the *parikara*. The Jina has curly hair, and long earlobes, and three *mālā*-like strokes on the chest, and round the neck.

Smooth grey basic rock. Gersoppa, N. Kanara, c. 1200 A.D.

Dimensions 10″ × 6″ × 4″.

II JINAS (Brass)

I b² 73

A Jina of the Digambara school, standing in penance (*kāusagga*) pose. Feet broken. Curly hair and long earlobes. Three semicircular *mālā*-like strokes engraved round the neck and on the chest.

Alloy of five metals (*pañchadhātu*). Gersoppa, N. Kanara, S. Indian, c. 10th century A.D.

Height 12″.

Pl. II

I b² 27

PĀRŚVANĀTHA, seated in *padmāsana*, with his hands in *dhyānamudrā* over a cushion, supported by a stand, under a cobra (seven-hooded). Signs of sandal paste on the navel (*nābhi*); face worn out because of the application of sandal paste. Reverse an inscription.

Brass. Gujarāt (?), dated Saṁvat or Saka (?) 1234 = A.D. 1777 or 1312.

Height 2.5″.

The inscription reads: *Śrī Mūlasaṅgha śrī Ma* (?) *da na kī* (?) *upadeśāt* 1234 "In Mūlasaṅgha—because of the preaching of.... (year) 1234."

I b² 72

PĀRŚVANĀTHA (as in I b² 27). No inscription on the reverse.

Brass Gujarat (?), North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 2.6″.

I b² 8

PĀRŚVANĀTHA seated in *padmāsana*, hands in *dhyānamudrā*, seated on a bowl-like pillow (?)...Behind his head the seven-hooded cobra has its hoods broken. Face of the Jina completely worn out due to use.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1100 A.D.

Height 1.5″.

I b² 28

PĀRŚVANĀTHA, seated in *padmāsana*, with hands in *dhyānamudrā*, seated over a cushion (which is resting on an inverted funnel-like stand). Over the figure is a canopy of seven-hooded cobra, surmounted by a *kalaśa*. The entire sculpture is completely worn and become blackish, due to the application of sandal paste and subsequent contact with calcareous substance.

Brass or copper (?) Gujarāt (?). N. Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 2.4″.

I b² 25

PĀRŚVANĀTHA, with four other Jinas. A *pañcatīrthī* image (*bimba*). Pārśvanātha seated in *padmāsana*, with hands in *dhyānamudrā*, on a cushion. To his right and left a Jina standing in penance (*kāyotsarga*) pose. Behind him a seven-hooded cobra, making a canopy. To its right and left a seated Jina. Behind it the *torana* of the *parikara*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*. Reverse an inscription.

Brass. Gujarāt (?) North Indian, Digambara school. Dated Saṃvat 1425 = A.D. 1368-9.

Height 4.8".

Pl. II

The inscription is illegible at places. It reads: *Saṃ 1425 Vai (Vaiśākha) sudi 10 hāla (?) Saṅghe sa ....pravṛtti.* "In the year 1425 Vaiśākha sudi 10 ....."

I b² 9

PĀRŚVANĀTHA, seated in *padmāsana*, with hands in *dhyānamudrā*, over a cushion, resting on a square pedestal. Behind his head traces of the seven-hooded cobra. An inscription round the pedestal.

Brass or alloy of 5 metals (*pañcadhātu*?). Digambara school. North Indian, Dated Saṃvat 1443 = A.D. 1396-7.

Height 3".

The inscription reads: *Saṃ 1443 Vaiśākha su (śu) di 12 Śrī Mūlasaṅghe sā-tan putra.....* "In the year 1443, Vaiśākha sudi 12 in Mūlasaṅgha....."

I b² 74

A *pañcatīrthi* image of Supārśva, 7th Jina of the Digambaras. Supārśva, standing in penance pose (*kāūssagga*), over a rectangular pedestal, under five-hooded cobra. To its right and left a seated Jina. To his right and left a nude Jina standing in *kāūssagga* pose. To the right and left of these a standing Yakṣa (*Mātaṅga*) and Yakṣiṇī (*Kālī* or *Mānavi*), with four arms. Symbols indistinct. Behind it a semi-circular *toraṇa* of the *parikara*, surmounted by a *kīrtimukha*. The sculpture is in three pieces: (1) The standing Jinas, (2) the pedestal, and (3) the *parikara*.

Brass. Digambara school. South Indian, c. 1300 A.D.

Height 10.5".

Pl. II

I b² 3

SUMATINĀTHA, the 5th Jina, seated in *padmāsana*, over a bow-like pillow, supported by three small rectangular legs, with hands in *dhyānamudrā*. Traces of silver inlay over the *śrīvatsa*-mark on the chest, and five dorps (*lañchana*) on the pillows. Reverse an inscription.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1300 A.D.

Height 2".

The inscription reads: *Śrī Sumatināthā biṃbaṃ/Hirati .... sravā raja I.* "An image of Sumatināthā ....."

I b² 5

A Jina, either Ādināthā or Śāntināthā, seated in *padmāsana*, with hands in *dhyānamudrā*, over a pillow resting on three small square legs. Traces of silver inlay remain on the girdle and over the cognizance (*cinha* which looks like a bull or a deer) and other marks over the pillow.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1400 A.D.

Height 3·7".

I b² 29

A *pañcatīrthi* image (*biṃba*) of Suvidhināthā, the 9th Jina seated in *padmāsana*, hands in *dhyānamudrā*, over a cushion, which was inlaid with five crystals, three of which are now missing, resting upon a *siṃhāsana*. The cognizance (*cinha*), *makara* of the Jina is faintly engraved between the lions supporting the throne. To the right and left Yakṣa (Ajita) and Yakṣiṇī (Sutarā). The *parikara*, and the position of the four other Jinas as in I b² 21, except that the worshippers on the pedestal in this image are seated and not standing. Silver inlay on the *kalaśa* and in the eyes of the central Jina. Reverse an inscription.

Brass? North Indian, Gujarāt. Dated Saṃvat 1505 = A.D. 1448.

Height 6".

The inscription reads : *Saṃvat 1505 varṣe jyeṣṭa sudi 9 raviu Śrī Aṅcalagacche śrī Jayakeśarisūriṇā = upadeśena jāloṇarāvāḍā bhāryāyāṁ suta Jayatāsu śrāvakeṇa bhāryāhalāpatra devāṇara dāhariṇāla maṇika sahitena ātmaśreyase śrī Suvidhināthabiṃbaṃ kāritaṁ pratiṣṭhitaṁ śrī saṅghena śrīḥ.* " In the year 1505, Jyeṣṭa sudi 9, Sunday, an image of Suvidhinātha was caused to be made and installed by the wife of Mali's son, son of Jayatā, together with Mānika, Dahirapāla, son of the wife Hālū of Jhāharvāda (?) for their welfare by Śrī Saṅgha, by the preaching of Sri Jayakeśisūri of Aṅcalagaccha. Jayakeśisūri and Aṅcalagaccha are mentioned by several inscriptions from V. S. 1505-1530 (See Nahar, *op. cit.*, Index, p. 1). The date is regular, and corresponds to Sunday May 12, A.D. 1448. Cf. PILLAI, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. V, p. 198.

I b[2] 1

A *pañcatīrthī parikara* of an image of Abhinandana, the 4th Jina, whose figure is missing from his seat. The cognizance of the Jina, monkey (*kapi*) was engraved between the lions, which support the throne, but it is defaced now. To the right and left of his throne are the Yakṣa (Iśvara)[1] and Yakṣiṇī (Kālilā). The *parikara* as in I b[2] 26. Reverse an inscription.

Brass (or copper ?). Stambhatīrtha (Cambay), Gujarat.

Dated Saṃvat 1528 = A.D. 1471.

Height 4·7".

The inscription reads : *Saṃ 1528 varṣe vai (Vaiśākha) sudi 5 śukre Śrīmālajñātīya śā (Śaha) Pūjalā (ja) Lāhusuta Rāṇākena bhāryā Hīrāsuta Harṣādikuṭumbayutena svaśreyase pravā śrī Abhinandana biṃbaṃ Śrī Āgamagacche śrī Devaratnasūriṇā—upadeśena kāritaṃ pratiṣṭhāpitaṃ ca stambhatīrthe.* " In the year 1528 Vaiśākha sudi 5, Friday an image of Abhinandana was caused to be made and installed by the preaching of Devaratnasūri of Āgamagaccha for their own welfare by the family of Harṣa, son of Hīrāi, wife of Rāṇāka, son of Lālu (and) Śa (Shāh) Pūjālāla of Śrīmāla caste".

I b[2] 26

A *pañcatīrthī* image of Neminātha, the 21st Jina seated in *padmāsana*, hands in *dhyānamudrā*, over a cushion with three silver and two copper (?) drops, resting upon a *siṃhāsana*. The cognizance (*cihna*), a blue lotus (*nīla kamala*), of the Jina is engraved in silver between the lions supporting the throne. The *parikara* and the position of four Jinas as in I b[2] 21, except that there are no musicians by the side of the seated Jinas, and there is a figure of *Cakreśvarī* on the pedestal.

Silver inlay on the *kaleśa*, on the eyes and chest, cushion and the cognizance of the central Jina ; and on the chest of the seated Jinas and to their right and left on the frame and on the chest of standing Jinas. Reverse an inscription.

Brass. Gujarat-Rājputānā, North Indian. Dated Saṃvat 1597 = A.D. 1540.

Height 6·4".

The inscription reads : *S. 1597 varṣe mārga sudi 3 guraw Upakeśa jñātau Kurkuṭa gotre va (vaṃśe) Rāmasiṁhabhāryāṁ Ramāde putra va. Sa (khe) tā va. cāṃpā va. Cahadhā va. Cākaṇa tadbhāryā Kutigadī nāmnyātmaśreyarthaṃ Śrī Neminātha biṃbaṃ kāritaṃ pratiṣṭitaṃ śrī Upakeśagacche śrī Kukudācāryasantāne śrī śrī Sidhasūribhiḥ.* "In S. 1597 Mārga sudi 3 Thursday an image of Neminātha was caused to be made and installed by Śrī Siddhasūri, the spiritual descendant of Śrī Kukudācārya for the welfare of Kutigade, wife of Vaṇika (Baniya) Cāhada.... son of Ramāde, wife of Rāmasiṁha of Kurkuṭa gotra and Upakeśa caste."

Kukudācārya belonged to the Upakeśa gaccha. Nahar, *op. cit.*, No. 1634. The date seems to be irregular. In PILLAI, *op. cit.*, p. 283 Thursday fell on *sudi* 4, the whole date corresponding to Thursday, December 2, A.D. 1540.

Pl. II

1. The date seems to be irregular. In Pillai, *op. cit.* p. 142 *sudi* 5 falls on Friday in the year V. S. 1527=Friday, April 6, A.D. 1470.

I b² 21

A *pañcatīrthī* image (*biṃba*) of Śītalanātha, the 10th Jina. Jina seated in *padmāsana*, the hands in *dhyānamudrā*, upon a cushion (?). Inlaid with 5 rosettes, which rests on a lion-throne (*siṃhāsana*). The centre of the seat of Jina has a small horizontal piece, on which his cognizance (*cinha*), Śrīvatsa, may have been engraved, but is now defaced. The image is called *pañcatīrthī* because excluding the central Jina (called *Mūlanāyaka*) there are four other Jinas in the whole *parikara* who are placed as follows: Right and left of the central Jina there is a Jina in standing penance-pose (*kāūsagga=kāyotsarga*). To their right and left are attendants with fly-whisks (*cāmara*). Above these, right and left of the head of the central Jina are seated Jinas, and to their right and left are musicians and dancers (*jharjharādāyakāvāḥ puruṣāḥ*). Over these is a pair of elephants holding as it were the umbrella (*chatra*) over the Jina's head. A conch-blower (*śaṅkhadhmā*) is seated over the top of the umbrella. Behind is the perforated semi-circular part of the *parikara*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*. The outer ends of the *parikara* has an elephant-crocodile face (*makara-mukhā*).

To the right and left of the *siṃhāsana* are seated a male (*Yakṣa* Brahmaśāntā) and female (*Yakṣiṇī*: *Aśokā*) attendants. Below the throne is a pair of deer around *dharmacakra*. To their right and left are five and four constellations (*grahas*) making in all nine constellations (*navagrahas*). In the centre of the pedestal is seated Cakreśvarī (a goddess), and to her right and left a male and a female worshipper. Signs of silver inlay of gilt on the *kalaśa*, *chatra*, Jina's chest, and waist-band, pillow, below the *siṃhāsana*, and the perforated panel behind Cakreśvarī. Reverse an inscription.

Brass. Devapaṭṭana (Somnath, Kathiawar ?). North Indian, dated Saṃvat 1666=A.D. 1603-4.

Height 6·3".

The inscription reads: *Saṃ o 1666*....(letters not clear).... *Devapattan (e)* ....(letters not clear)...*Śrī Śītalanātha bio.* (*biṃbaṃ*) *kā* (*kārapitaṃ*) *Pra.* (*pratiṣṭhapitaṃ*) *ca tapa. Śrī Vijayasena sūribhiḥ.*

"In the year 1666.....an image of Śītalanātha was caused to be made and installed by Śrī Vijayadevasūri at Devapaṭṭana...."

A number of inscriptions from all over India mention Vijayadeva Sūri and Tapagaccha. See Nahar, *op. cit.*, Part II, Index, pp. 8-9.

Pl. II

III AṂBIKĀ (Metal)

I b² 7

AṂBIKĀ, seated on a stool-like lotus. Two armed: the right hand holds a very indistinct object, perhaps a mango; the left supports a child on her left lap. Behind the image a *parikara* with a *kalaśa*. The piece looks blackish and is too much worn out with application of sandal paste.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1100 A.D.

Height 4·2".

I b² 30

AṂBIKA (?) four armed goddess seated in *lalitāsana*, upon a crude lotus resting on a crouching lion, facing left. The upper two hands carry a lotus each. The l. r. h. has a round object, mango (?), and l. l. h. supports a child on her lap. An attendant (?) standing to the right, touching the thigh of the goddess with his left hand. A worshipper on the left. A *parikara* at the back, surmounted with a *kalaśa*. Just over the head of the goddess a seated Jina. The entire sculpture cast in one piece. Reverse an inscription.

Brass. North Indian (probably Gujarāt-Rājputāna). Dated Saṃvat 1198=A.D. 1141-2.

Height: 8·1".

The inscription reads: *Agrignanā Saṃvat* 1198.

Pl. III

I b² 42

AMBIKĀ, two armed goddess standing under a mango tree with a child in her left hand and a twig of mango tree with mangoes in her right hand. Below on her right two seated figures, a man and a woman. On the left a lion, and a woman with a child. On the pedestal a worshipper in each corner and an attendant with a *cāmara* in his right hand; on his left an animal (deer ?). Behind the image a *pañcatīrthī parikara* with a *kalaśa* on the apex, with three seated *tīrthaṅkaras* on a cusped *toraṇa*, and a male standing *tīrthaṅkara* on either side of Ambikā. Reverse an inscription.

Brass. Digambara school. North Indian (?), Dated Saṃvat 1211 = A.D. 1154-5.

Height 4·8".

The inscription reads: *Saṁ* 1211 *Sā bū* ..... (worn out) .... *saha pa pra.* "In the year 1211 ....."

Pl. III

I b² 75

AMBIKĀ, two armed goddess, seated in *lalitāsana*. The left knee supported by a lion, facing right. The r. h. holds a branch with mangoes, the l. h. supports a child, which is seated on her lap. Behind the goddess a *parikara*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*, and showing in bold relief a twig of a mango tree, with mangoes.

Brass. Gujarāt-Rājputāna. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 4·6".

Pl. III

I b² 76

JAINA GODDESS, four-armed, called Bālādevī in the inscription (see below); seated in *lalitāsana* on a lion. The upper two hands hold a creeper (?) in the form of a semi-circle over and behind her head; the lower two hands support a child on each lap. Below, on the right, a worshipper. Behind the *devī* a semi-circular *parikara*, surmounted by a long *kalaśa*. Drops of silver inlay on the head-dress, eyes, *hāra*, and *mālā* of the *devī* and the eyes of the lion. Reverse an inscription.

Brass. Gujarāt-Rājputāna. North Indian, Dated Saṃvat 1505 = A.D. 1448-9.

Height 5".

The inscription reads: *Saṁvat* 1505 .... (effaced) .... *Śrīmāla jñātīya u Māḍaṇapati Turuṇa koḍiya Bālādevā* (i) *Maṇuṇa gotradevā* (i) *kārāpita pratiṣṭ(ṭh) ita śrī Guṇaratna sūri.*

"In Saṃvat 1505 (A. D. 1448), Turuṇa, of Śrīmal caste and an inhabitant of Māḍaṇapati caused an image of Bālādevī to be made and established by Guṇaratnasūri."

Pl. III

I b² 43

AMBIKĀ (?) goddess, two-armed, seated in *lalitāsana*, over a hollow stool. R.h. holds a mango twig; l.h. holds a child, which is clinging on to the waist of the goddess with its right hand, under the goddess's armpit; left touching her left breast. Goddess has no *mukuṭa*; her hair is parted in two, and tied in a huge knot to the left.

Bronze (?) c. 1400 A.D.

Height 3·7".

IV SARASVATI

I b² 20

SARASVATĪ, four-armed goddess, seated in *lalitāsana* over an indistinct seat. In front of her left lap, her *vāhana*, swan, facing right. The upper two hands carry a ladle and a book. The lower a rosary and a water-vessel. On her either side a

female attendant carrying a water-vessel. In front of her, just below the right knee a sage worshipping and facing the left.

Behind the image an highly ornamental *parikara*, in the shape of a cusped *toraṇa* (arch) surmounted by a *kalaśa*. On the pillars of the *toraṇa* is seated on the right *Gaṇeśa*, on the left an indistinct figure. On the outward sides of the pillars or pilasters on either side is a prancing horse or griffon (?). The images and the *parikara* are cast in one piece, and except the top of the *parikara*, all the figures are extremely worn out.

Brass. Gujarāt-Rājputānā. North Indian, c. 1100 A.D.

Height 6·8".

Pl. III

I b² 67

SARASVATĪ, four-armed goddess, seated on conventional hour-glass like lotus, resting on a square pedestal, on which is engraved in outline a swan (*haṁsa*), her cognizance (*cihna*). U. r. and l. hands carry a goad (*aṁkuśa*), and noose (*pāśa*), but r. h. in *varada mudrā* carrying a rosary (*akṣamālā*) l. l. h. a round object. The image has no *parikara* but the crown (*mukuṭa*) of the goddess is surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Brass. S. Indian (?), c. 1500.

Height 4·2".

V VAIṢṆAVA (METAL)

I b² 66

VIṢṆU (Trivikrama), standing on a lotus, supported by a pedestal and a *parikara* on the back. Four-armed: u. r. and l. hands *gadā* and *cakra*: l. r. and l. hands *padma* and *śaṅkha*. To the right and left an attendant, and two seated figures on the *toraṇa* of the *parikara*, whose crest is broken. Silver inlay in the eyes, *kāla* and on the *cakra*. Figure very much worn out due to use.

Reverse an inscription.

Brass. Gujārat (?). North Indian, Dated Saṁvat 1205 = A.D. 1148-9.

Height 3.5".

The inscription reads:

Saṁvat 1205.....9 *samma paṇḍita dāḍā vatsa (tvaṣṭā ?) trikāma mūrti (?) kārāpita.*

"In the year 1205 ... on the 9th, Paṇḍita Dāḍā .... caused to be made an image of Trikama".

I b² 19

VIṢṆU (Vāsudeva), standing. Four-armed: the two u. r. and l. hands hold a *cakra* and a *śaṅkha*; the l. r. and l. hands *padma* and *gadā*. Below on the right a man standing, holding an outstretched serpent in his left hand; on the left a woman holding some object in her right hand. In either corner of the pedestal a worshipper too much worn. Behind the image a *parikara* with a *kalaśa*, which has holes on the underside at each end. Signs of silver inlay in the eyes of Viṣṇu. (Cf. Coomaraswamy, *Boston Museum Catalogue Indian Collections*, 1923, pp. 105-106, pl. lviii.)

Brass. Gujarāt—Rājputānā. North Indian, c. 1100 A.D.

Height 8.1",

I b² 18

VIṢṆU (Kṛṣṇa), four-armed, standing over a lotus, which is resting on a four-stepped, ornamented pedestal, having a broad plinth. As the figure is extremely worn, the symbols in Viṣṇu's hands are indistinct, but they seem to be: u. r. and l. hands *gadā* and *padma*; l. r. and l. hands *śaṅkha* and *cakra*. R and L of Viṣṇu are a female and male attendants standing, the first holding some weapons (?) with both hands, the second with one hand. In the front of the pedestal there were some objects which are now completely worn out and indistinct. Traces of silver in the

eyes and navel of Viṣṇu, the forehead of attendants, and the front of the pedestal. The image is *saparikara*; the latter has an oval perforated *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*. On the *toraṇa*, just over the *prabhamaṇḍala* of Viṣṇu, on its either side, is a figure seated in *lalitāsana*.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1100 A.D.
Height 5·5".

I b² 33

VIṢṆU (Trivikrama), standing figure, four-armed: the u.r. and l. hands hold a *gadā* and *cakra*; the l. r. and l. hands *padma* and *śaṅkha*; wearing a high crown. Below on either side two worshippers holding some objects with both hands. Garuḍa in human form with wings on the pedestal. Behind Viṣṇu, a *parikara*, with a *kalaśa* in the centre, and on either side of it a worn out figure seated in *lalitāsana* on a lotus. (cf. Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, pl. lviii).

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.
Height 4.7".

I b² 46

Viṣṇu (Trivikrama), four armed: u.r. and l. hands *gadā*, *cakra*; l. r. and l. hands *padma* and *śaṅkha*. Standing as in I b² 66. *Parikara* has an oval *toraṇa* which is surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.
Height 4.4".

I b² 61

VIṢṆU (Pradyumna), standing as in I b² 66. Four armed: u. r. and l. hands *śaṅkha* and *cakra*: l. r. and l. hands *padma* and *gadā*. *Parikara* surmounted by a *kalaśa*. Figure worn due to use.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.
Height 3.7".

I b² 38

Viṣṇu (Trivikrama), standing as in I b² 66. *Parikara* and *toraṇa* as in I b² 46.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.
Height 3.2".

I b² 17

VIṢṆU (Trivikrama), four-armed, standing over a pillow-like stool, which is resting on a four-legged pedestal. Right and left of Viṣṇu an attendant standing. U. r. and l. hands hold *gadā* and *cakra*; l. r. and l. hands hold *padma* and *śaṅkha*. The image is *saparikara*: the latter has a low, semi-circular *toraṇa*, without a *kalaśa*. On it is engraved the *prabhā* of Viṣṇu. Figure worn and rusted.

Brass (?). North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.
Height 3.5".

I b² 10

VIṢṆU (Trivikrama), standing as in I b² 66. *Toraṇa* of the *parikara* without a *kalaśa*. Figure and all the symbols carried by him worn due to use.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.
Height 3.5".

I b² 11

VIṢṆU (Trivikrama), standing, four-armed, u. r. and l. hands hold *gadā* and *cakra*; l. r. and l. hands *padma* and *śaṅkha*. Right and left an attendant. Viṣṇu has a curious face. Behind, the *parikara* with an oval *toraṇa*, surmounted by a very small *kalaśa*.

Brass. North Indian (?), c. 1500 A.D.
Height 3.5".

I b² 23

LAKṢMĪ-NĀRĀYAṆA, seated in *lalitāsana*; Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) over a small stool, Lakṣmī over Nārāyaṇa's left lap. Below Nārāyaṇa, his *vāhana*—garuḍa—like a real bird, facing left. Figures extremely worn. Behind the figures a *parikara* surmounted by a long *kalaśa*. All cast in one piece.

Brass. Gujarāt-Rājputānā. North Indian, c. 1100 A.D.

Height 3.4".

I b² 77

LAKṢMĪ-NĀRĀYAṆA. Similar to I b² 23, only the *kalaśa* of the *parikara* smaller.

Brass. Gujarāt, North Indian, c. 1100 A.D.

Height 2.6".

I b² 51

LAKṢMĪ-NĀRĀYAṆA. Figures rusted and worn.

Cf. I b² 23.

Brass (?). North Indian, c. 1100 A.D.

Height 2".

I b² 39

LAKṢMĪ-NĀRĀYAṆA, seated in *lalitāsana*, over a stool-like lotus; four-armed: l. r. h. with conch (*śaṅkha*), u. r. h. with lotus (*padma*); u. l. h. with mace (*gadā*), l. l. h. supporting Lakṣmī seated on his left lap. She with one hand on his shoulder, the other holding a water-lily (*nīlotpala*). Two small attendants, a male and a female, on the right and left. Garuḍa in front of the left leg of Viṣṇu. Behind a *parikara* in one piece, with the rest of the casting, surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1300 A.D. (Cf. COOMARASWAMY, *op. cit.*, p. 118, pl. lix).

Height 5.3".

I b² 59

LAKṢMĪ-NĀRĀYAṆA. Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) seated on Garuḍa in human form, Lakṣmī on Viṣṇu's left lap. Viṣṇu four-armed: u.r. and l. hands hold *cakra* and *gadā*; l. r. and l. hands *padma* and *śaṅkha*. Below, to the right and left standing male and female attendant. *Toraṇa* of the *parikara* broken; on its either side a seated figure.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1400 A.D.

Height 4".

I b² 52

VEṆU-GOPĀLA (Kṛṣṇa playing on a flute), standing in cross-legged posture on an inverted dish-like stool. Two armed, playing on a flute (which is missing) with two hands to the right; nude hair tied in two knots one standing over the head, like a *kalaśa*, the other falling down over the neck.

Brass. c. A.D. 1500. (Cf. COOMARASWAMY, *op. cit.*, p. 108, pl. lxv).

Height 8.4".

I b² 56

VEṆU-GOPĀLA (Kṛṣṇa playing on a flute), standing in cross-legged posture on a square piece. Two armed, playing on a flute (which is missing) with two hands, (a little more further apart than in I b² 52), to the right. Hair tied in a *kalaśa*-like knot; long ear-lobes; apparently nude.

Brass. c. A.D. 1500. (Cf. COOMARASWAMY, *op. cit.*, p. 108, pl. lxv).

Height 9.1".

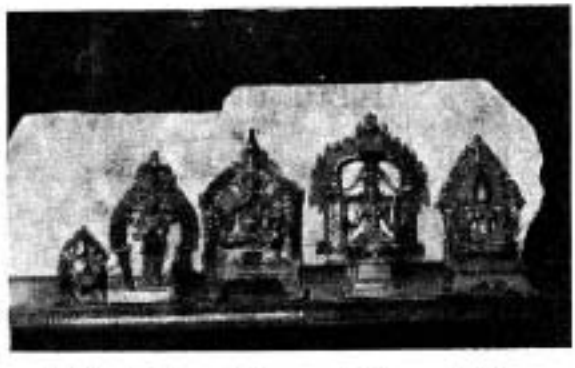
Pl. III

I b² 78

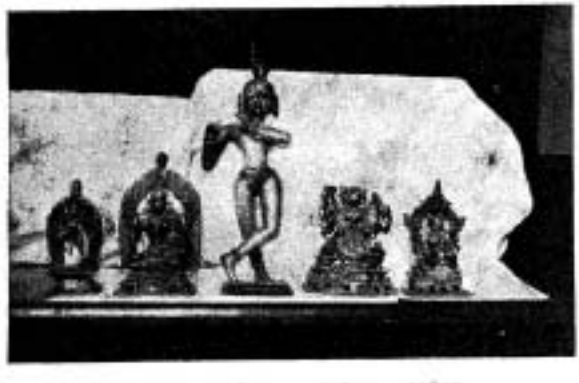
BĀLAKṚṢṆA (Kṛṣṇa crawling as a child, on its knees and left hand, with a ball of butter in the right hand). Over the head of Kṛṣṇa is an oval *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*.



I b² 76 P. 509 | I b² 42 P. 509 | I b² 80 P. 509 | I b² 75 P. 509 | I b² 29 Pp. 509-10



I b² 81 P. 514 | I b² 83 P. 513 | I b² 81 Pp.513-9 | I b² 78 P. 515 | I b² 60 Pp. 514-6



I b² 13 P. 516 | I b² 4 P. 519 | I b² 56 P. 512 | I b² 32 P. 515 | I b² 37 P. 519

Brass. North Indian c. 1600 A.D. (Cf. COOMARASWAMY, *op. cit.*, p 109, pl. lxi).
Height 1.5".

LAKṢMĪ

I b² 22

GAJA-LAKṢMĪ, four-armed goddess, seated in *padmāsana* on an elephant facing the full front, and carrying a lotus stalk in its trunk. The upper two hands of the goddess carry an elephant each of which seems to form a *toraṇa* over her head. The lower two hands carry a rosary (*mālā*) and a water-vessel (*kamaṇḍalu*). Behind the image a *parikara*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*. The elephant and the goddess all cast in one piece.

Brass. Gujarat-Rājputānā. North Indian, c. 1100 A.D.
Height 5.3".

I b² 79

Unidentified goddess (Lakṣmī ?), four-armed, in *padmāsana*, a hollow stool (?) supported by a pedestal. Symbols carried by upper two hands look like elephants, (cf. I b² 80), too worn and indistinct; the l. r. h. carried a rosary (*akṣamālā*); l. l. h. a water vessel (*kamaṇḍalu*). The image is *saparikara*, which has a slightly wavy *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.
Height 4.8".

I b² 80

A goddess (Lakṣmī ?), four armed, seated in *padmāsana*, over a conventional lotus supported by a pedestal of the *parikara*. Upper two hands carry an elephant each, l. r. h. rosary (*akṣamālā*), l. l. h. a water vessel (*kamaṇḍalu*). The image is *saparikara*, which has an oval *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*. The figure is worn and very much rusted.

Brass (?). North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.
Height 3.1".

VI SŪRYA (Metal)

I b² 70

Sūrya, two-armed god, standing, with lotuses in his hands, dressed in a tall *mukuṭa* (*sarvaṅga*) girdle, high boots, and a long *mālā* touching the ankles. Behind his head a circular *prabhā*, below to the right and left an attendant (that on the left with a very long staff held across his body). Behind the figure a *parikara*, with a wavy triangular *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Silver inlay in the eyes of Sūrya.
Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.
Height 4".

VII ŚAIVA (Metal)

I b² 53

Unidentified, four-armed figure, standing on a lotus-like stool, resting on a small rectangular pedestal. The u. r. and l. hands carry a lotus (?) and a conch (?), the lower r. hand is held forth and carries a begging bowl (*kapāla*?); the l. l. hand is similarly held forth and holds a staff or a mace, which is resting on the ground. In the front, on the pedestal are from r. to l. a *liṅga* in a *peṭhikā* and nine ball-like objects, representing perhaps *navagrahas*. To the r. and l. of the standing figure a small and a large animal facing the full front. The image is *saparikara*, which has a perforated and cut border, surmounted by a *kalaśa*, with volutes on either side. On the *parikara*, immediately to the r. and l. of the *jaṭā-mukuṭa* of the figure are the crescent moon and sun.

The standing pose, begging bowl and the crescent moon suggest that the figure may be a North Indian representation of the *Bhikṣāṭanamūrti* of Śiva, differing however from the known South Indian images in a number of points. Cf. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, p. 306, pls. lxxxvii-lx.

Brass. North Indian (?), c. 1300 A.D.

Height 6".

I b[3] 31

Śiva-Pārvatī, seated figure. Śiva on a pillow-like stool, Pārvatī on his left lap; below her a small bull (*nandī*) facing left. Śiva four-armed: u. r. h. holds a skull (*khaṭvāṅga*), the l. r. h. a round indistinct object, u. l. h. a serpent, and l. l. h. supports Pārvatī; she with her right hand embraces him, and with her left hand holds a blue lotus (*nīlotpala*). Silver inlay in the eyes and chest of Śiva. The *parikara*, cast in one piece with the rest, and surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1100 A.D.

Height 3".

Pl. III.

I b[3] 48

Śiva-Pārvatī. Śiva, four-armed, seated in *lalitāsana* over *nandī*, with Pārvatī on his left lap, she carrying a *nīlotpala* in her left hand, with the right holding Śiva, who carries a *triśūla* and a serpent in u. r. and l. hands; in l. r. a round object, with the l. l. hand supporting Pārvatī. The image is *saparikara*, which is surmounted by a long cinqfoil *kalaśa*.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 4.8".

I b[3] 52

Śiva-Pañcāyatana group. A *liṅga* with a high *pīṭha* sheltered by a hooded cobra, resting on a square stool. Right and left a seated figure, facing the full front, and forming part of the *parikara*, which is semi-circular and surmounted by a *kalaśa*. Facing these figures are Gaṇeśa and Nandī. Between Gaṇeśa and the opposite figure, a heap of five balls (?). On the *parikara* are sculptured to the r. and l. of the cobra, the moon and the sun.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1300 A.D.

Height 2.6".

(Cf. Getty, *Gaṇeśa*, Oxford, 1936, pl. 15a, showing a similar sculpture with Gaṇeśa as the principal god).

I b[3] 55

Śiva-Pañcāyatana group. In the centre of a rectangle, a *liṅga* on a *pīṭha*; to the right and left Gaṇeśa and a seated figure; to its north a four-armed seated figure, with the sun and the moon on its r. and l. and behind it a semi-circular *parikara* surmounted by a *toraṇa*; to its south outside the rectangle, *nandī*, facing north. Between the four-armed seated figure and the *liṅga*, the river Gaṅgā.

Brass. c. 1400 A.D.

Height 1.4".

I b[3] 57

Śiva-Pañcāyatana group with a *liṅga* in the centre. Cf. I b[3] 55.

Brass. c. 1400 A.D.

Height 1".

PĀRVATĪ

I b[3] 60

Pārvatī, four-armed goddess, seated in *lalitāsana* over an oval lotus. A crouching lion or tiger, facing the front, supports the right knee. The upper two hands hold a *triśūla* and *khaṭvā*; the lower a rosary and a water vessel. Behind the image ornamented *parikara*, surmounted by a small *kalaśa*; below it an inset *tirthavi-*

kara, wavy lines with dots, and *makara* head in each corner of the base of the *toraṇa*. The image and *parikara* form one entire piece.

Brass. Gujarāt-Rājputānā. North Indian, c. 1100 A.D.

Height 6.4".

Pl. III

I b² 34

Pārvatī (?). A goddess seated on a tiger or lion facing right. Four armed: the upper two seem to carry a trident (*triśūla*); the l. r. h. a rosary (*akṣamālā*); l. l. h. a round indistinct object, perhaps a fruit. Behind the figure a *parikara*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 3.2".

I b² 2

Pārvatī (?), four-armed goddess seated in *lalitāsana*, over a slender stool, under her legs is lying a man full length, his face turned to the front. The u. r. h. carries a *triśūla*, l. l. h. a *ḍamaru*, at the same time embracing a child which is touching the goddess's breast with her left hand. The l. r. h. holds a staff-like object, while the l. l. h. holds a *kamaṇḍalu*. The goddess has worn a long *hāra* which falls down and touches her feet. The image is *saparikara*, which has a wavy *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200. A.D.

Height 3.5".

I b² 78

Pārvatī (?). Unidentified, two-armed goddess, seated in *ardha-padmāsana* over a conventional lotus-like stool, resting on a high pedestal. The arms of the goddess are stretched forward, and in the r. and l. hands carry a rosary (*akṣamālā*) and a *liṅga* with a *yoni-pīṭha*. The goddess wears a *mukuṭa*, but her hair are parted in the centre, and decorated by *veṇī* (braid of hair or flowers). Other ornaments are *kuṇḍala*, a *mālā* or *hāra* with a pendant hanging between the breasts and a girdle which is fastened over her under garment one end of which comes out and falls down, leaf-like, on her legs. Behind her is a detachable *parikara* which has a semi-circular *toraṇa* with pointed teeth, surmounted by a *kīrtimukha*. The *toraṇa* of the *parikara* is perforated, in its centre is a figure (Supārśva) seated in *padmāsana* with hands in *dhyānamudrā*, and over its head a cobra having a canopy of five hoods; similar seated figures to its right and left.

Brass. South Indian, c. 1300 A.D.

Height 7.5".

Pl. III.

I b² 32

An unidentified goddess, four-faced and 18-armed, seated in *padmāsana*, over a lotus, supported by four lions, two on each side, which stand on a high two-storied pedestal. The nine hands on the right hold (from below) (1) a small snake-like object, (2) the mouth of a serpent, (3) indistinct, (4) *vajra*, (5) a hammer, (6) *triśūla*, (7) *akṣamālā*, (8) a pointed object whose tip is broken and (9) hand broken. The hands on the left (from below) (1) human head, (2) in *abhayamudrā*, (3) *ḍamaru*, (4) a nail (5) *ghaṇṭā* (6) a bud (?), indistinct, (7) broken, (8) touches the bud and (9) broken. The goddess wears a long garland of skulls, which falls down on the lotus seat. From her navel a serpent's head peeps out. Signs of inlay of silver on the forehead and nipples.

Behind the image there was once a *parikara*, which seems to have been cut off. Reverse an inscription.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 4.4".

The inscription reads :

Śrīḥ... (then letter cut off), *naḥ* (on the other side); on the pedestal : *pitṛbhyo namaḥ*.

"Auspicious one ..... bow to the manes".

Pl. III.

I b² 13

A goddess, in dancing (*nṛtta*) pose, her right leg raised and bent from the knee, the left fixed with a soldering to the top of the pedestal. 18 arms. The nine hands on each side hold different weapons and symbols. Many of them are too much worn, but a few can be recognised ; for instance, the hands on the right carry (from below) a rosary (*akṣamālā*), (4) a blue lotus (*nīlotpala*) ; left (from below), a metal-jar (*kamaṇḍalu*), (3) a skull (*mastaka*), (4) discuss (*cakra*). Silver inlay in eyes. An oval *parikara* surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Brass. South India (?), c. 1200 A.D.

Height 4·5".

Pl. III.

MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINI

I b² 45

MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINĪ, a four-armed female deity, standing with her left leg stretched back, and the right leg bent and placed over the buffalo demon (Mahiṣāsura), who is caught by the hair by l. l. h. of the goddess while the l. r. h. is thrusting long *triśūla* in the buffalo's body ; u. r. and l. hands hold a drawn out sword and a bell (*ghaṇṭā*) ; the hind part of the buffalo demon is seized by a lion. On either corner of the pedestal a seated worshipper. The image is cast together with a *parikara* which has a wavy triangular *toraṇa* surmounted by a *kalaśa*. Traces of silver inlay on the *prabhā*, eyes, necklace, longer necklace, and girdle of the goddess.

Brass. North India, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 11·2".

I b² 41

MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINĪ, a four-armed goddess, identical in features with I b² 45. The head of the buffalo lies severed on the ground (pedestal), and the lion is shown not at right angles, but just behind in one line with the buffalo.

Brass. North Indian, c 1200 A.D.

Height 7".

I b² 49

MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINĪ, a four-armed goddess (Cf. I b² 45). Too much worn.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 4·4".

I b² 44

MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINĪ, a four-armed goddess. In many respects similar to I b² 45, except that the u.l.h. of the goddess holds a shield (*khaṭaka*), and not a bell, and that there are no worshippers on the pedestal. Traces of silver inlay in the eyes, longer necklace and girdle of the goddess.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 4·4".

I b² 24

MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINĪ. Similar to I b² 43.

Figure extremely worn due to use.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 2·9".

I b² 6

MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINĪ. As in I b² 45.

Figure looks blackish due to contact with some calcareous substance.

Brass (?). c. 1400 A.D.

Height 3·2".

I b² 50

MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINĪ, a four-armed goddess, standing erect; the buffalo is placed on goddess's feet, while the lion seems to be attacking it from the front and not behind as it is usually shown. The goddess carries in u.r. and l. hands the sword (*khaḍga*) and a shield (*kheṭaka*); in l. r. and l. hands the demon's blood and some weapon which is not distinct. The image is *saparikara*, which has an oval *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Brass c. 1200 A.D.

Height 4".

I b² 38

MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINĪ, a four-armed goddess, standing, right foot over the buffalo demon which is facing the right and *not* left as in previous figures. U. r. and l. hands hold a sword and a shield, while both the lower hands carry the *triśūla*-like weapon, which is thrust into the buffalo's head. The goddess wears a very long 'beaded' necklace. The figure is together with a *parikara*, which has a beaded fringe and surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Brass. C. 1300 A.D.

Height 4·6".

I b² 64

MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINĪ, a four-armed goddess, position etc. same as I b² 45, except that the u. l. hand carries a seated figure, perhaps a Gaṇeśa, as some figures of Pārvatī do. Over the *toraṇa* of the *parikara*, there is a long *kalaśa*.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

Height 4·5".

I b² 68

MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINĪ, a four-armed goddess, similar in many respects to I b² 45, excepting that the position of symbols in the left hands is different; u. l. h. carries a drum (*ḍamaru*), l.l.h. a shield (*kheṭaka*), whereas there is no separate figure of the demon, the buffalo itself is the demon here, whose head is cut off by a *triśūla*. Behind the figure an oval *parikara* surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Figure worn due to the application of sandal paste, traces of which remain.

Brass. C. 1200 A.D.

Height 4·4".

I b² 54

MAHIṢĀSURAMARDINĪ, an eight-armed goddess, standing in *tribhaṅga* pose over the body of Mahiṣāsura. The right hands (from above) carry a sword (*khaḍga*) indistinct, arrow (*bāṇa*), and *triśūla* which is pierced into asura's neck; left hands carry a shield (*kheṭaka*), bell (*ghaṇṭā*), bow (*dhanuḥ*), the head of the asura which is held by the hair. A thick piece of cloth in several folds is wound round the thighs of the goddess. Her hair seem to be tied in a *jaṭāmukuṭa* with an ornamented crescent on it. The image is *saparikara*, having a semicircular *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*. Behind the asura a lion mauling him.

Bronze (?) c. 1200 A.D.

Height 2·8".

GAṆEŚA

I b² 35

GAṆEŚA, four-armed god, seated on a high rectangular seat, resting on a four-legged pedestal. Figure is extremely worn. But unlike other figures, it is seated under a *separate cinqfoil toraṇa, resting on pillars*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*. Behind

the figure is a *parikara* having a triangular podiment. Just over the head of Ganeśa is a semicircular *toraṇa* which was once inlaid with precious stones (?). An attendant outside the *toraṇa* with a fly-whisk (*cāmara*).

Copper. North Indian, c. 1100 A.D. (?)
Height 2·7".

I b² 12

GAṆEŚA, four-armed god, seated on a lotus, which is resting on a high pedestal. Symbols as in I b² 47. Behind Gaṇeśa's head almost circular *prabhā* and to his r. and l. a standing female attendant with a fly-whisk (*cāmara*). *Parikara* with a triangular *toraṇa* having a *kalaśa* in relief on it and not surmounting it. Figure most worn.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.
Height 3·1".

I b² 47

GAṆEŚA, four-armed god, seated in *lalitāsana* over an hour-glass-like stool, which is resting on a four-legged rectangular pedestal. The u.r. and l. hands carry an axe (*paraśu*), and a lotus (*padma*), l. r. and l. hands *aṅkuśa* (?) and *pāśa* (?). Trunk to the left. Gaṇeśa's *vāhana*, rat, to the left of the seat.

The image is *saparikara* which has a cusped *toraṇa*, having straight borders, surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.
Height 3·5".

I b² 16

GAṆEŚA, four-armed god. Cf. I b² 47.
Triangular *parikara*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*.
Brass. North Indian, c. 1400 A.D.
Height 3".

I b² 40

GAṆEŚA, four-armed god. Cf. I b² 47.
Parikara with semi-circular *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*.
Brass. North Indian, c. 1300 A.D.
Height 3".

I b² 58

GAṆEŚA, four-armed god. Cf. I b² 47. Oval *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*. Figure extremely worn.

Brass. North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.

I b² 63

GAṆEŚA, four-armed god, seated on a slender lotus resting on an inverted hour-glass like stool. Symbols, etc. as in I b² 47. His *vāhana*, rat almost behind his seat to the left. *Parikara* with a semicircular *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Figure blackish due to contact with calcareous substance.
Brass (?). North Indian, c. 1300 A.D.
Height 2·5".

I b² 71

GAṆEŚA. Extremely worn.
Brass (?). c. 1200 A.D.
Height 1·5".

I b² 81

GAṆEŚA, 18-armed god, seated in *padmāsana*, over a pillow resting on a hour-glass like lotus, supported in the front by a lotus stalk (*kamala-nāla*), all resting on a rectangular, four-pillared pedestal. Gaṇeśa carries in his right hands beginning from the top, a dagger (*śūla*), axe (*paraśu*), *nāśā* (?) pestle (*musala*), mace (*gadā*), *daṇḍahasta* or *abhayamudrā*, palm similarly stretched out holding a rosary (*akṣamālā*), trident (*triśūla*), thunderbolt (*vajra*?). The hands on the

left have the *varadamudrā*, bow (*dhanuṣ*) water-vessel (*kalaśa*), pomegranates (?), goad (*aṅkuśa*), book (*pustaka*), goad again (?), broken tooth, citron (*bijoraka*m). Among the ornaments are *karaṇḍa makuṭa, hāra* and *sarpopavīta*. Gaṇeśa's trunk is turned to the right. On his lap sits his *devī* in *lalitāsana*, holding a blue lotus (*nilotpala*) in her r. hand and a fly-whisk in her l. hand. Just below Gaṇeśa, on the left, is his vehicle (*vāhana*), a rat, eating a small ball. Behind the image is a perforated *parikara*, with a wavy *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*, which has a simple volute-like leaf on each side. The *parikara* is attached to the image by 10 horizontal spokes, the entire sculpture having been cast in one piece.

Brass. Gujarat (?). North Indian, c. 1400 A.D.

Height 6·8".

This image has been discussed at length in *Jaina Antiquary*, Vol. V. No. II, 1939.

Pl. III

IX UNIDENTIFIED METAL IMAGES

I b² 69

A goddess, four-armed, seated in *lalitāsana* over a small stool-like lotus. The upper two hands hold a lotus each; lower right hand holds a rosary (*akṣamālā*), the left some object which is too much worn.

Below the left knee a small seated figure. The *parikara's kalaśa* is broken. Reverse an inscription.

Brass. North-Indian, Gujarat-Rājputānā, Dated Saṁvat 1480 = A.D. 1423-4.

Height 3·8".

The inscription reads: *Sa(ṁ)vat 1480 varṣa māgha vadī 5 Gu(u)ru sa(ṁ)gha* (?) *Thākurasī(iṁ)ha suta Gōlā* (letters indistinct.) . . . *u jīāti*. "In the year 1480, Māgha vadi 5, Thursday Gōlā . . . , son of Thākurasiṁha, of . . . . caste".

I b² 37

Unidentified goddess, four-armed, seated in *lalitāsana*, under a canopy of seven-hooded cobra, on a slender lotus seat, resting on a rectangular pedestal. To her right is her vehicle (*vāhana*) perhaps a lion. All the four hands carry a cobra, with its hood raised up. Behind the image is a *parikara* with a semi-circular *toraṇa* surmounted by a 3 stepped *kalaśa*. Reverse an inscription.

Brass. Mewār, Rājputana (?) North Indian, Dated Saṁvat (15)52 A.D. 1495-6.

Height 4·6".

Pl. III.

The inscription and the image have been discussed in *Jaina Antiquary*, Vol. IV, No. III. December, 1938, p. 85.

I b² 4

Unidentified goddess, four-armed, seated in *ardha-padmāsana*, over a stepped pedestal, on which stands side-wise in either corner a horse-like animal facing each other. The upper two hands of the goddess carry a lotus bud; l.r.h. a double edged dagger (?) and l.l.h. supports a female figure (?) with folded hands (*añjali hasta*), seated on its left lap. The image is *saparikara*, which has an oval *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*. Reverse two hooks for hanging.

Brass. South Indian (?), c. 1300 A.D.

Height 5·5".

Pl. III.

I b² 82

Unidentified two-armed goddess, seated in *lalitāsana*, over a ram (?), facing left. The figure is worn and rusty; hence the symbols carried in the hand are indistinct. The image is *saparikara*, which has a triangular *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kalaśa*.

Brass (?). North Indian, c. 1200 A.D.
Height 3·5".

X JINAS ETC. (Wooden)

I c² 1

PADMAPRABHA, the 6th Jina, seated in *padmāsana*, in *dhyānamudrā*, inside *samavasaraṇa* (*samvasaraṇa*). Right and left a worshipper. Below in right and left corner a musician with *vīṇā* and a tambourin (*tambūrā*). The cognizance (*cinha*) lotus (*kamala*) shown below the seat of Jina.
Piece of wood, painted red, yellow and green. Gujarāt, c. 1500 A.D.
Length 11" (about).

I c² 2

VĀSUPŪJYA, the 12th Jina, seated in *padmāsana*, hands in *dhyāna*; his cognizance (*cinha*), buffalo (*mahiṣa*) to the right.
Piece of wood forming part originally of a *toraṇa*. Painted red, green, yellow. Gujarāt, c. 1500 A.D.
Length 3·5".

I c² 3

ŚĀNTINĀTHA, the 16th Jina, seated in *padmāsana*, hands in *dhyāna* over a pillow, under a *toraṇa*, formed by two elephants' trunks and head issuing from decorated pillars. His *cinha*, deer (*mṛga*) shown below the seat.
Piece of wood, painted red and yellow. Gujarat, c. 1500 A.D.
Length 4".

I c² 4

Winged *apsarā*, carrying a horse (*aśva*), cognizance of the 3rd Jina, Sambhavanātha.
Piece of wood, forming part originally of some sculpture (?), painted red and green. Gujarāt, c. 1500 A.D.
Height 7".

I c² 5

Winged *apsarā* carrying a heron (*krauñca*), the cognizance of Sumatinātha, the 5th Jina.
Piece of wood forming part originally of some sculpture (?), painted red and green. Gujarāt, c. 1500 A.D.
Height 8·5".

I c² 6

An *apsarā*, seated in *sukhāsana*, over a lotus-seat, carrying a pot (*kalaśa*), the cognizance of the 19th Jina Mallināth.
Piece of wooden bracket originally painted red, now weather-worn, and faded. Gujarāt, c. 1500 A.D.
Height 6·5".

I c² 7

An *apsarā*, seated in *lalitāsana*-like pose, supported by a lotus, carrying a heron (*krauñca*), the cognizance of Sumatinātha, the 5th Jina.
Piece of wooden bracket. Traces of red colour. Gujarāt, c. 1500 A.D.
Height 6·5".

I c² 8

A disc representing the sun (shown by a bust surrounded by aureole, *prabhā*), one of the 14 dreams (*svapna*) of Mahāvīra's mother Triśalā, before his birth.
Wood, traces of red paint. Gujarāt, c. 1500 A.D.
Diameter 8·4".

The author would thank here Muni MAÑGALSAGARJI and Muni KANTISAGARJI, of Bombay, who supplied him with Sanskrit, Prakrit, Hindi and Gujarati works which were not available in any known library in Bombay.

CAREER OF JALALUDDIN FIRUZ KHALJI

By

N. B. RAY, Mymensingh

In attempting to re-construct the career of Jalaluddin Firuz Khalji the historian is first confronted with the knotty question of the origin of the Khaljis[1]. The Muslim historians of India, e.g., Nizamuddin Ahmad and Abdul Qadir Badauni found themselves utterly confounded in attempting to ascertain the origin of this tribe. In the opinion of the former they were either descended from Qalij Khan, son-in-law of Jengiz Khan or sprang from Yafis, son of Noah.[2] Badauni, on the other hand while rejecting the theory of their origin from Qalij Khan, doubted as well the account of their descent from Yafis.[3]

One of the earliest of our authorities *Minhaj-i-Siraj* is entirely silent on this question, the only fact mentioned by him is that they were a people settled in Ghur and Garmsir.[4] The poet and historian, Amir Khusrau does not say anything about the origin of this tribe but he mentions that bloody wars were waged by Jalaluddin against the Mongols and the Afghans.[5] "His spears" says Amir Khusrau the great poet "had wounded the Afghans until the hills resounded with lamentations." As the poet was a particular favourite of the sultan and as his works were read in his presence, Amir Khusrau would not have made this hard remark against the Afghans, if the sultan and his courtiers belonged to any of the Afghan tribes; nor can they be said to be Mongols for the Sultan not only fought against them but detested them as unbelievers. Thus the account of Amir Khusrau precludes the possibility of the Khaljis being either Afghans or Mongols; on the other hand, the fact of their Turkish origin is supported by Seljuqnama and Tarikh-i-Guzida.

According to the author of Seljuqnama (quoted by Nizamuddin and Badauni) Turk, the son of Yafis had eleven sons, one of whom was Khalji. This statement combined with others made in Tarikh-i-Gazida may be taken as fairly reasonable evidence of the Turkish origin of the Khalji tribe,

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1. The origin of the Khaljis demands more than a passing notice for this tribe produced great military commanders. Ikhtiyaruddin Mahmud Bakhtiyar, Jalaluddin Firuz, Alauddin Mahmud and Mahmud Khalji of Mandu were all great and capable leaders of men who either laid the foundation of new dynasties or carried the arms of Islam to distant and hitherto untraversed regions.
2. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (Persian Text, Bib. Indica, pp. 116-7).
3. *Muntakhab-ut-tawarikh* (Persian Text, Bib. Indica, p. 167).
4. Eng. Trans. T. N. p. 548.
5. Amir Khusrau says ELLIOT (III., p. 537) "From the heads of the Mughals [Jalaluddin] I have filled up my cups with blood & stuck their inverted skulls upon the top of my standard." Zia Barani also says in (T.F. pp. 194-195) that for years he had fought against Mongols."

though the fierce hostility of the Turkish chiefs and people of Delhi led Zia Barani to remark that the Khaljis belonged to a tribe different from that of the Turks. The fact appears to be that the Khaljis had been long settled in Ghur and Gharjistan and had imbibed the manners and sentiments of the Afghans, during their long residence in that country. So when Jalaluddin usurped the throne by exterminating the Balbani line of kings, the Khaljis were hated as barbarians. On the whole, the present facts would support the Turkish origin of the tribe.[6]

Not only is the origin of the Khaljis shrouded in obscurity but our knowledge of the early career of Jalaluddin is equally scanty. He had served Sultan Balban and his talents earned for him the iqta of Kaithal,[7] and the naibship (deputy gov.) of Samana.[8] It was in this situation that his capacity as a warrior displayed itself in fighting against the Mongols who swarmed into the plains of the Punjab.[9] His sternness against these rude invaders was paralleled by his severity in internal administration. He pillaged the Mundahirs of Kaithal and the desperate stroke of a furious mundahir's sword stained his face with a permanent mark.[10] Once the high hand of his officers was felt by Maulana Sirajuddin Sawi, a distinguished poet of Samana; he complained against the officials to Jalaluddin and sought to win his favour by composing a poem in his eulogy, but neither complaint nor the good words of praise did move the stern naib whereupon the poet, stung to quick, lampooned the Khalji chief in his book, *Khalji-nama*.[11]

The star of Jalaluddin's fortune arose when Sultan Muizzuddin Kaiqubad dismissed his wazir Nizamuddin, son-in-law of Fakhruddin Malik-ul-umara, kotwal of Delhi and sought to impart vigour into the administration (by redistributing) of the chief offices. Aitimar Kajhan and Aitimar Surkha, formerly slaves of Balban were appointed barbak (usher) and wakildar (vice-regent) respectively[12] whereas another (bandah) servant of sultan Balban, Firuz Khan, son of Yagrish Khalji,[13] was promoted to the office of aariz-i-mamalik,[14] in recognition of his services and rewarded with the iqta of Baran (Bulandshr)[15] and the title of Shayesta Khan. The triumvirate

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6. To connect the Khalji's with the Ghilzais, is, unreasonable, for the word in use is Khalj خلج and its plural in use is Akhlaj اخلج The *Cambridge Hist. of India's* contention on this point, p. 91. is unconvincing.

7. Kaithal—a town in Sarhind, 143 miles N. W. of Delhi by N. W. Ry.

8. Samana—16 miles southwest from Patiala.

9. Jalaluddin coveted the title of "Warrior of God," for his resolute fighting against the infidel Mongols.

10. *T. F.* p. 195. 11. *T.F.* p. 194. 12. *T.F.* p. 170.

13. *T.M.* says Firuz Eghrish (p. 57), *M.T.* p. 163, Firuz Khan ibn Yagrish Khan.

14. The translation of Aāriz-i-Mamalik into Muster-Master general is not very appropriated for Alauddin as the iqtadar of Kara and Oudh, held this title also.

15. *T.F.* p. 170—Baran is about 40 miles s. e. of Delhi.

that was set up was however destined by its very nature to have a stormy career; for ere long distrust and suspicion undid the unity of the council. The Turkish chiefs became alarmed at the ascendancy of Shayesta Khan and his influence over the army. Apprehensive of his designs,[16] the Turkish chiefs laid out a plan for arresting Shayesta Khan by summoning the latter to the sultan's presence, but the secret was divulged by Ahmed Chap,[17] amir-i-hajib of Aitimar Kajhan to the Khalji chief who immediately made a call to arms;[18] he summoned his brother Khamush and nephew Malik Ijuddin to his side; his uncle Hājā Hāsin was sent to Baran to bring over the army; Malik Darpi the iqtādar of Kanouj joined his standard. To cloak his sinister design the rumour of the approach of the Mongols as far as Samana was widely circulated and under this convenient pretext, a review of the army was held at Bhukalpahari, otherwise known as Firuz-koh. Intrigue was matched by counter-intrigue; deception by counter-deception.[19] A serious crisis hung over the realm menacing the throne of Kaiqubad and the dynasty of Balban, but Sultan Mulzzuddin was powerless to act. Excessive indulgence in the pleasures of youth had impaired all his physical powers and the fatal malady of paralysis had struck him completely down.

Matters drifted and soon precipitated into armed hostility. In accordance with the preconcerted plan Aitimar Kajhan summoned Shayesta Khan twice to the sultan's presence but the messengers were as often sent back,

16. *Rauzat-ut-Tahirin* (Buhar Library M. S. p. 380 says) that the Turkish armies wanted to murder him on account of his position to the Sultan.

F. S. p. 197—Fatuh-us-Salatin gives a very interesting story of the rise of Jalaluddin Khalji to eminence. A few courtiers, envious of his fame and success, complained against him to the sultan who thereupon ordered him to be sent with gyves in his wrists. Out of respect for the sultan's authority, Jalaluddin put voluntarily hand-cuffs and rode to the Sultan from Babal, who, pleased with his remarkable fidelity rewarded him with the iqta of Baran and the post of Aris-i-mamalik.

17. *T.M.*, p. 56 says that Ahmad Chap was formerly a personal attendant of the son of Shayesta Khan. K. K. Basu's translation of the sentence (nabayed keh aj u khathiya barāyed) into (*T.M.P.T.*, p. 56) (incapable of performing any wrong) is not fair; it should be "it is not likely that he would commit mistake."

18. Zia Barani says that the Turkish amirs drew up a list proscribing a few Khalji amirs (*T.F.* p. 172), *F. S.* also says the same thing. *T.M.* says that the Turkish amirs wanted to arrest Jalaluddin. As Zia Barani shows extreme partisanship for the Khaljis, on account of his father being the deputy of Arkhali Khan, second son of Jalaluddin and as Isami manifests a tendency to make his account sensational, we have preferred Yahiya's version who appears to have borrowed in many places his account from earlier and contemporary authorities, e.g. Amir Khusrau's description of the sultan's expedition against Chaja is more in accord with Yahiya's than with Zia Barani's account. Yahiya's account of Jalaluddin Firuz, though very brief, is sober and candid while Zia Barani carries the eulogy of his father's patron to such an extravagant and absurd length that the fulsome encomium often turns into opprobrium, e.g., the sultan's leniency towards the thieves who were set free has besmirched his reputation as a king.

19. *F. S.* p. 197, *T. F.* p. 172, *M. T.* p. 157.

F. S. p. 198, says that Jalaluddin secretly set about military preparation and formed a counter-plot.

whereupon Aitimar Kajhan rode personally to the tent of Shayesta Khan at Firuz-koh,[20] (opposite Kilughari). The latter greeted the Turkish chief, made ample apology and indicated his desire to accompany his stirrup.[21] Befooled by these words Kajhan dismounted when suddenly the scimitar of Shayesta Khan flashed out and in a twinkle Kajhan's head rolled on the ground.[22] The murder of the Turkish amir and the call to sword constituted a serious challenge to the sultan's authority[23] and brought about a clash of arms between the contending parties. The Khalji army was arrayed on the bank of the Jamuna opposite Kilughari, while the Turkish amirs confronted them on the other side of the river with a train of elephants. The crisis brought out the paralytic sultan for the last time to the public view. Qāzi Alam and Amir Ali carried the decrepit sultan on their arms to the top of the palace; the royal canopy was unfurled over his head; Rajini paik, one of the confidants of the sultan posted himself in the midst of the elephants; the war drums pealed forth but before the din of battle arose, the proclamation was sounded by Malik Chaju that Kaiqubad had been deposed and his young son would be made king.[24] This unexpected declaration produced an immediate sensation and broke the unity of the Turkish army. Malik Nasiruddin, the keeper of the elephants, and other amirs withdrew the tuskers and forces and the battle ended before it was begun. The dissension within the Turkish camp and the collapse of all opposition now led to a most dramatic episode. Hisamuddin, second son of Shayesta Khan, rushed upon Kilughuri with a body of 500 picked horsemen, forced his way to the palace, and carried away the young son of Kaiqubad to his father's tent. The daring theft of the Prince, the last prop of the Turkish amirs, roused Aitimar Surkha to a frenzy and spurred him on to the gallant rescue of the Prince[25]

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20. Barani says Baharpur, p. 172.

21. He offered a very lame excuse saying that certain soldiers of Kanouj were worn out and requested Aitimar Kajhan to dismount, as after laying all the facts before him, he would accompany him to the Sultan's presence. K. K. Basu's translation of the sentence is incorrect. / - بحضور عرض کرده رایر رکاب بحضرت رفته شود (ملك ساعتی فرود آیند تا) He translates it, "Malik Saati intends presenting himself to the sultan and accompanying his stirrups to Delhi". The correct translation should be "Your highness should dismount and wait for sometime so that I may make a representation and accompany your stirrups to the capital."

22. *T. M.* p. 57, *T. F.* p. 172, *F. S.* p. 198. According to the latter, however, Kajhan's head was cut-off by Ali, son-in-law of Shayesta Khan's son, at a hint from Shayesta Khan. For the melo-dramatic nature of this account, the joint testimony of Barani and Yahiya has been preferred.

23. Ibn Batuta in his brief review of Jalaluddin's career remarks that Jalaluddin revolted against the sultan and going out of the city encamped upon a hill in the neighbourhood. (Elliot. III. p. 597.)

24. *T. M.* p. 58, *M. T.* p. 164.

25. *F. S.* p. 202, Zia Barani, p. 172. *T. M.* p. 58.

According to *T. M.* the attempt at rescuing the boy Prince was made much later on but as both Zia Barani and Isami are unanimous in stating that the event fol-

mounting his horse he galloped fast to the Khalji camp, but he had not gone far when an arrow shot by Hisamuddin struck him so violently that he fell down from his horse and died.[26]

The startling news of Hisamuddin's coup had spread like wild fire in Delhi. The city was seized with furious indignation ; crowds surged out of the gates but the fall of Surkha dispirited them and the uproar of the mob was extinguished by Malik Fakhruddin, the kotwal of the city.

The capture of the young prince and the disappearance of the two prominent Turkish armies made Shayesta Khan master of the situation. The Khalji's struck up their camp at Firuz-Koh and transferred their head-quarters to Kilughari. A strict guard under Malik Hasin, Shayesta Khan's uncle was kept over the palace and the invalid protector and lord of Hindustan, sank into the precarious condition of a captive at the hands of his trusted servant. The notable amirs, e.g. malik Fakhruddin kotwal and malik Chhaju came and offered congratulation. Then followed a scene which brought into lurid light the craft and hypocrisy of the principal actors. After mutual greetings and felicitation, Shayesta Khan turned to Malik Chhaju, offered him the regency of the minor Prince and then indicated his desire to retire to the post at Multan. Chhaju in his turn returned the compliments and begged the fief of Kara. This comic scene was cut short on the intervention of malik Fakhruddin who requested Shayesta Khan to assume the regency and send Chhaju to Kara.[27]

Shayesta Khan's regency.

Thus with the acquiescence of the principal amirs, began the regency of Shayesta Khan ; the boy Prince was placed on the throne at Chabutara Nasiri and entitled sultan Shamsuddin Kaimurs.[28] Meanwhile his father languished in the palace for want of food and water ; two days after the coronation an assassin who nursed a private grudge against Kaiqubad entered the royal chamber at the instigation of Shayesta Khan, administered a few kicks, and then threw his corpse headlong into the waters of the Jamuna.[29]

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loved the theft of the boy, we accept their version. This also seems more reasonable on a careful consideration of the circumstances as they developed.

26. *F. S.* gives a sensational account of the death of Surkha. According to him, the news of Hisamuddin's coup reached him when he was washing his hair. He immediately seized the horse and rode at speed to Shayesta Khan's tent. But his horse struck against a strong cord near the portico of Shayesta Khan's tent ; both the animal and the rider rolled on the ground whereupon, a Hindu who was near by attracted by the noise, sprang upon Surkha and cut his head by a sabre-stroke. *F. S.* (p. 202).

27 *T. M.* p. 59.

28. The name of the Sultan is given in the Persian texts as Shamsuddin Kaikus, but numismatic evidence clearly establishes that his name was Kaimurs (not Kaikus). *Catalogue of coins in the Delhi Museum*—WRIGHT, p. 66.

29. *F. S.* p. 200 says that Muizuddin killed a man named Turk who had several dare-devil sons, one of them entered the palace and kicked the Sultan to death. Zia Barani says, p. 173 ملکی را ..... در دفع کردن سلطان معزالدین اشارت کردند

On Wednesday, February 1, 1290 A.D. Sultan Muizzuddin disappeared from history.[30].

Sultan Shamsuddin Kaimurs.

For only a few months Shayesta Khan veiled his ambition by maintaining the phantom of a boy-sultan. His Khalji descent combined with the murder of Kajhan, the tragic end of Kaiqubad and the virtual imprisonment of Shamsuddin Kaimurs, earned for him universal abhorrence of the capital. He had, therefore to bide some time and strengthen his precarious position. He reorganised the administration and gradually the people accustomed themselves to the new regime. Four months after the accession of Kaimurs, he found himself strong enough to throw off the mask and put the crown on his head. The young sultan was thrown into prison and soon followed his father to the grave.[31] It may be doubtful whether Shayesta Khan stained his hand with the blood of this innocent Prince. It is certain, however, that his violence was the cause of the Prince's death.

Accession of Jalaluddin Firuz.

Preparations were now made for the coronation of the usurper. A golden throne was placed and Shaysta Khan mounted it with graceful steps, and proclaimed himself as sultan Jalaluddin Firuz, on Tuesday, June 13, 1290.[32] His accession was signalized by distribution of titles and offices; his eldest son received the title of Khan Khanan, second son Hisamuddin the title of Arkali Khan and the youngest that of Qadr Khan, his brother Shahabuddin was entitled Yaghrish Khan, Khwaja Khatir was appointed Wazir, Ahmad Chap Naib Barbak (deputy Usher), his nephew Alauddin and Ulugh Khan were rewarded with the offices of amir-i-Tuzak and akhur Beg; a body of new peers was created consisting of Tajuddin Kuji, his brother Fakhruddin, Malik Hannumar Sarjander, and others. The new Sultan's coronation was celebrated by a state entry into Delhi where he held a darbar in the Ruby Palace but the sullen discontent of the people compelled him to return to Kilughari which became the temporary seat of government. At Kilughari, the palace begun by Kaiqubad was completed and beautified with paintings. A lovely garden was laid out in front of it on the bank of the Jamuna. A new fortress was built and the cluster of mansions that soon grew up in all directions turned Kilghari into Shahr-i-nau (the new city).[33]

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at the instigation of Shayestā Khān the malik made an end of Kaiqubad. This is also supported by Ibn Batutā and Badauni.

30. *T. M.* gives this date which is indirectly supported by Amir Khusrau, for the latter places the accession of Jalaluddin on 3rd Jumad-ul-Akhir, 689, (13th June 1290). Badauni places his death in the middle of Muharam 689 A.H. That Zia Barani who places the accession of Jalaluddin in 688 A.H. is faulty, is attested also by epigraphic evidence. *E. Inde-Moslemica*, 1913-14, p. 34.

31. Zia Barani hides all facts about his death. Only T. M. says that he died in prison; obviously he was murdered.

32. *F. S.* p. 208. This date is given by Amir Khusrau, Elliot, p. 536.

33. *T. F.* p. 176.

The quick and unexpected succession of events culminated in a revolution by transfering the sceptre of India from the Turks to the Khaljis. For three generations Hindustan had obeyed the commands of the Turkish sultans; the awe and majesty of Balban's rule had secured a powerful hold on the popular imaginations; the sharp sword of the Ghiyasi chiefs was guarantying law and order in distant parts of Hindustan. These chiefs were now called upon to transfer their allegiance to Khaljis and naturally refused to yield without a struggle. They rallied round Malik Chhaju, the surviving heir of the Balbani line and Jalaluddin, within a short time after his accession, found himself confronted by their rising.

Campaign against Malik Chhaju.

With the assumption of the regency by Shayesta Khan, Malik Chhaju had retreated to Kara. The wealth and security of this eastern province having inflamed his ambition[34] he crowned himself and struck coins under the title of Sultan Mughisuddin;[35] his boundless liberality and gifts drew a multitude of followers to his side. Malik Ali Sarjandar, the iqtadar of Oudh, Alap Ghazi of Kark and a host of Hindu rais, ranas, rawats and chowdhuries joined his standard and the mighty army "as numerous as ants and locusts" rolled towards the capital to recover the throne from the upstart usurper.

The whole of northern India from Delhi to Kara was in a forment. Consternation seized the Khalji chieftains, Malik Tajuddin Kuji, Muhammad Qutlugh Khan, Nasrat Ali Beg, posted in the Doab and Rohilkhand. They left their district (iqtas), rallied at Kark and then proceeded to Badaun.[36] The extremity of the danger called forth the courage and resourcefulness of Firuz. He brought out the accumulated wealth of the treasury and distributed them amongst the troops. Their arrears of salary were paid off and an advance of the two months' pay was offered which roused their enthusiasm. Placing the capital in charge of his eldest son Khan Khanan, he sent a considerable portion of his army in advance under Arkali Khan while he himself marched with the rest towards Badaun, in April, 1290.[37] Crossing

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34. Kara was a very rich province. Ibn Batuta speaking about Kara remarks, "rice, sugarcane &c. grew up in abundance and excellent fabrics were manufactured there and exported to Delhi". DEFREMIE & SANGUINETI'S Ibn Batuta III, p. 181.

35. *I. M. C. & Delhi M. C.* refer to coins of Sultan Mughisuddin but the reading is very doubtful.

36. K. K. BASU again makes a mistake in translating a few lines which have changed the meaning of the whole passage. It would take too much space in pointing out the errors, briefly stated, the translation on p. 59, line 9 would be "when the aforesaid Amirs marched [towards] Delhi and not [against]." Line 14th the word "recalcitrant" shall have to be struck off, line 15th would be being Ghazi slaves we intend marching on Chhaju. (Eng. Trans. *Tarikh-i-mubarak-shahi* Gaekwad Oriental series.)

37. *T. M.* says that Jalaluddin sent his son towards Amroha and himself went to Badaun but Yahiya's version cannot be accepted in preference to the contemporary account of Amir Khusrau.

the Jamuna and Ganges Arkali Khan encamped on the Rahab,[39] and was confronted by the enemy on the other side. Malik Chhaju seized all available boats to bar the transportation of the Khalji army across the river, but with the help of a kind of boats called zauraks, they effected their passage across the stream and flung themselves upon the enemy.

The centre of the Khalji army was commanded by Arkali Khan : Mir Mubarak Barbak and Malik Mahmud commanded the right and left wings respectively, whereas the right and left centres were held by Muazzam Ahmad and Fakhruddowla. At the vanguard stood two heroes, Alauddin and Malik Qutlugh Tagin, " who could split a spear with an arrow," supported by other valiants, e.g. Kiki Malik, the governor of Koi and Malik Nasrat Muazzam. The battle raged all day long and was fought obstinately; when night came the war-weary army went to repose but Bhimdeo, the chief of Kola,[40] brought news to Chhaju that the Delhi Sultan was in full march to join his son. This adverse news threw Chhaju into utter despondency ; his hope of victory over an enemy to be strengthened by a fresh reinforcement faded away and the stricken heir to the throne of Delhi fled away during the night leaving his army on the field.[41]

The leaderless army, utterly distracted, broke away in confusion. The Hindu rawats and ranas who had taken betel leaves from their master and had grimly resolved to strike on the "parasol of Sultan Jalaluddin,"[41] were obliged to give way without fulfilling their heart's desire. The camps of Chhaju's army were pillaged for two days and Arkali Khan made a terrible carnage of the retreating enemy. Many chiefs including Bhimdeo were slain while many others, such as, Malik Masaud Akhurbeg, Malik Mahammad Balbani, Malik Tajdar, Malik Ujhan, Amir Ali Sarjandar, Malik Ulguchi were taken captives.

Malik Chhaju who had betaken shelter with a loyal vassal was betrayed and surrendered to Arkali Khan through the hand of a muqaddam. The defeat and dispersion of Chhaju's army released the sultan's energies for the effective subjugation of the eastern provinces. Striking up his camp at Badaun, he pushed on to Bhojpur ;[42] (Farrukhabad dt.) he exacted taxes

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38. This is probably Soti or Yarwafa-dar. Zia Barani P. T. p. 182 Kulaib Nagar which might be Kulaib nahar.

39. Kola is a stone fort in the Kumaun dt., 25 miles n. e. of Kashipur. *T. M.* p. 63 writes Kotla, this is very likely Kola, as Badauni writes, *M. T.* Per text. p. 169.

40. Zia Barani—181-2, *T. M.* p. 64., Amir Khusrau, ELLIOT III, p. 538.

41. *T. F.* P. 182 Zia Barani shows here his extreme partisanship for the Khalji cause by abusing the chiefs of Turkish army. His words are very interesting and may be quoted (هندوستانیان اب گرفته مست مزاج و برنج و ماهی و شراب کچهه خوار ..... منهزم گشتند) which translated into English would be "The plump, spiritless rice & fish eating & wine drinking Hindustanis were defeated".

42. This is a village in the Farrukhad Dt., "as when he reached Bhojpur, his light illuminated the banks of the Ganges." ELLIOT III, 539.

from the Hindu rais of the neighbourhood and then crossing the river swooped upon the land of Kabar.[43] The ruler of this place was Malik Alap Ghazi, entitled Malik-us-Sharq, an adherent of Chhaju; he had turned down the proposal of adhesion to the Khalji cause and murdered the envoy Silik sent by the Khalji amirs on the eve of war with Chhaju.

Alap Ghazi's zeal for Chhaju's cause and the foul murder of the envoy singled him out for particular punishment. But the Ghazi took a valiant stand; the Hindustanis "plumpbodied, rice and fish eating" as Barani calls them, offered an obstinate battle, but the Delhi army "made their sword rusty with the blood of the Hindus" and totally routed them. Terrible vengeance was wreaked upon the beaten enemy. The captive Hindus "were pounded into bits under the feet of elephants while the Musalmans who were Hindis" were distributed as slaves amongst the chiefs, many of them being ordered to be paraded through the cities of Hindustan. Alap Ghazi, the arch-rebel was exempted from the general clemency shown towards the Muhammadans and was executed. [*Cf.* ELLIOT III, 539].

Here at Kabar, the long delayed interview between the father and son took place. The courage and resolution of Arkali and Alauddin in the last war won the approbation of the sultan who assigned the province of Kara to Alauddin and Multan to Arkali Khan. The defence of the western frontier and the government of a wide tract of territory from the Indus to Salt range devolved upon his son, while the defence of the eastern frontier against the Balbani sultan of Lakhnauti[44] was committed to the care of his nephew and son-in-law. Here a public durbar was held and the captives headed by Chhaju, the victims of a cruel fate were presented before the sultan in a most shameful and wretched appearance. They were placed upon camels with halters round their necks, gyves in their wrists; their garments were soiled and their body tainted with marks of dirt and filth. As this grim procession of camel riders passed before the sultan's eyes, he was moved to deep compassion and ordered them to be unloosed. Tents, clothing, perfume and a good repast were presented to them and the sultan drank wine in their company. But the outward marks of affection and kindness only obscured from public gaze the punishment inflicted upon the rebels. The disgraced and vanquished Chhaju was transported to Multan in a litter and was exposed to the vengeance of furious Arkali Khan,[45] with a fate that can be better anticipated. The other accomplices of Chhaju, the proud amirs of Hindustan

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43. This appears to be Shamsābad, Amir Khusrau says that the Sultan met Arkali Khan for the first time after the victory over Chhaju at Kabar. On the other hand, Badauni says that Arkali went towards Bahari and Kasam Kur which is called Shamsabad and from the next line it appears that he met his father here and presented the captives, before him. Shamsabad is in Farrukhabad dt.

44. Rukmuddin Kaikus, grandson of Balban was the ruler of Lakhnauti, in 691 A. H. *M. C.* Page 147.

45. That Arkali was rash and hot tempered is attested both by Zia Barani and Isami—*T. F.* P. 193 and *F. S.*

followed their master into a mysterious obscurity.[46]

The reduction of the chief rebels now set the sultan free to chastise the petty chiefs and brigands who infested that region. He destroyed the dense forests which were the natural haunts of the banditti, the tall trees were first cut down and then the secluded fastnesses of the robbers were assailed and broken down. Terrible punishment was inflicted upon the robbers of Tirwa,[47] "when the Shah" says Amir Khusrau, "cut down this jungle, he created an earthquake in the walls of life, that is slaughtered many of the inhabitants." His progress towards the east was marked by the extirpation of the robbers whom he suspended from boughs so "that they looked like the trees of wakwak."[48]

The effective subjugation of the rebels and the suppression of the banditti restored security and peace into this region and the sultan returned to Delhi on Friday, Feb. 2, 1291.[49] The triumphant and safe return of the sultan was made an occasion for public rejoicing and for nearly a month Siri abandoned itself to merriment and festivity.

Campaign Against Ranthambhor

Rest was not long decreed to the Sultan, for a serious danger now menaced not merely his throne but the Muslim power in Hindustan. A

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46. What fate befell the other captives cannot be ascertained. Zia Barani praises at length Jalauddin's leniency towards the rebels, mentioning only incidentally that Chhaju was sent to Multan with orders to be kept in surveillance, but to be provided with all possible comfort. The Sultan's outward kindness took his courtiers by surprise and Ahmad Chap indulged in a long homily on the royal duty of punishing rebels, but the Sultan was not a fool. He could not set the rebels at large, but instead of immediately handing them over to the hangman, on their presentation before him, he sent at least the arch-rebel to Multan under the care of Arkali who was noted for violence and haughtiness. What befell his accomplices is very difficult to say. Zia Barani's panegyric lack candour, moreover, as his father was naib of Adkali Khan and an eminent Jalali Amir, his account of setting the captives at liberty cannot be credited with. Moreover, he was then very young, for on page 205, Zia Barani says that he was very young during the reign of Jalaluddin, he had completed the reading of the Quran and learnt to write the alphabets only. Zia Barani's statement about the Khalji's should be accepted with great caution.

47. There is a place of this name in the Farrukhabad dt. 25 miles s. s. e. of Fathegarh.

48. Elliot III, 539, *F. S. P.* 215, 218, gives a picture of dense forests.

۴۲۰۵ - یکی جنگلی انبوه آنجا بدید که بس مفسد اندر پناهش خزید
۴۲۰۶ - درختان رسانیده بر چرخ سر همه شاخ پیچیده بایکدگر
۴۲۰۹ - ز تاریکی آن دشت ظلمات گشت که حیوان دو و کم تواند گذشت

which translated into English would be "He saw there a dense forest where many strife-mongers had sought shelter. The trees raised their heads to the sky, the branches had become intertwined with one another. The forest was filled with such darkness (by the density of the trees), that even the animals found it difficult to move."

49. *Cf.* Elliot III, 450.

formidable enemy had raised his head in Rajastan, the land of the Rajputs, the home of chivalry and valour. This was the Chāhamāna chief Hammīra of Ranastambhapur, who ascending the throne in 1283 A.D.,[50] entered upon an aggressive military career and carried his victorious armies far and wide.[51] Malwa was subdued, the whole of Rajastan (Rajputana) was overrun, his victorious standard being carried as far as Sakambhar-i[52] (Sambhar). The growth of this Rajput Power, within striking distance of Delhi which had twice hurled back the arms of Islam, naturally roused Jalaluddin to a lively sense of apprehension and without resting long on his laurels he marched forth with his army against the Chāhamāna king on Thursday, 21st March, 1291. Passing through Sohrait and Chandawal and cutting Rewari on the way he reached Narnol. After resting and refreshing the army for sometime he struck in a south-easterly direction towards Bhiwana, suffering indescribable hardship on the way for want of water and fodder for the animals. The whole country, parched up and dry, presented an appearance of a mass of blazing fire. The burning April sun had scorched up the whole country; wells had dried up and vegetation had withered. As Amir Khusrau says, "The earth was dry and in it not a blade of grass had sprung up anywhere;" suffocating with thirst and heat the army reached Bhiwana[53] and enlivened itself by the abundant water of the wells of the place. Here they loaded one hundred camels with water and recommenced their journey; their way lay through hills and valleys but the fatigues of the journey were relieved by the sight of the peacocks on both sides of the hills. After threading their way for two weeks they reached the outskirts of Jhain, which was the key to the redoubtable fortress of Ranastambhapur. Efforts were, therefore, directed to the occupation of Jhain. The reconnaisance of the hills and of the fortress was entrusted to Kara Bahadur whose approach near the fortress with a body of archers was greeted by a sortie of the garrison;[54] next day, led by notable chiefs, such as, Malik Khurram aariz-i-mamalik, Malik Qutlugh Tigin, Azam Mubarak, the Amir of Narnol, Ahmad and Mahmud Sarjandars and a few others, a large body of men dashed forward for an assault. They were obstinately opposed but the Rajput army was defeated and dispersed. Many were taken captives while others put to the sword as they broke away from the field of action.[54] The Rai with his men, took shelter in the fortress of

50. *Ind. Ant.* VIII, 64. Ranthambhor is 75 miles s. e. from Jaipur.

51. Balvan stone inscription, *E. I.* XIX, P. 45-52.

52. (1) Sambhar is distant about 100 miles and Ranthambhor 195 miles from Delhi. (2) That Sambhar acknowledged the sway of Hammir is also attested by a Sanskrit work, '*Śārangadhara-paddhati*, Śārangadhara's grandfather Rāghavadeva was a courtier of Hammir. *F. N.* P. 1099, (*Dynastic History of Northern India*, II. By H. C. RAY.).

53. A town in Bharatpur State.

54. Amir Khusrau mentions that seventy Hindus were killed and forty wounded in the first encounter. This number seems to be exaggerated from the manner of the description.

Ranthambhor.[55] A large amount of spoils fell into the hands of the Muslim army and the victory was solemnly celebrated by the distribution of gold and robes of honour. Three days after, the sultan made a triumphant entry into Jhain and fixed up his residence in the private apartments of the palace.

The rich ornamented carvings on the pillars and the exquisite painting on the walls struck the sultan with utter astonishment while the excellent wood carvings and the smooth glossy plaster on the walls, refracting the image of the person beholding it, aroused his warm appreciation.

Jalaluddin visited the temples of the place "which were ornamented with elaborate work in gold and silver," but their beauty and grandeur only whetted the fury of the iconoclasts, who had acquired "from the law of the Koran an immortal hatred to all graven images and all relative worship." They set fire to the holy sanctuaries and destroyed them to their very foundations. Their unconquerable repugnance to idols subjected two images of Brahma "each weighing more than a thousand *mans*"[56] to the worst vengeance. They were broken to pieces and their fragments distributed amongst the men to be thrown before the Jama Masjid at the capital in order to be trodded by the "Faithful".[57].

The reduction of Jhain opened the way to the far-famed fortress of Hammir, situated on the eminence of a rock, and isolated by deep and impassable ravines on all sides. The Aravalli ranges extend their spurs and encompass the rocky fortress rendering it almost impregnable. This natural fortification strengthened by works of human art easily bade defiance to the sultan of Delhi.

After the capture of Jhain, active preparations were set on foot for the siege of this fortress. Orders were issued for the construction of redoubts and sinking of tunnels, but a careful reconnaisance of the fort personally by the sultan and a vivid realisation of the dangers and difficulties of a prolonged siege damped his spirits and persuaded him to abandon the fortress to itself.[58]

Repelled from this place the muslim army was let loose in the neighbourhood to spread terror and devastation. One column under Ahmad Sarjandar crossed the Chambal, another under Mubarak Barbak was detached towards the Banas, while the third party under malik Jandarbak Ahmad carried their ravages "from the hills of Lara to the borders of Mara". The column under Ahmad Sarjandar proceeded in the course of their raid as far as the Kuwari,[59]

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55. A. K. states that the Rai frightened summoned his general Gurdon Saini at the head of 10,000 Rawats to fight.

56. Persian maund may correspond to Indian seer in this case.

57. *T. F.* P. *F. S.* P. Amir Khusrau, ELLIOT III, P. 540.

58. Barani conceals the retreat of the Sultan, his father's patron by fulsome panegyrics (*T. F.* P. 214). It may be pointed out that his contemporary Afif similarly hides Sultan Firuz Tughlaq's retreat from Lakhnauti under the convenient plea of his aversion to shed the blood of the Mussalmans. Afif P. 119 (*Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*).

59. An affluent of the Ganges passing through the Gwalior territory. By

scattered a Rajput force and then rejoined the sultan on the bank of the Chambal. Laden with an enormous booty the army turned towards the capital and passing by Bayana, reached Delhi in time to celebrate the second anniversary of the Sultan on Monday, June 3, 1291.[59] The preoccupation of the Delhi sultan in the east and the south now offered an excellent opportunity to the Mongol hordes to repeat their raids into Hindustan.

Campaign Against the Mongols

In 1292 A.D. Abdullah, grandson of Hulagu, Ilkhan of Persia swept into the Punjab with a countless army and pushed on as far as Sunam,[61] 13 miles east of Samana, (Patiala State) ravaging and plundering all the way. Hindustan lay exposed to the barbarian invaders. To ward off the serious menace the sultan marched forth with a large army headed by Malik Khamush ; and by a succession of uninterrupted marches he overtook the Mongols in the vicinity of Sunam. The Delhi army took its stand by a small stream and viewed the enemy from a distance ; encounters between the vanguards of the contending armies were indecisive. At length, the Mongols anxious to draw matters to a conclusion, crossed the river and reformed themselves in battle array. Both sides brawled and shouted and then came to clash. Attired with coats of mail and steel helmet, armed with mace, spears and arrows the Delhi army 30,000 strong flung itself upon the "accursed enemy" but could not break their centre (Qalabgha) where the Mongols coiled themselves up.[62] The indecisive issue of the contest[63] and the consequent suspense and perplexity made both the combatants eager for peace. Negotiations were opened and a treaty was concluded by which the Mongols under Abdulla evacuated India while Ulghu, grandson of Jengiz Khan with many commanders of thousands and centurions were allowed to stay in India.[64] They embraced

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crossing the river the Delhi army did not penetrate into Malwa but only into Gwalior. (*Medieval India*, P. 184).

60. That Ranthambhor expedition took place in this year is attested by the unimpeachable testimony of Amir Khusrau, ELLIOT III, P. 543, who completed his Ghurrat-ul-Kamal in the very year only seventeen days after the return of the Sultan to the capital June 20, 1291. The date given in Zia Barani 689 A.H and followed by Nizamuddin.

61. *T.F. P.T.* P. 218, *F.S.* P. 205, give the name of the place Barram. As Zia Barani says that a river separated the two armies and as a small rivulet flows by the side of Sunam, (RENNELL's *Memoir of Map of Hindustan*, p. 74) we may not be mistaken in writing Sunam, F. S. also says that the Mongols crossed the Indus, V. 4003. *Ramzat-ul-Tahirin* P. 381. Buhra Bahar Library Ms says that they raided Lahore and the Punjab.

62. *F. S.* P. 203.

63. This is testified to by *T.F.*, P. 218, F.S. P. 204. But Zia Barani's statement that the army of Islam became victorious in these encounters (repeated also, in C.H. 1. P. 95) is very difficult to accept, for the Mongol vanguard would not have ventured to cross the river and assail their enemies, in case of their defeat.

64. Isami says (P. 208-10) that unable to pierce the enemy's centre, the Delhi army returned to their camp but after a quarter of the next night had passed, strangely the Mongols retreated. If the Mongols retreated, why should the Sultan

Islam and the alliance concluded with them was cemented by the marriage of sultan's daughter to Ulghu. The Mongols came to Delhi, were settled in the neighbouring villages and their profession of Islam gained them the name of nau-mussalmans (new Muslims).[65] This treaty with Abdullah and the establishment of a close relationship between Ulghu and the Delhi monarch stands as a striking instance of the coolness and prudence of the sultan. It is of a piece with his policy of clemency towards the accomplices of Chhaju. His true interest and necessity alike forbade a hazardous war with the Mongols. Victory would secure no lasting benefit; defeat, on the other hand would be the signal for the uprising of the quiscent Ghiyasi amirs and the insubordination of the turbulent elements. The sultan's prudence and the foresight alike were soon proved to the hilt. His retreat last year from the fortress of Ranthambhor and his pre-occupation with the Mongols encouraged the restless elements, and he was once more compelled to take up arms.

Expedition against Mandawar, 1292 A.D.

Leaving Arkali Khan in charge of the capital the sultan proceeded to Mandawar[66] at the head of his army and reached the place in the evening. At night the fatigued army chiefs refreshed themselves by drinking wine. The chiefs Mughlati, Hamumar Sarjandar, Malik Mubarak shikar Beg-Ghiyasi, met together in Tajuddin's camp, in a drinking bout, and in the wine drinker's paradise they indulged in a vainglorious seditious talk. They charged the sultan with lack of stern vindictiveness, mistook his policy of peace and clemency for temerity and imbecility and talked of substituting the aged monarch by either rash Tajuddin or headstrong Ahmad Chap. This news was conveyed by Tajuddin's brother Fakhruddin Kuji, to the sultan who kept up strict vigilance during the night.

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conclude peace with them and allow them to settle in the neighbourhood of the capital, constituting a perpetual menace to the city. The fact is, the Sultan finding it beyond his strength to beat them completely concluded peace with them.

65. Zia Barani states p. 172 that the vanguard of the Delhi army became victorious, many Mughals were put to the sword and one or two commanders of thousands and several courtiers were taken captive and presented before the Sultan. Ultimately the messengers on both sides began negotiations. This combined with Isami's version p. 205-7 leave little room for doubt that the Delhi army did not obtain any decisive victory, but merely held its own. In case of Sultan's decisive victory, Zia Barani would not have adopted so mild a tone in the narration of his patron's triumph. (Cf. the abusive epithets hurled against Chhaju's men.) Moreover, the Sultan would not have condescended to offer his daughter in marriage in case of his victory. Accordingly the statement made in *C. H. I.* p. 96 that the advanced guard of the invaders suffered a severe defeat and they readily agreed to the King's terms would require revision. Dr. Iswari PRASAD's statements on page 184 (*Mediæval India*) require also correction.

66. Mandawar has been mistaken for Mandu, but it was beyond Jalaluddin's strength to go as far as Mandu. Hammir remained unsubdued, whereas, Samar-Singh of Mewar, 1287-99 A.D. and Samantsingh of Jalor held sway about this time blocking the approaches to Mandu. (*Rajputna Museum Report*, 1923, p. 3.) This Mandawar appears to be in Bijnaur dt.

When the morning broke the nobles were summoned to a public darbar. As the aforesaid nobles took to their seats, the sultan stared at them and when they were presented before him, his angry countenance and blood-shot eyes smote the culprits. He stung them by harsh words of reproach and then visited his displeasure upon them by dismissal from their present posts and immediate transfer to distant iqtas. Mughlati was sent to Badaun, Malik Mubarak to Bhatinda and Malik Harnumar was punished with the deprivation of his office of Sarjandar.[67] An additional decree forbidding them to visit the capital for one year completed their cup of humiliation.[68]

Freed from anxiety, the sultan set himself to the task of subduing Mandawar. The Delhi army attacked the place and a single assault brought the rebels down to their knees. After the reduction of this place the Delhi army returned to the capital.

Sayyidi Maula.

Soon after (1293 A.D. ?) Delhi became the scene of grim tragedy which tarred the Sultan's fair name with a lasting infamy. During the reign of Sultan Balban, an ascetic named Sayyidi Maula, had wandered to Ajudhan[69] from Persia and enlisted himself as disciple of Sheikh Farid Ganj Shakar. Later on, he transfered himself to Delhi and took up his abode on the bank of the Jamuna. Here he lived in poverty and simplicity practising austerities; a very abstemious diet of bread made of flour appeased his hunger; no servant or handmaid was needed for his services. A garment and a wrapper satisfied his requirements of clothing. In the seclusion of his cloister he repeated five daily prayers but abstained from joining the Friday assembly prayer. His simplicity and poverty, piety and austerity drew many followers to his side. During the reign of Jalaluddin his eldest son Khan Khanan and a number of disgraced Ghiyasi amirs became his disciples. The wealth and offering which his followers lavished upon their master enabled him to build a magnificent rest house which provided shelter and food to travellers both by land and water. Attracted by the fame of his charity, high and low flocked at his gate, and huge quantities of flour, meat, sugar and sugar-candy[70] were required daily to feed the multitude of hungry and

67. *T. M. P. T.* p. 64-5, *M. T. P.* 169, says, on reaching the news of treachery of a few Ghiyasi amirs, he sent them off to various iqtas.

68. *T. F. T.* p. 192, Zia Barani turns the whole episode into a story of Arabian night's entertainment. He only says that the sultan reprimanded them and witty Nasarat Sabah intervened and indulged in a humourous speech on which the Sultan's eyes became filled with tears and he pardoned them all forbidding them to visit Delhi for one year. The Persian extract is indeed entertaining. *T. F.*'s statement p. 220, that there were two expeditions against Jhain admits of no doubt; but from the description it appears that the 2nd expedition was merely a plundering raid, intended to overawe the Rajputs. *M. T.* also supports it, 173.

69. The word is wrongly written "Sidi." سیدی مولہ

70. At present known as Pak Pattan in the Montogomery Dt. Punjab, (30°-21,' 73°-25') Zia Barani, p. 208 says that 2000 Mds. of flour, 500 goats (skinned off), 300 ms of sugar, 300 ms of sugar-candy were required daily.

poor and to offer morsels to the curious spectators.[71]

His boundless liberality and indiscriminate charity dazed all people who ascribed to him miraculous powers but these lavish gifts and association with amirs became the cause of his ruination; a cruel destiny had dragged him to a course against which his master Sheikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar had forewarned him. The voice of rumour brought to the sultan's ears his extraordinary power of working miracles; designing courtiers circulated the news of his fabulous wealth and nocturnal meetings with the amirs. The priests of other religious orders, envious of his fame and popularity, indulged in machinations. So, when the sultan came back from Mandawar, the news of an alleged conspiracy formed by Sayyid-i-Maula with a few amirs, e.g. Qazi Jalal Kashani, Qazi Urdu, Baranjtan Kotwal, Hatia Paik kindled his wrath. The Maula and his principal associates were apprehended but when they were brought before the sultan, they made vehement protestations of their innocence. At length, the Sultan pronounced the judgment of ordeal by fire to test their guilt. A big crowd assembled at Baharpur to see the awful scene; the Sultan himself pitched his tents there; the priests and theologians also crowded at the spot. A fire was kindled and the darwesh Sayyidi Maula was brought near the flames. The Sultan then invoked the judgment of the Ulemas (theologians) on the matter but with one voice they declared the ordeal inconsistent with the injunctions of religion and banned it; the fire was extinguished but the accomplices of Maula were sentenced to varying degrees of punishment. Jalal Kashani was transfered to Badaun with the office of Qazi; many of the nobles were banished to distant parts; on the other hand, Hatia Paik was smitten to death with the repeated blows of a mace, while the son of Targhi was trodden to death under the feet of an elephant. After the sentence was passed upon the principal associates, the pious Maula bound with fetters was brought before the Sultan. A parley ensued between him and the saint but the latter's guilt could not be proved. At this, the Sultan turned towards Abubakr Jusi, the chief of the Qalandari sect and burst out in rage crying, "Are there none of the darweshes here who can avenge me on this tyrant." Immediately a qalandar named Bhari sprang up and slashed the Darwesh several times with a razor; another tore off[72] his beard up to the chin and thrust the big sack-sewing needles into the sides of abdomen. The saint smarting under the tormenting pain remained seated. Pieces of stone lying about were then flung on his head. The heart-rending scene terminated when, at a signal from Arkali Khan, a furious elephant rode over the sacred person of the Darwesh and smashed him to pieces.[73] The brutal murder of the holy man was followed by a dust storm

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71. Our historian Zia Barani says that he went one day to the Khanqah and obtained grace by eating a morsel.

72. The word used in *T. M.* p. 66 is (محاسن تاز نیچ قرو دآورد اند) which should not be translated as "shaving off" as K. K. Basu does, Eng. Trans. p. 63.

73. The account is given in *T. F.* p. 208-12, *T. M.* p. 170, *F. S.* p. 235, *T. M.* 95-67. Dr. Iswari Prasad says (*Medieval India* p. 183) that the superstition of

which darkened the horizon and popular prejudice and superstition saw in it the manifestation of God's wrath.[74]

A greater calmity befell Hindustan this year. Utter want of rainfall dried up the lands and rendered cultivation impossible. The result was the outbreak of a terrible famine; corn became very dear, each seer of wheat sold at a jital. Scarcity extended as far as the Siwalik hills and people unable to endure the pangs of hunger, died in hundreds or drowned themselves in the waters of the Jumna. The famine raged for two successive years, rainfall being extremely scanty even in the second year; efforts were made by the sultan to alleviate the distress by the distribution of accumulated grains, but this was utterly inadequate to cope with the magnitude of the terrible distress.

Second Expedition Against Ranthambhor. 1293 A.D.

It was not long after the execution of Sayyidi Maula that the Sultan undertook another expedition against Ranthambhor.[75] Rana Hammir's audacity had not been curbed. His insolence drew the Delhi army again to Rajastan. But this expedition, too, was a failure. The Rana remained secure in his fastness; and after considerable loot and idol breaking, the army came back to Delhi.

Alauddin's Expedition against Bhilsa. 1293 A.D.? and against Devagiri 1295 A.D.

Just at this time the whole of central India was stirred by a bold march of Alauddin Khalji across mid-India to Bhilsa. Alauddin, whose original name was Garshasp, had been appointed to Kara after the victory over Malik Chhaju. His situation at the eastern frontier of the Khalji kingdom had enabled him to carry his raids to Bihar and to distant Lakhnauti. In 1293 A.D.? he made a bolder raid across the petty Hindu kingdoms of Central India into Bhilsa, where he seized enormous booty including two bronze idols. Placed on wheeled carriages they were sent to Delhi where they were accorded the approved seat in front of the Badaun gate. All these daring raids of Alauddin were soon eclipsed by a more magnificent exploit. Secluded by the chains of the Vindhyas and the Satpura ranges, the Maratha kingdom of Devagiri was carrying on its self-contained existence, heedless of the great changes that were at work in the north. This self-complacency was now

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age ranged itself on the king's side. This is not correct, for the Ulemas banned the ordeal and declared that the evidence of one man was not sufficient to establish the guilt.—Zia Barani. P.T. P. 311.

74. *T. M.* p. 67 says that at the order of the Sultan, a pit, 10 yds long and 3 yds broad was dug; a fire was kindled and the remaining adherents of the Maula were ordered to be thrown into the pit, but at the intercession of Arkali Khan their lives were spared. This is also indirectly supported by Badauni p. 172.

The Sultan was not after all the milk of human kindness as he is portrayed to be by Zia Barani.

75. Zia Barani says that the expedition was sent for the second time against Jhain which was laid waste. It is needless to point out that Ranthambhor was his real objective. This is correctly pointed out by much maligned Badauni who did not copy Zia Barani like Nizamuddin Ahmad, *M. T.* p. 172.

broken for the first time by the lances of Muslim soldiery under Alauddin. His last success against Bhilsa earned for him the title of ariz-i-mamalik, and the augmentation of his fief by the incorporation of Oudh. Reward and success alike stimulated his ambition to seize the throne of his uncle and launched him on a most brilliant exploit and a spectacular adventure.

The prospect of booty secured the sultan's permission for an expedition to Chanderi and the suspension of the payment of the arrears of revenue for Kara and Oudh. Fresh levies were recruited with the surplus money and Alauddin started on the expedition with a picked body of several thousand horsemen[76] in 1295 A.D. leaving Ala-ul-Mulk, his duty in Kara. Threading his way through the deep forests of Central India, he first dashed on Ellichpur. Either from powerlessness or supine indifference the Hindu chiefs did not impede his march.[77] Refreshing his army at Ellichpur in Berar, he continued his march and with a startling suddenness flung his troops on Lasura. Fortune favoured Alauddin for king Ramdev's son Sankaradeva had gone out at this time on an expedition with the bulk of his troops. The king was taken completely by surprise but he was determined not to yield ground without a struggle. The appearance of a strange enemy, the interpidity and suddenness of their attack and the absence of an effective army threw Rai Kanhan, (probably) the king's minister into despair. But the reproachful words of the Raja lashed Kanhan to fury; with a hastily improvised army, stimulated to vigorious action by two Amazons[78] who put on cuiras and armour Kanhan rode forth and took his

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76. Ferishta (N. K. Press p. 97) does not give the exact number. He says that it consisted of 7000 to 8000 men.

77. Following Ferishta all the historians including *C. H. I.* p. 96 of India have repeated that Alauddin was allowed to pass through the intervening territory between Kara and Devagirl, as he gave out that he was a discontented nobleman going to seek service at Rajamahendri. In the words of Ferishta himself Alauddin carried with him an army of 7 to 8 thousand men. Does any discontented nobleman ever seek service with a well-equipped force of eight thousand men? Taking for granted that all the decadent kings of the once powerful kingdoms, e.g., the Chandellas of Jejakabhukti, the Chahamānas of Javalipur were fools, could they allow any foreign army to pass through their territory? Then again, why should he seek service with the king of Rajamahendri? Ferishta, of course, says that he drew his information from a contemporary work *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, but that work is no longer extant and his reference to a contemporary work merely cannot allow us to accept cock and bull stories, e.g., the story of sacks of salt which were taken to be sacks of corn and brought inside the fortress; As the siege continued, foodstuffs became scarce, when, to utter surprise, it was discovered that the sacks contained salt and not corn. Were not the soldiers supplied with food by a department or at least by a body appointed for the purpose? Taking it for granted that all was in confusion, had the men lost their head to such an extent that they would not perceive them to be sacks of corn, even at the time when they were stored up? But strangely enough, even this gossip has found place in a work like the *Cambridge History of India*, p. 96.

78. *F. S.* P. 224-25, 228 is eloquent in praising the valour of the two heroines who led vigorous charges on the Muslim army, verses 4374-93, (a few lines are

stand at Lasura twelve miles off from the capital Devagiri, to resist the progress of the Muslim army. The battle was fought obstinately; under the terrible charge of the Marathas, Alauddin's army reeled and fell back but they held their ground, and when the wave of Maratha onset subsided, Alauddin's men resumed the offensive and scattered the Marathas.

The defeat of the army compelled Ramdeva to shut himself up in the citadel and the Muslim army ranged at large. The land of the Marathas abounded with all good things; peaceful cultivation and trade had accumulated riches in every house. As the historian Isami says, in his Fatuh-us-salatin, "Houses were filled with gold, silver and perfume, fine clothing was abundant; the women possessed unequalled charm and delicacy; their body from head to feet was wrapped up with ornaments."[78] The hapless people were now exposed to the cruelties of the Muslim soldiery while their king remained besieged in the fort and the heir-apparent engaged in a distant theatre of war. In this extremity Ramdeva opened negotiations for peace and offered to purchase cessation of hostilities on promise of a huge quantity of

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quoted here as they are very interesting.)

٤٣٧٤ ـ شنیدم دو عورت دران روزگار قوی چست بودند در کارزار
٤٣٧٥ ـ شنیدند چون ترك بگذشت حد به کانها رسیدند هر دو مدد
٤٣٨١ ـ همان هر دو هندو زنان دلیر که بودند در کینه چون ماده شیر
٤٣٨٢ ـ یکبارك بر افواج ترکان زدند بسی دنبل و بوق بیکان ز دند
٤٣٨٣ ـ عجب کرد لشکر ازین چیرگی که نابد ز هندو چنین چیرگی

Translated into English, it means I heard at this time there were two women very capable in warfare; when the Turks crossed the frontier, both of them offered help to Rai Karnan; these brave women were like tigresses in ferocity. Simultaneously they made an assault on the Turks; discharged many arrows; the soldiers (of Alauddin) became surprised at their valour."

79. We give here only the substance, divested of rhetoric *F. S.* p. 227-28.

بسی نازکان ملائك فریب همه اس گرند و خوش رکیب
نبوده بیك چشمه هی نازنین وجود و عدم از میان سرین
بسی سیم ساقان تعظیم دوست شده مردم از ساق شان سیم دوست
همه غرق زیور ز سرتایا نهفته بهر چشم مردم دیا
ا یران آهوان گشته شیران اسیر ندیدم کهی آهوئی شیر گیر
پوشید پیرایه هر نازنین سراسر مرصع ز دُرّ ثمین
بهر خانهٔ تودهالی گهر بر آورده هر خانه از سیم و زر
بهر سوز تر مینه خروارها بهر جانب از عطر انبارها
بهر کوچهایش در بی شمار بسی گنج فارغ ز تشویش مار
بسی جامهٔ طبیعت پذیر چه کم آید آن جامه دد دیوگر

Sir Jadunath SARKAR points out in his *Life of Sivaji* p. 4 (3rd edition) the causes of Maharastra's wonderful prosperity, though of a later age. "Across this rugged tract lay all the routes from the ocean port of our western coast to the rich capitals and marts of central Deccan etc."

wealth the valuables;[80] meanwhile the war in which prince Shankar had been engaged was over and the proud prince of Maharastra turned towards his country, determined to avenge the disgrace. He flung aside the treaty and challenged Alauddin to a fresh trial of strength. The brave Muslim chieftain who had led his army from the northern plains to the rugged Deccan plateau was not the man to shrink from war and buy a hasty retreat. A long, almost interminable distance separated him from his base at Kara ; echoes of his perilous march to the Deccan had reached his uncle, the sultan of Delhi and excited his anger. But the extremity of the situation, particularly their experience of first encounter with the Maratha army called forth all the energies of the muslims ; they determined to conquer or die[81] in a foreign land. Directing Nasrat Khan to the siege of the fortress where Ramdev lay confined, Alauddin hastened to fight at the head of a tiny force against the countless army under Shankardev. With an overwhelming superiority in numbers,[82] the Marathas fought with the confidence of victory and assailed the Muslim army from all sides. The repeated assaults distracted the small body of men who were compelled to fall back and the battle was about to end in a stampede when the Muslim army was unexpectedly reinforced by the reserve of one thousand men left under Nasrat Khan. This small relieving band was mistaken by the Marathas for a large reinforcement and victory which was in their grasp was soon turned into a rout ; Alauddin shrank from the pursuit of the enemy and strengthened the siege. The renewed defeat and the scarcity of provision in the fort of Devagiri made the Marathas again eager for peace ; and they

80. *F. S.* P. 228 says that Raja Ramdeva also consented to offer his daughter but as Amir Khusrau does not make any reference to this episode in the narration of his patron's campaign in Deogir in his Khazinat-ul-fatuh, we hesitate to accept this account, unsupported by any other authority.

81. The valour of the two unnamed Amazons of Maharastra particularly struck the enemy. *F. S.* says "when the women overpower the men, it is not known how powerful the men would be ; let us swear anew that when we strike the enemy.

We shall not turn our head, though we might die,
We turn the shield to our face this time ;
The skin we shall take off from every Hindu
The country of Maratha we shall lay waste
And when the force of the Hindus will be overpowered
The entire country of Maratha we shall hold

The Persian, text is given here which is very interesting.

٤٤٠٢ - چو عورت این ملك مرد افگنند ندانم که مردان چه اهر مانند
٤٤٠٣ - بنالید تجدید بیعت کنیم که چون تیغ بر روئی دشمن ز نیم
٤٤٠٤ - اگر جان بر آید نتابیم سر کشیم اندران حال بر اوسپر
٤٤٠٥ - ز آرم پوست از سر هندوان بتاریم اقلیم مرهٹ روان

82. *F. S.* P. 228 says that Shankar had a vast army of 5 lacs cavalry and 10 thousand infantry and eight elephants. This figure is not credible but is a testimony to the immense superiority of the Marathas in numbers.

bought it by the surrender of immense wealth to the Muslim general. Making allowance for the exaggeration of Muslim historians, it may be said that tens of maunds of gold, silver, emeralds, diamonds and saphires, a considerable quantity of silken fabric and a crowned umbrella inset with jewels came into the possession of Alauddin.[83]

The news of this brilliant triumph and the capture of abundant wealth floated across the bazars to Delhi and caused a flutter in the court. The sultan was now on the wrong side of seventy and thoughts of succession to his throne naturally crossed his mind; his eldest son Khan Khanan was dead, his second son Arkali Khan was rash and impetuous. He had quarrelled with him and gone back to Multan without his permission; his youngest son Qadr Khan, married to a daughter of Kaiqubad was the favourite of his mother Queen Malikā Jehan who exercised great influence over the sultan's mind. The prospect of a disputed succession, of a rupture between Arkali and Qadr Khan supported by his mother, agitated his mind.[84]

The uneasiness of the Sultan was aggravated to a climax by his nephew's ambitious movements and designs. He was a valiant warrior and a great commander of men. His generalship, campaigns against Bihar and Lakhnauti had carried his name far and wide. But his success and exploits had set his aunt and mother-in-law, queen Malika Jehan against him. She tormented Alauddin with many insults and injuries.[85] But the latter was absolutely helpless against her machinations; for his uncle sultan Jalaluddin was completely under the influence of his queen. The hostility of his aunt and the sultan's subservience to her wishes naturally alienated his feelings from them and drove him to counteract his aunt's schemes by military preparations. Alauddin raised and trained a large body of troops at Kara and his distant campaigns at their head bade fair to make him a formidable rival for the throne of Delhi.

The prospect of the succession of Jalaluddin's sons to the throne was thus clouded by Alauddin's exploits. At the news of his nephew's bold march

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83. Furishta says p. 96 (N. K. Press, lith. copy) that 600 mds. of gold (not pearls as Briggs translates p. 320), seven maunds of pearls, two maunds of jewels gems, saphires, diamond, emerald, 1000 maunds of silver and 4000 pieces of silken cloth, and other kinds of valuables which are beyond description, Isami also says p. 228 that countless gold, diamonds etc. came into Alauddin's possession.

The wealth of Devagiri is also attested by Zia Barani for he says "Alauddin brought with him such enormous quantities of gold, silver, jewels and pearls that though more than two generations have passed since then and much has been spent after the changes of the crown a large part of these elephants, jewels, pearls and other articles still remains in the treasury of Delhi.

84. *T. F.* p. 193 *f.* 20.

The Sultan's unfavourable opinion against his son is expressed in the words of Zia Barani, on page 193. Addressing the Amirs Jalaluddin said "If he (Arkali) hears all that you say and think, he will not leave you alive and will do you mischief in a hundred ways." If I forbid him a hundred times he will not pay heed to it.

85. *T. F.* P. 185, P. 221-23, Zubdat-ut-tawarikh (I. O.) folio 20., M. T. P. 174.

to Devagiri, the sultan became seriously concerned and about May 1326 he moved to Gwalior with his court to watch his nephew's movements who had carried his army to the Deccan. There a meeting of the privy council مجلس خلوت was summoned and the course of action to be adopted against the bold, adventurous nephew was hotly discussed, but opinions were sharply divided. His nephew (sister's son) Ahmad Chap advocated stern measures and the capture of the entire spoils of the Deccan campaign on the latter's way to Kara. "Elephants and wealth when held in great abundance" said Ahmad Chap "are the causes of much strife; whoever acquires them becomes intoxicated and inflated so that he can not distinguish his hands from feet."[86]

Malik Fakhruddin, on the other hand, recommended moderation. Armed opposition to Alauddin at this stage would, in his opinion, drive him either into the arms of the sultan's enemies or into unknown quarters. Matters could be more effectively settled with him on his safe return to Kara; "If any symptom of rebellion becomes visible," said the boastful malik, "a single assault of His Majesty's forces would turn him completely upside down."[87] The counsel of moderation commended itself to the sultan and after staying for some time at Gwalior, he returned to the capital.[88]

Soon after Alauddin came back to Kara laden with a vast quantity of spoils, elephants and horses. He realised that his bold expedition and resounding victory had caused great sensation in Delhi court and excited suspicion in the mind of his uncle, the sultan of Delhi. He, therefore, did not present himself at the court of the latter but addressed letters couched in mild and apologetic terms.

Meanwhile other events occurred which deepened mutual suspicion. One of Alauddin's amirs Malik Khitab had rebelled and sought protection with the sultan's youngest son Qadr Khan. Alauddin was already conscious of his own guilt. His expedition to the Deccan in transgression of the sultan's order coupled with the delay in the presentation of spoils verged on rebellion. Moreover, when he found that the Delhi court, particularly Qadr Khan, the protégé of his dire enemy Malika Jehan, was harbouring his enemy, he became

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86. *Rauzat-ut-Tahirin*—(Bihar Library) says also that Ahmad Chap suggested that all his elephants and paraphernalia should be taken away from him so that he may not have the power to resist. (*Rauzat ut Tahirin*, Ms p. 381). Zia Barani says that Ahmad Chap administered a long lecture. T. F. 224. The substance is only given here "Riches and sedition go together; It would be wise in my opinion that your majesty should march with all speed and proceed to Chanderi to intercept and block his way." This unmistakeably shows that the Sultan and his courtiers were apprehending the rebellion of Alauddin.

87. Zia Barain says *T. F.* p. 227 that the Sultan discussed with his courtiers the steps to be adopted against Alauddin. But from p. 229 onwards, the chief theme of his narrative is the uncle's blind infatuation for his nephew. This is a glaring consistency and brings out the want of candour in his narrative, particularly of Jalaluddin's reign.

88. *Rauzat-ut-Tahirin* (Bihar Library Ms) tells us that Alauddin sent his brother to the sultan entreating the latter to go back to Delhi whereupon he would offer the elephants and valuables to him.

apprehensive of his own diplomatic safety. He therefore fastened two strings to his bow. On the one hand he sought to placate the sultan by frequent dispatch of messages. On the other hand, he offered endless solicitations to the sultan to come and bless him by a personal interivew, otherwise he would march out into some remote corner of Lakhnauti where he would be safe from the attacks of the Delhi army. Jalaluddin in his turn too sought to entice his nephew to Delhi by soft and smooth words. He wrote a letter with his own hand as a mark of deep affection and forwarded it to Kara through the hands of two courtiers Malik Imad-ul-mulk and Ziauddin Mushrif. The return of the ambassadors was delayed[89] and as time bided and no sign appeared of Alauddin's movement, it became increasingly clear to the sultan that Alauddin would not be deluded by kind words and would neither wait on him nor present the spoils of the Devagiri campaign.[90] The sultan was thrown on the horns of a dilemma; he would either extend the hand of good-will and friendship and convince his nephew of the sincerity of his intentions by a personal talk or he would take up the sword and smash the rebel of Kara. Both the courses were open to grave risks, the first alternative would impair the royal majesty and throw him into a grave personal risk. The second one, on the other hand, would plunge the Khalji into a civil war, imperilling the succession not merely of his sons but the very existence of their rule. Statesmanlike considerations, therefore, dictated that he should take the risk of a visit to his nephew, win his heart by a personal talk and then bring him back to Delhi.

Jalaluddin accordingly sent his nephew and son-in-law, Almas Beg, Alauddin's brother with the happy tidings of his immediate state visit to Kara. Ahmed Chap, nephew and confidant of the Sultan was ordered to proceed on

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89. K. K. Basu in his Eng. trans. of *T. M.* mistranslates a passage. The Persian extract is

ملك علاءالدين ايشان را موقوف كرد .....
ملك ريحان عرضه داشتى بحضرت ارسال كرد كه ملك علاءالدين هراس گرفته است
اورا مستظهر گردانند ـ و محمد خطاب را كه از ملك علاءالدين تافته بود و در حمايت قدر خان
افتاد بند كرده بدوسپارند تا مكر ملك علاءالدين مستظهر كرد: ـ

It should be translated thus "Alauddin delayed them." Again Malik Rihan sent a memorial to the sultan saying that Malik Alauddin has been seized with panic, he should be comforted and Muhammad Khitab who had rebelled against Alauddin and had found protection with Qadr Khan, should be sent in chains to him so that Malik Alauddin's deceitfulness might be revealed. K. K. Basu's translation on p. 66 does not yield any meaning.

90. *T. F.* p. 229 indirectly supports it, *T. M.* p. 68, *Rauzat-ut-Tahirin*, p. 38. F. S. p. 232.

A contemporary work *Tazjiyat-ul-amsar* (Bohar Library Ms.) by Abdullah of Shiraz though written at a great distance from the scene of these events makes very significant remarks "when Malik Firuz heard of this victory he sent an envoy to communicate the expression of his pleasure and congratulation of the victory and invited him. These invitations were frequently repeated and as often declined till a suspicion of his rebellion arose and induced Malik Firuz to advance against him with an army."

land at the head of an army while he himself embarked on a barge attended by personal following and one thousand brave horsemen (T. F. 231).

The royal barge attended by a well-accountred military escort fast glided down the river and reached Kara. The long-deferred interview between the uncle and the nephew was now to take place. As the barge slowly approached, the royal standard became visible from a distance whereupon Alauddin sent his brother Almas Beg with a large amount of jewels captured during the last war but he did not personally appear before the sultan. The latter was surrounded by a large body of mounted escort and accompanied by a large army. A visit to the sultan's camp, even well-attended, was fraught with grave risk to his life; it was not, a cordial meeting between the old uncle and the young nephew after a long period of separation but an interview to heal up a deep misunderstanding between the lordly ruler of Hindustan and the offending amir of Kara. Almas Beg presented the jewels before the sultan who became pleased with them but he became disappointed at the absence of Alauddin and enquired of Almas Beg saying "how is it that Malik Alauddin is not coming?" Almas Beg replied "Alauddin has become panicy at the sight of the royal army." He therefore entreated that His Majesty should proceed personally leaving the army behind and comfort him. Jalaluddin's courtiers vehemently urged against this proposal but their protests were of no avail. The sultan had already reckoned the pros and cons and made up his mind; surrounded by a number of trusted men e.g. Khurram Wakildar, Malik Fakhruddin; Kuji, Malik Jamaluddin Abul-Maali, Nasiruddin Kuhrami, Ikhtiyaruddin, naib-i-wakildar, the sultan ventured on the hazardous journey.[91] It was the auspicious month of Ramzan. As the July sun reclined to the west, the royal barge weighed anchor and slowly moved towards the opposite bank of the river. A place had been selected for the interview where Alauddin was to appear and present the courtiers an offering. Ploughing the swelling waters of the Ganges which was in full flood, on account of the rains, the state boat soon reached the other bank and cast its anchor. Attended by a well-armed retinue, the sultan got down on the bank and Alauddin advanced with his courtiers to greet his master and uncle. The sultan proceeded to the seat at the appointed place, when Alauddin came and threw himself at his feet.[92] The uncle melted away in kindness and affection at

91. Wassaf makes very pertinent remarks "Malik Firuz abandoning the course which prudence dictated and relying upon the terror which his frontier and power inspired as well as the natural affection which he supposed his nephew to entertain towards him crossed the river with only five attendants" ELLIOT III, 40.

92. *Tazjat-ul-Asasir* by Wassaf writes "Alauddin went barefooted and kissed the earth in the presence of his uncle assuming a deportment of humility instead of his previous opposition and behaving towards him as a son does towards his father. They then sat down and held a conversation together and after a time Malik Firuz took Sultan Alauddin's hand and invited him to come to his camp. When they reached the bank of the river Malik Firuz wished to enter the boat first, Alauddin following him.

the sight of his nephew. He "embraced him, stroked his beard, kissed his eyes and then engaged in a hearty, loving talk." "My son" said the sultan "I have reared you up. The smell of the water you made in childhood has not yet left my lap; why are you afraid of me? Why do you entertain the fear that I would do you wrong?" The endearing talk went on. Finally the conversation concluded with the words, "the world may perish but I shall not lose my love and affection for you". Jalaluddin then rose, grasped the hand of Alauddin and turned towards the boat lying at anchor. The friendly meeting was over; clutching the hand of Alauddin the sultan proceeded towards the royal barge. The most critical moment had now arrived. Alauddin's fate was hanging by a slender thread; the sultan had, no doubt, showered affection upon him but would he extend equal kindness and protection in future against the machinations of his dominating wife and courtiers?

To save himself Alauddin had already concerted a plan with his attendants. As the sultan proceeded towards to the barge with the arm of his nephew in his hand, Alauddin gave the signal and in a twinkling Muhammad Salim of Samana struck him with the sword, the stroke failed and Jalaluddin sped towards the boat. Muhammad Salim dealt another blow and wounded the sultan who screamed out saying "Oh villain Ala! what hast thou done?" but in an instant Ikhtiyaruddin Hud knocked him down on the ground and cut off his head. The ghastly deed was over; on Wednesday, 16th day of Ramzan,[93] 18th July 1325, the old sultan was murdered by the dagger of a couple of assassins.[94] It was a foul and atrocious deed but the inevitable nemesis of Jalaluddin's misdeeds and violence. By shedding innocent blood did he mount the throne and by blood was he swept off the throne.

The old sultan's death in the holy month of Ramzan in a hostile camp earned for him great merit. It served to blot out from the memory of men the black deeds of cruelty by which he raised himself to the throne and popular imagination turned a stern, crafty warrior into a pious, high-souled ruler of men who became the pathetic victim of a blind love for his nephew.

Jalaluddin's Court.

Jalaluddin surrounded himself with a number of courtiers. The chief amongst them were Ahmad Chap, Fakhruddin Kuji, Nasrat Sabah dawatdar, Qutbuddin Uluwi, Amir Khusrau, Saaduddin Muntaqui, Muhammad Sanah Chang, Taj Khatib. They possessed various accomplishments

93. Both Zia Barani and following him Badauni say p. 177 that Jalaluddin was murdered on the 17th Ramzan but Amir Khusrau in Khazinat-ul-Futuh, Eng. trans. by M. Hasrr, p. 6 states that he was murdered on the 16th Ramzan.

94. *Tazivat-ul-Amsar* writes. "Two of Alauddin's servants, Ikhtiyaruddin and Mahmud Salim went behind him and waited their opportunity. As Malik Firuz had placed one foot on the boat and was about to lift the other upon it, Ikhtiyaruddin struck at him with a sword and wounded his hand. Malik Firuz in alarm, tried to throw himself into the boat, but Muhammad Salim came up and dealt him such a blow that his head fell into the water and his trunk into the boat. This happened on the 18th Ramzan 695." Elliot, III, p. 41.

and were held in the highest esteem by the Sultan. Ahamad Chap was unequalled in archery and combined a wide knowledge of the past monarchs with that of statecraft. He was expert in playing dice and his expenditure on the occasion of fetes and entertainments rivalled that of a prince. On a particular night the musicians and cup-bearers of the Sultan were invited to his house and he made a present to them of a sum of one lac tanks, five hundred head-gears and the same number of saddled horses.

Malik Nasrat Sabah dawatdar was the iqtadar of Kanouj and Jubala. He maintained a retinue of 700 horsemen and was without a peer amongst his contemporaries in respect of charity. High and low crowded at his house and none turned away from his door in disappointment. Qutbuddin Uluwi a distinguished amir who endeared himself to all by his suavity of speech and open manners expended money on a magnificent scale. The marriage of his eldest son was celebrated by an expenditure of two lac tankas and on the day of marriage alone, 1000 garments, caps and the same number of horses were given away in presents. Malik Fakhruddin Kuji, the iqtadar of Oudh and chief justice of the realm (dad beg) was the boon companion of the sultan.

Amir Khusrau, the parrot of Hindustan (طوطی هند) the great poet of medieval India adorned his court. At the time when Jalaluddin Firuz was aariz-i-mamalik, he fell under the spell of Amir Khusrau, granted him an allowance of twelve hundred rupees which was enjoyed by Amir Khusrau's father. He was also presented with special robes, horses and other rewards. On Jalaluddin's accession, he appointed him as the Quran keeper, enrolled him as a courtier and presented him with a robe of honour with a white belt which was reserved for the highest grandees.[98] Saaduddin Muntaqi who earned the favour of the king by his knowledge of logic was admitted into the circle of his courtiers and honoured with the office of naib-i-qaribeg and a kettledrum.

Attended by these courtiers and a few other boon companions e.g. Nasiruddin Kuhrami, Malik Ijuddin Ghuri, Muyyid Jajreni, Malik Saaduddin Amir-i-Bahar (superintendent of navy), Maulana Jalaluddin Bhakari Maustafi-i-mamlik (auditor general of the finances), the Sultan indulged in merry-making and festivities. Convivial parties were held in which drinking was accompanied by singing and dancing; Amirkhusrū and Hamid Raja recited odes and poems composed by Amir Khusrau. Muhammad Sanah Chang was the flute-player while the famous singers of the time were Fatuah, daughter of Faqaai and Nasrat Khatun, the dancers being the daughter of Nasrat bibi and Meherafruj. Amongst the cup-bearing lads who were much prized at the

98. Nuru Haque says that Jalaluddin's beneficence to Amir Khusrau was not befitting his position. This is hardly correct, as an allowance of 1200 rupees was settled on Amir Khusrau before Jalaluddin became king. We are not told, however, the amount of allowance granted him after he became king; We can however, infer from the stipend reward and iqta fixed on Saaduddin Muntaqi that the rewards to Amir Khusrau were on a lavish scale.

court were the sons of Halbat Khan, Nizam Kharitadar and Yardaj. These musicians, singers and dancers regaled the king and his companions with sweet music and song. The king and his courtiers were thrown into an ecstasy of delight when the melodious voice of the songstresses became blended with the tune of lyre and the dancing girls circled round the assembly moving their hands and feet rhythmically and casting amorous glances etc. at the onlooking seated courtiers. Lavish gifts and presents made to the singers, musicians and others brought these carnivals to a close.[96]

Character and estimate of Sultan Jalaluddin Firuz.

The good qualities of heart possessed by sultan Jalaluddin have received unbounded praise from the Muslim historian, Zia Barani who wrote his work Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, six decades after the demise of the sultan. The historian Zia Barani was the son of Muyyid-ul-mulk, who was the deputy of Arkali Khan and an eminent grandee of the court. The early years of his life were spent under the roof of his father's magnificent house at Kilughari amidst semi-regal splendour. Later on, however, fortune frowned upon him and the evening of his life was made poignant by the encircling gloom of poverty and the increasing infirmities of old age.[97] The happy recollection of the prosperity of his boyhood so rudely contrasted with the adversity of his declining years, made him necessarily aglow with enthusiasm in recounting the virtues of the patron and benefactor of his early years but his excess of applause for the sultan has bedimmed his reputation as a king, instead of magnifying it. Thus one eminent historian remarks " Jalaluddin Alauddin, although he did not deserve his cruel fate was unfit to rule."

A similar sentiment is expressed by another historian ; " such culpable weakness " says Sir W. HAIG " would have thrown the kingdom into complete disorder had his reign been prolonged."

That Jalaluddin was a strong and masterful personality is amply attested by the facts of his regin sketched above. He made his way to the throne by

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96. *T. F.* p. 200 Zia Barani heaves forth deep sighs, recollecting in his old age the memory of these carnivals and says " when I write an account of this court, I wish I blacken my face, paint my accursed forehead with the 'tika' mark of Brahmans, in calling to mind the images of those lovely persons having moon-like appearance, their blandishments and amorous glances, their songs and dancing which I witnessed ; I wish also that I move among the lanes and bazars in lamenting for them." Wild and frenzied grief, no doubt in old age.

97. Barani's words are very pathetic and may be quoted.

On p. 205 he says " I have been afflicted by infirmity and poverty at this time and the suitors turn away disappointed ; So, I being the son of a noble man, prefer death a thousand times to this (miserable) day. I possess nothing nor can I borrow from others."

من درین ایام سخت درماندہ و عاجز شدہ ام و خواهندگان از در من محروم باز میگردند از آنکه زادۂ کریم و خلف کرامم مردن را ازین روز هزار بار بهتر میدانم - و نه چیزی دارم و نه از کسی دام می یابم ۔

sweeping aside Kaiqubad and Kaimurs. He extirpated Chhaju, reduced many of the Ghiyasi amirs to such destitution as compelled them to live on the doles of Sayyid-i-Maula's Khanqa. Even the sultan's confidants like Mughlati and Hamumar did not escape punishment. Still Zia Barani, in his desire to paint his father's patron in glowing colours would say that Jalaluddin's soft and tender disposition did not allow him to punish thieves and criminals. But Zia's assertion is contradicted by the acts and words attributed to sultan Jalaluddin. According to his own words,[98] Jalaluddin had no aversion to shedding the blood of the apostate, murderer and adulterer. Moreover in course of his campaign in the east, he destroyed the nest of the robbers, and hanged them by batches. The transplantation of the thousand thugs to Lakhnauti stated by Zia Barani, though dubious was not an entirely impolitic step, for Ruknuddin Kaikas, grandson of Ghiyasuddin Balban was still holding sway in Lakhnauti and Bihar[99] and this enemy of the Khaljis could be kept better occupied at home by letting loose in his territory a band of dangerous criminals. Jalaluddin's policy towards the rebels and criminals was dictated by political and certainly not by humanitarian considerations. He kept the mailed fist concealed within the velvet glove. Jalaluddin's claim to the throne rested not on right but on might. An upstart Usurper he came to the throne by shedding blood ; he had to win over hostile elements and broad-base the rule of the Khaljis on popular support and goodwill which had been strongly wedded to the Balbani cause. A policy of terror and violence ill-suited this task ; it was necessity that drove the Sultan to a mild policy but mildness should not be confounded with weakness. Jalaluddin Firuz ruled for a very short period during which he gave ample proof of his capacity as a ruler. He led two campaigns against Rana Hāmmīra, subdued the rebles of Kara and Oudh, and fought against the Mughals. In this aspect of his policy and in the extermination of marauders he pursued the footsteps of Sultans Altamash and Balban. He supplanted the Balbani ruling dynasty and laid on their ruins the rule of the Khaljis. He infused a new vigour into the Muslim administration by introducing the hardy element of the Khaljis into the Muslim army and it was under their auspices that the banner of Islam was carried to the remotest corners of India. His rule was characterised by mildness, sharply contrasting with the sternness and severity of the preceding and succeeding epochs. The rigours of punish-

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98. Zia Barani, p. 193 says :

How shall I kill those who repeat the kalima من گویندہ لا إله إلاالله محمد رسول الله را چگونه کشم که در شریعت پیغمبر ماجز کشنده را و مرتد را و انکه با وجود زن با زن دیگری ز ناکند دیگری را کشتن نامده است because in the religion of the prophet the murder of none else except the murderer, apostate and adulterer is ordained.

The Sultan had therefore, no scruple to shedding the blood of the murderers, apostates and those who commit adultery.

99. *JASB.* LXI 1872, pt. I, p. 103.

ment were relaxed, though he had no scruple to shedding the blood of the murderer, apostate and the adulterer. The security of highways was maintained; the repressive measures against the brigands turned dangerous wilds into peaceful pasture land; heretic and irreligious practices were discountenanced and the subjects were protected from the highhandedness of officials.

Thus Jalaluddin bequeathed to his murderous nephew a peaceful kingdom which extended from the Saltrage and Multan to at least Allahabad in the east, from Almora and the Siwalik hills in the north to Narnol and Gwalior in the southwest and south.

Of his temper and character we do not know much. He appears to have been a man of calm disposition (طبع موزون) but was liable to sudden fits of passion, as his treatment of Sayyidi Maula shows. He possessed extraordinary physical strength and courage. He was unequalled among his contemporaries in wielding the sword. Singly he could scatter knots of men.[100] It is a singular fact about him that the hand that could wield the sword could also use the pen[101] for he was gifted with the rare power of composing songs and poems.

He appreciated learning and merit. He excused the guilt of Maulana Sirajuddin Sawai who had cast satire upon him in his Khalji-nama, honoured and rewarded him. He appreciated the bravery of the Mundahir who had struck him a fatal blow during his period of iqtadarship of Kaithal. He not only forgave him but appointed him to office and fixed a high salary.[102] In religious belief he was an orthodox sunni mussalman. He observed fast, offered five daily prayers and perused daily one Chapter (سپارہ) of the holy Quran.

Endowed with many good qualities of heart, a skilled warrior, a cunning diplomat, a keen appreciator of talents and himself a poet Jalaluddin was a strong and powerful king who deserves an honourable place among the crowned heads of medieval India.*

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100. Zia Barani p. 192 says that the sultan addressing his courtiers remarked "let me take my stand on an open yard and you assail me four and forty times and then you would know what I can do."

101. Zia Barani, p. 195, *T. M.*, p. 68.

102. Barani's statement of paying one lac Chital seems to be an exaggeration, p. 195.

* I acknowledge gratefully the deep debt I owe to Sir Jadunath SARKAR, Kt. C.I.E., D. Litt. for the kind loan of his own copies of *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, *Futuh-us salatin*, *Khazinat-ul-Futuh* and other works.

(*ii*) to Dr. R. C. MAJUMDAR M.A., Ph. D. Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University for borrowing for my use the copy of *Zubadat-ut-Tawarikh* from the India Office, London and Wassaf's *Tarjiyat-ul-Amsar* from the Buhar Library, Calcutta.

(*iii*) to Shams-ul-ulema Dr. Hidayet HOSSAIN for affording me all facilities in consulting the work of Amir Khusrau,

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4. Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi by Zia Barani (Bib. Ind) [T. F.]
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7. Tabaqat-i-Akbari by Nizamuddin Ahmad Baqshi. He has blindly copied the whole extract from Zia substituting only his own composition for that of Zia's (Bib. Indica). This work has no independent value for this reign. [T. A.]
8. Tarikh-i-Ferishta. Muhammad Qasim Ferishta is equally useless, on account of the wholesale copying from Zia Barani.
9. Tasjiyat-ul-Amsar-wa-Tajiyat-ul-Asar (Buhar Library ms Calcutta) by Abdullah Wassaf. This work gives a short charpter on the rulers of Hind, Jalaluddi Firuz's reign covering less than a page; but its narrative, though extremely brief (less than one page) and faulty in places is distinguished by freshness. Being a contemporary work it has a great value, though he reproduces from Shiraj (Shiraj) the distant echo of events happening in India. The information contained in it about the murder of Jalaluddin is extremely valuable.
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11. Rauzat-ut-Tahirin by Tahir Muhammad (Buhar Library MS) devotes, like Zubdat-ut-tawarikh a few pages to the description of Jalaluddin's reign. It does not give much new information but corroborates some details given by Yahiya.
12. Eng. trans. of Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi by K. K. BASU; Gakwad Oriental Series.
13. Eng. trans. of Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi by ELLIOT III. His translation, though not literal, is marked by a rare accuracy but he has left out very useful extracts e.g., the description of Jalaluddin's court and many details from places.
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15. Eng. trans. of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri by Major RAVERTY (Bib. Ind.) Besides these, I have consulted several volumes of *Epigraphia Indica*, *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, *JASB.*, *Gazetteers of India*, *Catalogue of coins in the Indian and Delhi Museums*.

A NOTE ON TELEOLOGY AND LINGUISTICS

By

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In Volume IX, Part IV (p. 309) and Volume X, Part IV (p. 318) of the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, I made brief mention of the exact bearings of teleology to linguistics.[1] I intend further to point out here in this short note how thoroughly teleology is discarded from the domain of modern linguistics, just as it is banished from all the exact physical sciences.[2] I propose incidentally, just to indicate also, the leading fundamental concepts which are gaining currency among students of linguistic science to-day.

The peculiar factor in living organisms which the actions of plants and animals involve and which is not present in the actions of inanimate matter is a highly specialised, chemical combination called the protoplasm. Even so, to one of the ablest exponents of modern linguistics, Professor Leonard BLOOMFIELD, language which appears as a highly specialised and biological complex is the peculiar factor in man which forbids our explaining his actions upon the ordinary plane of biology.[3] By his own admission, this hypothesis was originally worked out by Professor Albert Paul WEISS.[4] In his illuminating article "The Mind and Man Within" (in the *Psychological Review*, Volume 26, 1919, pages 327-34), WEISS points out how the primitive savage explained the actions of animals and plants by postulating the existence of an impalpable and invisible being lurking inside the palpable and visible animal or person, controlling their actions.

In the medieval times, teleology was the ruling principle even in science. It was thought that a favoured event, the 'cause' pulled a kind of invisible string which, in some metaphysical sense, forced the occurrence of a later event, the 'effect.' Both these animistic notions, causality and teleology, are pre-scientific. In fact, teleology does not stand in contrast with 'causality' but represents merely a more age-old popular notion [WUNDT, *Völker psychologie, Die Sprache*, I. pp. 352-3 also p. 15. LESKIEN, JENAER, *Lit. Zeit.* 1875, p. 98. Hanns OERTEL, *Lectures on the study of Language*, p. 205, 1913.]

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1. See my paper, *JORM*. XI. 1937 p. 291.
2. Willis D. ELLIS, *A Source Book of Gestalt Psychology*. London. Kegan Paul. Section 1. 1938. Pages 7-8.
3. *Vide* L. BLOOMFIELD, Linguistics as a Science—*Studies in philology*, Volume XXVII, No. 4, October 1930, p. 555.
4. *Theoretical Foundations of Human Behaviour*, Second Edition, Columbus Adams. 1929.

In modern science, "the displacement of any particle is expressed by the equation of the type

$$dx = \frac{\partial x}{\partial k} dk + \frac{\partial x}{\partial l} dl + \frac{\partial x}{\partial m} dm + \frac{\partial x}{\partial n} dn + \ldots\ldots\ldots$$

with practically endless number of terms on the right hand side; those of the right hand terms which are nearest to *dx* in size are sometimes, loosely but conveniently, spoken of as 'causes' of *dx*." As Prof. BLOOMFIELD says,[1] Karl PEARSON's classical treatise—*Grammar of Science* (2nd edition, London, 1900; 3rd edn. Vol. I, 1911)—contains the clearest discussion of this matter.

Martin Joos[2] has rightly expressed a doubt whether any causal relation can ever be perfectly established for the familiar reason that the 'chain of causality' between any two events consists of an infinity of nexus points all of which cannot be conceivably disclosed to empirical analysis (See also ZIPF, Statistical Methods and Dynamic Philosophy—*Language*, Volume 13, No. 1, January—March 1937, page 60).

Some linguists hope that language is the very activity of man which will account for the super-biological features of man's conduct and in the study of language now, the pre-scientific approach has once for all been abandoned.

The universe of science is a physical universe and any scientifically meaningful statement reports a movement in space and time. The terminology of mentalism and animism is now discarded and replaced in minor part by physiological terms and in major part by terms of linguistics. It is recognised that the statement about 'ideas' are to be translated into statements about speech forms.[3] CARNAP's most interesting doctrine is Radical Physicialism. According to this all sentences (excluding those of pure syntax and pure logic) may be translated into a universal language which is similar in form to the language of contemporary physics. "The assertions about unobserved objects and events as well as the records of personal experiences may, on the basis of certain known laws and experimental findings, be translated into this inter-subjective language of physics" [Julius Rudolph WEINBERG, *An examination of Logical Positivism* London, Kegan Paul 1936, pp. 228-9 and also pp. 262 ff. CARNAP, '*Die physikalicke sprache als Universalsprache der Wissenschaft*,' *Erkenntnis*, Band II. Heft 5-6 pp. 437-462. L. Susan STEBLING, *Logical Positivism and analysis. Proceedings of the British Academy*. Volume XIX, pp. 19-21]. On the other hand, MCDOUGALL's theory of pur-

1. See L. BLOOMFIELD's review of HAVERS' *Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax* in *Language* Volume X. 1934, pages 34-5 and footnote on page 34. L. BLOOMFIELD's contention is that Karl PEARSON's work loses much by ignoring linguistic values and leaves otherwise simple things in a fog by saying conceptual where the linguistic would say 'verbal.'

2. Review of George Kingsley ZIPF's *Psycho-Biology of Language*. LANGUAGE Volume 12, (1936). Pages 196-210.

3. See L. BLOOMFIELD. "Linguistics as a Science "*Studies in Philology*. Volume 27, 1930, page 553. Cf. also L. BLOOMFIELD "Language or Ideas?" *Language* Volume 12, No. 2, page 89-96. For full criticism, see Karl Britton, *Communication*, London, 1939. p. 15.

positive striving doubtless implies teleology. [c. Wm. MCDOUGALL. *The hormic psychology. In C. Murchison* (ed). *Psychologies of 1830.* Worcester, Mass. Clark Univ. Press, 1930. pp. 9-10. Vide also Edna HEIDBREDER, *The journal of Abnormal and social psychology*, 34, 1939 pp. 154-5]. It is increasingly felt to-day that "an understanding of language mechanism is necessary for the study of both historical problems and problems of human behaviour."[1]

MEAD supposes animal-gesture to be the basis of the language-symbol and demonstrates the biological function of the former. He believes that what are called—'attitudes'—organisations of different parts of the nervous system which are instrumental in producing acts and therefore are capable of representing both what has taken place immediately and what is going to take place, gives distinctive character to genuinely social behaviour, when communicated. The act as a whole can exist in such an attitude, determining the later stages of the nervous system. This attitude can represent also alternative courses of action and responses to classes and kinds of objects, e.g. the characters we assign to 'horse' as idea or 'concept.' [Cf. G. H. MEAD, *Man, self and Society.* 1934, 11. See also H. W. WRIGHT, *The Psychology of Social Culture. The American Journal of Psychology* Vol. 52. 1939. pp. 211, 214 and 215.] In passing, the following interesting view of SULLIVAN may be referred to here. "SOMMERFELD suggests that the laws of the new quantum mechanics may be teleological, and that the old scientific notion of causality cannot be applied to them." [J. W. N. SULLIVAN, *The Bases of Modern Science. Pelican Books.* p. 201.]

Finally, it must be remembered that certain arguments of L. BLOOMFIELD in his recent work—*Language*—based on mechanistic theory (which itself is not wrong at bottom) seem to be misleading [Vide W. EMPSON—"The need for 'translation' theory in Linguistics." *Psyche.* 1935. XV. pp. 188-197.]

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1. Vide SAPIR, *Language* 5, (1929), page 213. In speaking about problems of human behaviour; it is good to remember that Arthur G. BILLS shows how the concept of mechanism in science can be interpreted in many ways ["Changing Views of Psychology as science"—*Psychol. Review.* Vol. 45. 1938. pp 385-6]. The term mechanism "does have definitive value, in sharply excluding any theory which implies teleology" [Arthur G. BILLS, *op. cit.*, p. 386.]

THE DIRECTION OF THE MOHENJO-DARO SCRIPT*

By

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I adopt the same typographical device as in my *Numeral-Signs*. On the Plate a list of all the signs here referred to is given, each sign being accompanied by a number; in the present article the signs are always indicated by these numbers printed in *italic*. Below each sign-number on the Plate stands another number, enclosed in brackets; this is the number of the inscription from which a drawing of the sign in question has been made. (Dotted lines are added as some indication of the position of the sign in the line). In the Table subjoined the correspondences between the numbers of my signs and the numbers of the signs in the Sign Manual in MARSHALL iii. Plates CXIX-CXXIX are given.

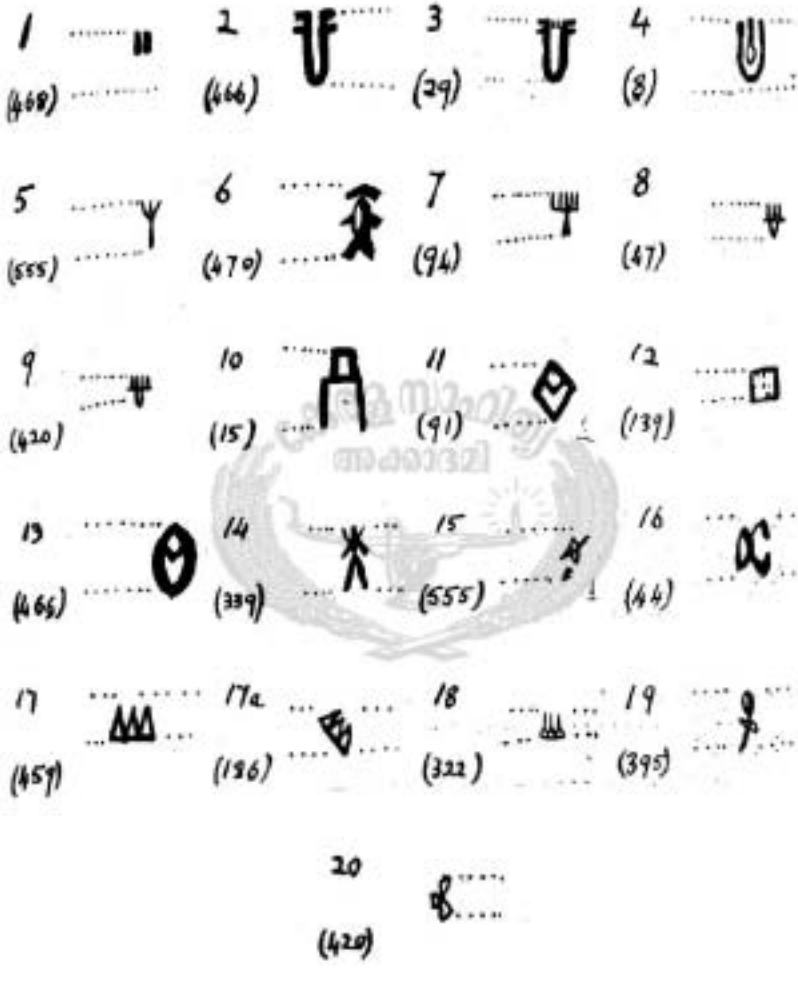
No. on Plate	*No. in* MARSHALL's *Sign Manual*
1	.....[3]
2	CCXXXVIII
3	CCXLII
4	CCXXVIII
5	.....
6	CCCXLVI
7	CCIVI
8,9	CCLXIII
10	CCCIV
11	CXIV
12	CCXCIII, CCXCIV[2]
13	LXV
14	CCCLXXXIII
15	CCCXCV, CCCXCVI[2]
16	XCIX

* Abbreviations:— HUNTER=G. R. HUNTER, *The script of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro and its connection with other scripts*; MARSHALL = J. MARSHALL, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus civilization*; *Numeral-Signs* = A. S. C. ROSS, *The "Numeral-Signs" of the Mohenjo-daro script* (*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 57). The inscriptions are quoted by the numbers given in MARSHALL, Plates CIII-CXV.

1. A separate entry is not made for *1* in MARSHALL's Sign Manual but combinations containing *1* as their first element are entered as separate signs; thus *13* is entered as LXV, and *1* followed by *13* as LXVI.

2. The detail inside the square is not clear.

3. The middle part of the sign is not clear; Marshall gives no other example showing a sinister projecting "arm," but HUNTER, in Table LXIII, quotes one further example—from his inscription H. 162 (of which the Museum Number, according to his reference on p. 198, is Harappa 1500).


1
(468)
2
(446)
3
(29)
4
(8)
5
(555)
6
(470)
7
(94)
8
(47)
9
(420)
10
(15)
11
(91)
12
(139)
13
(465)
14
(339)
15
(555)
16
(44)
17
(457)
17a
(196)
18
(322)
19
(395)
20
(420)

No. on Plate	*No. in* MARSHALL'S *Sign Manual*
17	CLVII[4]
17a	CLVII, CXXXV
18	CLVIII
19	XCVII
20	CXXXVI

Both the problem afforded by the direction of the Mohenjo-daro Script and its probable solution lend themselves to extremely rigid treatment and such a treatment is attempted here.[5]

I take it as axiomatic that : the direction of all single-line inscriptions is the same as the direction of that line of multilinear inscriptions which is to be read first.[6]

Consider the two-line inscription

$a_1\ a_2 \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots a_m$
$b_1\ b_2 \ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots b_n$

(where *a*, *b* etc. are signs, not necessarily all different, and where the *a*'s stand above the *b*'s). There are, in all, $2^3 = 8$ possible ways of reading the whole inscription, for each line can be read either → or ← and the top line can be read either first or last. Arranging the eight possible readings in one line, we get :—

1. → $b_1\ b_2 \ldots\ldots b_n\ \ a_1\ \ a_2 \ldots\ldots a_m$

i.e. →, bottom line first.

2. → $a_1\ a_2 \ldots\ldots a_m\ \ b_1\ \ b_2 \ldots\ldots b_n$

i.e. →, top line first.

3. ← $a_m \ldots\ldots\ a_2\ a_1\ b_1\ b_2 \ldots\ldots b_n$

i.e. bottom line (←) first, top line →.

4. → $a_1\ a_2 \ldots\ldots a_m\ b_n \ldots\ldots b_2\ b_1$

i.e. top line (→) first, bottom line ←.

5. ← $a_1\ a_2 \ldots\ldots a_m\ b_1\ b_2 \ldots\ldots b_n$

i.e. ←, bottom line first.

6. ← $b_1\ b_2 \ldots\ldots b_n\ \ a_1\ \ a_2 \ldots\ldots a_m$

i.e. ←, top line first.

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[4] MARSHALL, CLVIII, agrees in making a separate entry for *18* with its projecting spikes—though he gives the sign in No. 565 as without projecting spikes (CLVII) whereas in the photograph these are clear (the entry should thus have been under CLVIII). It seems probable that the signs given by me as *17* and *17a* and by MARSHALL as CLVII and CXXXV are actually one and the same; the position of the sign is sometimes horizontal, as in Nos. 20, 160, 420, 459 (MARSHALL CLVII), sometimes vertical, as in No. 253 (MARSHALL CXXXV), and sometimes inclined, as in Nos. 130, 186 (MARSHALL CXXXV). In No. 139 the sign is almost vertical (MARSHALL CXXXV); in No. 247 the inclination to the horizontal is slight (in the sketch under CLVII, MARSHALL makes the inclination far too great and in fact the same as in his CXXXV).

5. Cf. *Numeral-Signs* p. 10 and note 1.

6. It should be emphasised that the assumption that the *top* line of multilinear inscriptions is to be read first is not justifiable in the case of an unknown script.

7. → $b_1\ b_2 \ldots\ldots b_n\ a_m \ldots\ldots a_2\ a_1$
i.e. bottom line (→) first, top line ← .
8. ← $b_n \ldots\ldots b_2\ b_1\ a_1\ a_2 \ldots\ldots a_m$
i.e. top line (←) first, bottom line → .

Consider No. 247 which reads

$$\begin{cases} 17(a)—8—3—4—1 \\ 16—2 \end{cases}$$

The eight possible ways of reading this inscription are :—

1. → *16—2—17(a)—8—3—4—1* i.e. →, bottom line first.
2. → *17(a)—8—3—4—1—16—2* i.e. →, top line first.
3. ← *1—4—3—8—17(a)—16—2* i.e. bottom line (←) first, top line → .
4. → *17(a)—8—3—4—1—2—16* i.e. top line (→) first, bottom line ← .
5. ← *17(a)—8—3—4—1—16—2* i.e. ←, bottom line first.
6. ← *16—2—17(a)—8—3—4—1* i.e. ←, top line first.
7. → *16—2—1—4—3—8—17(a)* i.e. bottom line (→) first, top line ← .
8. ← *2—16—17(a)—8—3—4—1* i.e. top line (←) first, bottom line →

If we now compare these eight possible readings with other inscriptions, we find only the following similarities :—

(A) Reading 1: → *16—2—17—(a)—8—3—4—1* compared with
No. 420: *2—20—6—16—3—17—9.*
(B) Reading 8: ← *2—16—17(a)—8—3—4—1* compared with
(i) No. 555: *2—16—18——8—6—2—5—15*
(ii) No. 139: $\begin{cases} 2—16—17a——8—1—19—10 \\ 11——2—12 \end{cases}$
(iii) No. 322: *2—14—7—16—18——8—1—13*

Despite the differences in detail (which may or may not be significant), we can hardly dismiss the similarities between Nos. 555, 139 and 322 (*[2]—16—17a/18—8—[1]*)as due to pure chance ; the odds would be too great. The similarity between Reading 1 and No. 420 (*16—2/3—17(a)—8/9*) is much less striking than that between Reading 8 and Nos. 555, 139 and 322. In the case of Reading 1, the first sign (*16*) of the series corresponds exactly, the third sign also corresponds well (*17(a)/17*), but the other two similar signs are sharply divergent (*2/3* and *8/9*); further the combination *16—3—17—9* is recorded with certainty only in No. 420. In the case of Reading 8, there is absolute identity with the four signs of No. 139, if we neglect the difference in the position of *17*, and a strong similarity with Nos. 555 and 322. It can hardly be due to chance that Reading 8 presents us with a combination of four signs occurring, with slight variations, three times elsewhere, though it may well be fortuitous that Reading 1 presents us with some-

thing that might be considered as a divergent variation of a combination occurring once elsewhere.

None of the other Readings of No. 247 present any similarities with other inscriptions and it is therefore probable that Reading 8 is correct. The top line of No. 247 is therefore to be read first and it is to be read from right to left. It therefore follows from the axiom that the direction of all single-line inscriptions is from right to left.[7]

The solution reached—that the direction of reading for all single-line inscriptions is from right to left—is not, of course, certain; it is however highly probable. If p denote the probability that the similarity between Reading 8 of No. 247 and the other inscriptions is fortuitous, then the probability that it is not fortuitous is $(1-p)$; hence the probability of the solution reached is also $(1-p)$. Naturally we cannot evaluate p (since some permutations of signs are presumably not possible),[8] but it may reasonably be regarded as very small and, consequently, the probable truth of the solution reached $(1-p)$ as very large.

Examination of the other multilinear inscriptions has not produced any similar proof for the direction of the script. But, on the probabilities of the case, we should hardly expect this, and we should be grateful for the chance which has preserved one inscription sufficient by itself to indicate the direction of reading.

In conclusion I may mention one other piece of evidence for the direction of the Mohenjo-daro Script. Alone it would not be conclusive but as supporting evidence it is of interest. There is in the British Museum[9] an Indus Valley seal found, without context, at Ur, which is unique in that it bears a cuneiform inscription.[10] This cuneiform inscription reads, of course, from left to right. Below it a bull is depicted and it is significant that this bull faces to the left. For on the Mohenjo-daro seals the bull almost always faces to the right. It seems therefore that this Ur seal, with its bull facing to the left and its left-to-right inscription, is the "reverse" of the typical Mohenjo-daro seal, with its bull facing to the right and its right-to-left inscription.

7. I am not further concerned here with the direction of reading in the second line, nor with the order of the lines.

8. Just as, if we were dealing with an English text, permutations such as *pgrst* would not be possible.

9. Egyptian and Assyrian Department No. 120573.

10. For a full account of this seal see C. J. Gadd, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 1932 pp. 193-4.

THE FORMATION OF MY CHILD'S LANGUAGE

By

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My son Anand Vardhan was born on the 19th August 1929. In March 1930 I began to keep a record of his sounds, and continued to do so up to the 22nd August, 1932. He evolved a dialect of Panjābi, with a few traces of Lahndā and Dogrī.

The figures given below signify the age of the boy in *months*.

This linguistic record may be divided into five distinct stages :—

(1) Articulate but meaningless sounds, reaching up to 9, though a few significant sounds appeared even in this stage.

(2) Significant sounds coined by the boy himself but not occurring in the actual dialect : period 14–16.

(3) Words from the dialect, pronounced significantly, but with varying degree of accuracy : period 17–23.

(4) Evolution of Vocabulary : period 24–37.

(5) Evolution of Grammar : 30–37.

As regards the articulate sounds, I shall first describe his simple vowels.

Simple Vowels.

The earliest vowels recorded, appearing mostly in meaningless sounds, were the *long* vowels (either alone or at the end of consonants) [u:], [i:], [e:], [ã:] and [a:].

[u:], e.g. in
8: *pu̯*: *bu*: *ũ*:
14: *u*: *u*:
[i:] 8: *ki*:
9: *gi*: *gi*: *ki*:
[e] 7: *ge*: 8; *he*:
8: *ʃe*: "give", later *de*: *dẽ*: *dẽ*: (emphatic).
[ã:] 8: *mã*: [ã] being somewhat like French [œ̃] in an unaccented syllable.
[ɛ:] 9: *ɛ̃*:
14: *mɛ̃*: *mɛ̃*: *bɛ bɛ*: *dɛ*:
15: *ʃɛ*:
[a] 13: *pa*: *pa*
14: *baba, caca*:

The short vowels [ʌ], [U], [I] and [e] emerged somewhat later, with the appearance of significant sounds and words :—

[ʌ] 16: *ˈʌcche* "a term of salutation, being a mispronunciation of *namaste*."

17: *ʃʌbʃ · b* exclamation while "playing."

[U] 19: *cʊp cʊp* "exclamation while playing."

[I] 19: *a pi'cja* "Come!"—calls somebody whose name he could not pronounce correctly.

24: *'prte* "father, or sisters".

[e] 25: *'enneĩ* "No!"—literally, "it not,"

Diphthongs

A few diphthongs also appeared in the early period, but on the whole somewhat later:—

[ʌi] 8: *h ʌ i* (Meaningless)

[ão] 14: *mão* "cat"

[ei] 16: *ei* "this"

[ea] 24: "this very thing"

[ia] 24 (later): *ïa* "this very thing".

Tones

The tones appeared quite early, e.g. the low rising tone in:—

8: *pɣ*: (Meaningless)

13: *pa pa*: (Meaningless)

16: *tg* "cat," while peeping about.

The high-falling tone also appeared about the same time:—

8: *jê*: "give"

9: *dê*: "give"

9: *ĩ* (Meaningless)

24: *phû* "exclamation of dislike."

Consonants

In the earlier period plosives were preferred to other consonants. For a similar phenomenon in the speech of a Swiss German child, cf. "Die sprachliche entwicklung eines kindes" by Hans Cornioley, p. 40. Of the plosives, [g], [k], [p] and [b] (through a fricative [b]) were the earliest to appear. (cf. a similar phenomenon in the same work by Cornioley, pp. 6, 7, 40). The plosives appeared in sounds like the following:—

[g] 7: *ge*: (Meaningless)

[k] 8: *ke*: *ki*: („)

[p], [b] 7: *pu*: *bu*: („)

9: *dê*: "give".

15: *du*: "exclamation while turning over the pages of a book".

15: *da*: *da*: "exclamation while turning over the pages of a book".

„ *do*: „ „ „

„ *de*: *de*: „ „ „

c, ch

The palatals [c], [ch] appeared in 14: *ca ca ca* (Meaningless)

16: *'ʌcche* "a term of salutation, being a mispronunciation of the word *namaste*."

Palatalised Consonants

Before the voiced palatal J appeared, a palatalized consonant like Slavonic dj (as in Russian *djélo* "business") was pronounced in

13: *djê* "give"

15: *djâ* (Ja) "exclamation in search of a cat: 'where is it'?"

The breathed dental plosive appeared a little later :—
[t] 16 : *tç* "cat", while peeping about.
[tth] 17 : *'ɛtthɛ* "here"

The retroflex plosive also appeared about the same time as the dental :—
[ʈ] 16 : ʈu "exclamation while pointing to an object like a picture, ball etc."
[ɖ] (alveolar palatalized) 16 : *ɖo* "exclamation while calling two cats."

The aspirated labial [ph] appeared much later in
24 : *phũ* "exclamation of dislike."

The only non-plosive consonants which appeared early were
[h] 8 : *hʌi* (Meaningless)
[m] 8 : *mã* (Meaningless)
[n] 14 : *njã, njũ* („). These three consonants occurred rarely in this period.

Nasal Consonants Of the nasal consonants, [m] appeared earlier :—
8 : *mã* (Meaningless)
14 : *mɛ̃o* "cat"
„ : *mɛ̃ mɛ̃* (Meaningless)
Then appeared [n] :—
25 : *ɛn bnɛ̃* "No!, lit. "it not"
31 : *nʌnd* "the boy's own name."
[r] emerged somewhat later :—
33 : *'nʌrru* "Sacred thread" from *'jʌrru* (Lahndā dialect)

But even a little subsequently, the child found [n] followed by [kk] in the succeeding syllable difficult to pronounce, so that for 34 : *'nIkka* "small," he said *'gIkka*. Similarly for medial [n] he substituted [k] in
35 : *hɛkɛ̃* "glasses" later 35 : *ahkɛ̃* for *'ɛnɛk* in the dialect.

Liquids Of the liquids, [l] appeared much earlier and was often substituted for [r] :—
27 : *'lala* "father"
28 : *hol* "more" for *hor* in the dialect.
„ *bal* "outside" for *bʌr* in the dialect. The correct pronunciation of these two words, *hor, bar*, appeared three months later, 31. cf. a similar phenomenon in the Swiss German child's speech, in which [r] was still indistinct in the 22nd month, but [l] was clear : [r] became clear in the 24th month (Cornioley, Ib., pp. 31, 35).

[l] for [r] also appeared in the medial position :—
34 : *Upplɔ̃* "from above" for *Upprõ* in the dialect.

Besides [l], [ʈ] was also substituted for [r] :—
33 : ʈic "a bear" for *rɪch*, later 37 : *lɪch*.
33 : 'ʈoʈi bread' for *'roʈi* but three days later, he pronounced *'roʈi* alright.

Throughout the period under investigation, he was unable to pronounce [ʂ], for which he substituted [l] or [ll] :—

31: *lul* "coarse sugar" for *gulʂ* in the dialect.
34: *Cūlla* "sweepers" for *cūʂa* in the dialect.
35: *'puli* "wasp" for *'pəmyʂi* in the dialect.

Spirants.

The child showed the greatest inability to pronounce the spirants. Only one instance, 34: *'fermū̃* "lion's face" could be recorded; otherwise for [f] he substituted [ʦ] or [c] :—

33: *'ʦāʦi* "Shanti, his sister's name," later.
37: *'ʦargi* for the same.
33: *'ʦoʦi* or *ʦoci* for *'toʃi* "a girl's name."

While an instance of [ʃ] was obtained, no instance of [s] could be secured. Initially, an instance was recorded in which he substituted [b] for [s] :—

37: *baɓoʧ* "soap" for *saboʧ* in the dialect: otherwise [ch] or [c] were the frequent substitutes:—

16: *'Acche* for *nə'mʌste* "a term of salutation".
31: *bʌch* "that will do" for *bʌs*.
34: *biccəʦ* "bis-cut" for *'biskuʦ*.
34: *'bacicl* "bicycle" for *batsikkəl*.
37: *'mʌlchā* "I will rub" for *'mʌlsā*.
37: *'ichi* "an iron" for *'Istri*.

For similar phenomenon in Awadhi, cf. Baburam SAKSENA: *Evolution of Awadhi*, p. 103, "It has been observed that when the child begins to pronounce [s], he does so in the case of initial [s] first, the medial continues to be pronounced [ch] a little longer."

The glottal fricative [h].

The glottal fricative first appeared early, soon after the 8th month, but it was not noticed again for 19 months, till it reappeared :—

8: *hʌi* (Meaningless).
28: *hol* "more".
31: *'hʌʦʦi* "shop".

Even then it was not pronounced in the beginning of some words, as

26: *'ati* "elephant" for *'hathi*.
34: *'ʌli* "Hari, name of a boy".

The labio-dental [v] also appeared late:

31: *'voʌʌa* "foolball" lit. "big".

Consonant groups.

Of the consonant-groups those with the semi-vowel [j] or with liquids were the earliest to appear :—

[cj] 19: *pi'cja* "An obscure name of a person".
[tr] 27: *tre* "three".
[ml] 31: *mlai* "cream".
[pf] 33: *'nʌ'fu* "sacred thread".
[mb] 33: *'bImbi* "name of a girl.

An interesting [b] in *bat* (34) "inkstand" for *dwat* appeared, reminding us of Prākrit [b] for Skr. [dv]. In the trisyllabic word

37: *mittong*: "O Sumitra! his sister's name" the child substituted [n] with the Svarabhakti [ə] for the [r] of [tr] in *sumitrā*, commonly pronounced *mitrā* by her parents and friends.

Haplology Haplology, with unusual modification of sounds in some words, occasionally appeared—:

27: *mān* "almonds" for *badam*
35: *'puli* "wasp" for *tumgri*
37: *'pama* "pyjama" for *pəjama*

Onomatopoea and music. The tendency to Onomatopoea and music appeared for the first time after the 14th month:—

14: *mão*: "cat" (onomatopoeic)
14: *ba ba ba* (Musical sounds)
14: *njā njā* (Musical sounds)

After the 24th month the child became very responsive to music. He danced shaking the head, arms and legs on hearing a song. Cf. CORNIOLEY, ib. p. 44, in which the Swiss child is said to have expressed delight in music after the 22nd month.

Order of sounds and number of Syllables in words. Chronologically, the order of sounds in words may be thus represented:—

Vowels only 8: *ā, ai* (both meaningless)
Consonant + vowel 8: *he*: (meaningless)
" *de*: "give"
Vowel + Consonant 16: *'ethe*: "here".
" *'Acche* "*namAste*, a term of salutation".

Disyllabic words begin after the 15th month, as 15: *pa 'di* "exclamation while turning over the pages of a book", 16: *'ethe* "here."

Trisyllabic words to begin appear later:—

34: *'bacicəl*: "bicycle".
38: *'uppələ*: "from above".
37: *mittonā*: "O Sumitra! his sister's name".

Significant sounds coined by the child. While the first significant sound appeared as the Imperative 8: *dē*: "give", 9: *dā*: "give, emphatic *dēdē*: the boy in this early period used many significant sounds not available in his dialect:—

14. *uu*: "that thing" when wanting something.
15: *dja* (Ja): "exclamation in search of a cat, where is it?"
" : *du*: "exclamation when turning over the pages of a book.
" : *dada*: " " " " "
" : *do*: " " " " "
" : *pa*: " " " " "
" : *pa'di*: " " " " "
" : *'edu*: *'edə* " " " " "

16: ɕu: "exclamation when pointing to a picture, ball etc."

„ : *ɖo*: "exclamation when calling two cats".

„ : *ʃa* "cat" peeping about.

19: *ʃab ʃab*, *cʊp cʊp* "Exclamation while playing".

„ : *a pɪ'cja* "Come Oh!" (some person whose name is obscure).

After the 17th month, the child came to know the meanings of many words, but could not pronounce them, e.g. when asked to point out a *'laʈu*? "electric bulb?", be pointed out correctly, though he could not pronounce the word.

Vocabulary. Before the 24th month, the vocabulary was rather poor. The earliest words picked up from the dialect related to greeting or persons often called:—

16: *'Acche* "greetings".

17: *'bebe* "mother and other persons as well" though in the dialect this word means only "mother".

24: *'pita* "father, and even sisters". This word was used for only one or two weeks and was then replaced by *be* "mother" for everybody.

After the 24th month, a large number of substantives appeared:—

26: *'ati* "elephant"

„ : *ʊʈ* "camel"

27: *ma* "water" for *'paɳi* in the dialect.

„ : *mãn* "almonds" for *bədam* in the dialect.

31: *nʌnd* 'the child's own name".

37: *kʌl* "tomorrow".

Grammar. Before the 30th month, only the germs of Grammar appeared. The first grammatical form appeared as Imperative mood after the 8th month: *jɛ̃*: "give" 9: *dɛ̃*: "give". The Demonstrative Pronouns then appear, 16: *ei* "this", 24: *ɛa* or *ia* "this very thing". Adverbs from Demonstrative Pronouns also appear early: 16: *'eihe* "here". The word for negation appears somewhat late: 25: *ɛnnɛ̃* "is not": lit. "it not". The numerals emerge after the 27th month: *Ik* "one", *do* "two", *tre* "three".

After the 30th month, grammatical forms become rapidly rich. The personal pronoun *mɛ̃* "I" appears after the 31st month. The verb and the adjective appear simultaneously during the next few months:—

Verb: Past: 32: *'bapu 'marɪa* "grandfather will beat": past used in the sense of the future.

Present Perfect: 33: *'roʈi ai ɐ* "meal has come".

Subjunctive 37: *'roti pe lã* "may I send bread?

Future: 37: *mɛ̃ 'appe 'mʌlchã* "I will rub by myself, "*mʌlchã* from Lahndã *'mʌlsã* "I will rub".

Participles (from Dogri)	35:	*pʌʃʃa da* "broken"
	36:	*'paʊa da* "torn"
	,,	*pʌrada* "filled"
Adjectives	31:	*'mʊla* "dirty"
	34:	*'gIkka* "small" for *'nIkka*

The Genitive, after the 34th month, was indicated by a compound word :—

34: *kʌl 'bibi* "yesterday's sweets"

,, *ʃer mʊ̃* "lion's face". But after the 35th month appears the post-position *da* in *cacc da kʌ* "uncle's post card".

The conception of Gender appears after the 33rd month, when we have *'roʈi aia* "meal has come", but its use does not yet seem to be quite correct, for after the 34th month the child calls a girl "*bImbi oe*" "O Bimbi" (being the name of a girl), though *oe* is used only for males.

Conclusion.

How far the linguistic features described above are general, and how far peculiar to the individual, only later research, after careful comparison of the speech of many children speaking Indo-Aryan, will show, but the early appearance of plosives, the late emergence of [*i*] (as in Swiss German mentioned above, vide p. 561), and the substitute of [*ch*] for [*s*] as in Awadhi (Vide p. 562 above), may not be a mere coincidence.

NOTES ON AN OLD PASHTO MANUSCRIPT, CONTAINING THE KHAIR-UL-BAYĀN OF BAYĀZĪD ANSARĪ

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We learn from RAVERTY[1] that 'Shaykh Malī Yūsufzī, in A. D. 1417, wrote the "History of his tribe and their conquests in the Peshawer Valley, etc. "... This is the earliest work I have been able to discover; but of course it must not for a moment be inferred that previous to this there was no Puḫto literature. On the contrary Ākhūnd Darwezah mentions. .that in his time (about A. D. 1600) there was a celebrated book entitled "The Pure" which had been in the possession of the Yūsufzis for some centuries past?—RAVERTY also mentions another history in Pashto, written by Khān Kajū, Rārṛnizī 1494 A. D., and informs us that he has in his possession Pashto works which were composed many years before and during Akbar's reign (A. D. 1555–1604).

Unfortunately none of these pre-Akbarian Pashto works known to RAVERTY have been quoted in his grammar or included in his Chrestomahy or among his Translations, nor have I been able to find out what has become of these very interesting ancient Pashto manuscripts in his possession. The most ancient Pashto work made accessible is still Ākhund Darweza's Makẖzan-i-Pashto[2], published in Peshawar, by DORN in his Chrestomathy, and, in extracts, by RAVERTY in the Gulshan-i-Roh. According to DORN his mscr. "was arranged in (A. H.) 1614 (read 1014!) = (A. D.) 1605 by Abdulkarīm, another son of Akhūnd Darwēzah."

Akhūnd Darwēza wrote in defence of orthodoxy against the arch-heretic Bāyazīd Anṣārī, the Pīr Rōshan or "Saint of Light" of his own adherents, the Rōshanians, and the Pīr Tārīk or "Saint of Darkness", of his opponents. According to the Dabistān[3] "it was in the year of the Hijira 949 (A. D. 1542/3), that Miyān Rōshen gained strength and established his sect," and he died in A. D. 1585[4].

The tenets of his sect are known mainly from the Dabistān, and from the malicious quotations[5] and gross invectives of Ākhūnd Darwēzah. Dr. LEYDEN[6]

1. A Dictionary of the Pukhto, etc., II ed., p. XV.

2. Also called Makẖzan-i-Islām, or Makẖzan-ul-Asrār, V. DARMESTETER, *Chants populaires*, CLXXXVII, and the preface to RAVERTY's Gulshan-i-Roh.

3. Tr. Shea and Troyer, III, 41.

4. DARMESTETER, *Chants populaires* CLXXXV.

5. E. g. the frequently repeated sentence: *dā 'aurate di gulāna, gul ḫaur ḫar cok ḫoyanāna* "women are flowers and everyone may enjoy the fragrance of a flower."

6. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XI, 363 sqq.

has given an interesting account of this heresy, which has played a great rôle among the Pathans, and which may still have its secret adherents on the North-West Frontier. But no part of his original work has been known.

In 1926, however, Sir E. Denison Ross kindly drew my attention to, and put at my disposal a manuscript of Bāyazīd Anṣārī's Khair-ul-Bayān, belonging to him. He thought it might be of interest as well on account of its subject as on account of its age. According to the Persian colophon the manuscript was written by Faqīr Bahār Ṭūsī, a disciple of Pīr Rōshan, and was finished on Wednesday the 20th of Ramazan, A. H. 1061 (A. D. 1650). It is older than any of the Pashto manuscripts belonging to the India Office or the British Museum (of which the most ancient is the Dīwān-i-Mīrzā, B. M. Or. 4228, from A. H. 1101), though it yields in age to DORN'S mscr. of Ākhūnd Darwēza. On the other hand Khair-ul-Bayān is the most ancient work hitherto known in Pashto, and it is of interest as well for the history of this language, as on account of its being an original work of the famous heretic. Unfortunately the time at my disposal for examining the manuscript was very limited, as I was leaving London. Besides, my unacquaintedness with Muhammadan Theology and its terminology, as well as my inexperience in reading Pashto and Persian manuscripts rendered the task of copying and interpreting the text rather difficult. I did, however, copy a number of passages at random, and I venture to hope that a few remarks on the work and some extracts from it may not be without interest, and that they may induce a competent scholar to take up the work of editing and translating the whole book.

The mscr. contains 167 leaves and is written in the Nasta'liq character. According to tradition[7] Khair-ul-Bayān was composed in four languages. And we actually find several Persian and Hindustani passages in the introduction, while Arabic quotations are frequently inserted into the Pashto text. Persian notes, in a different hand, are written in the margin.

The orthography is remarkable in several ways. With the works of Ākhūnd Darwezah, our mscr. shows a tendency to omit final و, ی and ه, even the hā-i-zāhir. Thus, e. g. حرفون *karfūna*, and ḫarfūno; وت *wata*; نشت, نښت *ništa*; باس *bāsī*; اسپ *aspe*, زړ *zṛe* (*h*), but usually اړه *ōḍəh*, لوه *lewəh*, etc. Characteristic of Khair-ul-Bayān is the frequent writing of several words in one, e.g. خوي هوی دی = خويهويدی *xīə hawī dai*; پښيږی کړی *pa spē ḷār garzī*; يکسيمی *pa ḫṣē mē*.

For the sounds peculiar to Pashto the ordinary symbols are used in the case of ځ with three dots above for *c*, *ts*[8]; ړ and ډ with a ring below for *ṛ* and *ḍ*; ښ with dot above and below for *ṣ*. We also find ځ with a ring

7 V. Leyden, op. cit., p. 415.

8 The same symbol is used in Khorasmian. There may be a direct connection between the usage in the two Eastern In. languages.

9 Cf. the Alphabet fol. 4 r.

below for *g*, but the ring is frequently omitted. But Pashto *j* (*dz*), *ẓ* and *ʒ* are written ـِـ with dot below, ـِـ with dot above and below, and ـِـ with dot inside, instead of ordinary ـِـ with three dots above, ـِـ and ـِـ with dot above and below.

The same orthographical peculiarities are found also elsewhere, thus in the British Museum Dīwān of Mīrzā. According to RAVERTY[10] Mīrzā Anṣārī was a descendent, probably a grandson of Pīr Rōshan, and his orthography may be due to a family or sectarian tradition[11].

The circumstance that all Pashto consonants have got their separate sign in the Khair-ul-Bayān, and that some of these are the same as those employed by Ākhūnd Darwēzah, points to a previous literary tradition. It is not conceivable that this defender of the faith should, even in matters of orthography, have borrowed from his despised opponent.

By birth Bāyazīd was an Ōrmuṛ from Kaniguram in Waziristan[12]. But he does not write in the Waziri dialect of his birthplace. His language conforms in the main with that of the ordinary, "classical" literature, based apparently upon the Mohmand-Yusufzai type of dialect, but fixed at a time when Northern Pashto still distinguished between *ṣ*, *ẓ* and *x*, *ġ*.

Thus forms such as ـِـ 'road'; ـِـ 'honey'; ـِـ 'he says'; ـِـ 'sun', ـِـ 'thy' *jmā* 'my' *ġwaẓ* 'ear' *calōr* 'four' *warḷu* (*ẓ*) *ʒē* 'barley' are normal, northern forms. The corresponding Waziri forms are *lyār*; *gōnmā*; *wyaiyī*; *lmūr*; or *myūr*; *ē lō* (*d ə lō*); *emō*; *ġhaz*; *ġhoz*; *caluōr*; *ẓōbše*,) which cannot have developed from the northern ones in recent times. Nor does *nūnd* 'wet' agree with Waziri *lūnd* (<*nūmd*), but it is found e. g. in Afridi, and from it is derived the ordinary literary form *lūnd*. ـِـ 'grandson' may as well be an older form of Waz. *lmsai* as of the usual literary form *mwazai*. *Ḍar* 'fear' is not a common word in the literary language, but it is found in many dialects besides Waziri, and ـِـ 'big' corresponds not only to Waz., but also to Afridi, etc. *stər*. I have come across one word only which clearly betrays Bāyazīdā origin, viz. *taṣtas* (ordinary Pashto *caṣtan*) 'master', a form found also in Ormuṛi of Kaṇiguram, where it is evidently a loan-word from Pashto, although the Waziri form given by Lorimer is *cāštan*.

Bāyazīd does not employ the archaic and poetical form *kāndī* 'he does' 'they do' nor the 3rd prs. in-*ína*[13], both of which are common in Ākhūnd Darwēza's works. In accordance with other early Pashto texts and with some

10 Selection from the Poetry of the Afghans, p. 51.

11 According to RAVERTY Mīrzā commenced writing poetry about A. H. 1040 (A. D. 1630). In an ode composed A. H. 1081 (A. D. 1670) Khushhal Khān says that Mīrzā was dead long ago. Cf. BIDDULPH, Afghan Poetry, ٢٢ and Transl., p. 76.

12 V. Makhzan-ul-Islām, DORN, Chrest. ٧٦; B. M. Or. 6274, f. 117v.; I. O. 2792, f. 137 a.

13 But note *bīyaníwa* in the verse quoted Akhund Darweza.

of the more archaic dialects of to-day, the plurals in *-una* have an oblique form in *-o*' not in *-ūno*. Thus *kaḇuna* 'fishes' *-ṗsuna* 'goats': obl. *ṗsō*, *kaḇō* (but once in my extracts *harfūno*.) Similarly *firištagān* 'angels', but da *firištō*.[1]

A plural form to be noted is اسا, آسا, probably to be read *āsə* 'horses', instead of *āsuna*. Cf. Wanechi Pashto *lāst*[ə] 'hands', as against standard Pashto *lāsūna*. Also obl. pl. *namūno* 'names' is probably a more archaic form than standard Pashto *nāmūnō* (cf. *Wrūn* 'thigh', pl. *Wranū na*).

Regarding the pronouns we may mention the aberrant form هغ *ahgha* = هغه, هغه *hagha* (*h*) 'that'. In the same sense is used هوی *havi* or *havē* (?), probably derived from the well-known Iranian pronominal stem *ava*, but hitherto unknown in Pashto. For test, the pronouns appear to be of the ordinary type. Thus, e. g. *dā* 'this', pl. *dāi*, obl. pl. *dāi*, *dāō*.

The vocabulary of the mscr. does not present any striking peculiarities. Note, however, *zyaṛ-zar* 'gold' (ordinary *sr*[ə]*-zar*); ژوټل *žoṭāl* (?) 'morsel'; *kyandar* 'action'; '*aurata* 'woman'[2].

The present writer is not competent to discuss Bāyazīd's theology or the characteristics of his heresy. To a reader initiated in the details of Islamic doctrine his heterodoxy is not very prominent, at any rate not in the parts of the book which I have looked through. According to Ākhūnd Darwēzah Bāyazīd's heresy consisted in the following theses[3]:

1) God is all in all; all existing objects are only forms of the deity.
2) Pīrs are the great manifestations of divinity.
3) The sole test of right and wrong is obedience to the Pīrs.
4) Those who will not receive the precepts of a Pīr, are in the situation of brutes and may be killed.
5) Human souls transmigrate.
6) Korán and Hadis are not to be interpreted literally.
7) This mystic sense of the law is only attainable by religious exercises and the instructions of a Pīr.

I have not come across passages referring to transmigration or to the worship of Pīrs, which are among the chief tenets of the Roshanīya Sect according to Ākhūnd Darwēza. But the pantheistic tendency is very much in evidence. The work acknowledges the authority of the Koran and contains sections on the nature and attributes of God, and gives detailed rules about ablutions, fasts, almsgiving and tithe, and other religious duties, after the manner of other Muhammadan handbooks.

It is perhaps not only an accident that Bāyazīd belonged to the Ōrmuṛ tribe, which is said to have been converted to Islam at a recent date, and

1 Cf. my Notes on Wanechi *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, IV, 164.

2 Never *aṣa*, but this may be due to the specifically theological style of the work. cf. Waziri *oradina* 'wife' < '*aurafina*.

3 V. LEYDEN, op. cit, 420.

whose very name—rightly or wrongly—has been explained as corresponding to Persian Chirāgh-Push "fire-extinguishers" with allusion to the peculiar and *disreputable* ceremonies attributed to them.

In the vocalized transcriptions underlined *a̲, i̲, u̲* stand for vowels written in the original, *a, i, u*, etc. for those supplied by me. *ô, ê* represent ۏ, ۑ of the text, while *o, e* have been added. Initial *ā-* stands for (ا) but *ā* for ا̄ *g̈* represents a ڳ which ought to be read *g*, and underlined *ṯ* an original ټ.

For typographical reasons I have given some specimens of exact transliterations of the consonants, instead of the original texts in Arabic script, which would have entailed the use of special letters.

The translations are in several cases conjectural and provisory.

Au Bāyazīd wu-kṇ hagha ḫarfūna ẕī pa hara ẍība Sāzēṇī da fāide da pāra da ādmiāno. Tᵊ dānā-ē la hara cīza mā na-zda bērūn ḫarfūna da Qurān.

And Bāyazīd wrote those letters which are suitable for every language for the benefit of men. Thou art wise above everything (?), by me nothing is learnt (?) but the letters of the Koran.

Fol. 11 r

Gunahg̈ār au badg̈ār gaṇam ih wāṛo gunahg̈ārāno la-badkārāno Muḥammad pa ummat kṣe ʿalaihi as-salām walē umēdwārī mē stā wa nēkī u raḥmat (11 b) u baxš wata da; rā wu bāxṣa wa mā wata au jmā wa yārāno u farmān bardārāno wa miǰastī wata gunāhān bē-mē zṛə qarār ẕī au pa-stā wa kalām wata wuzgār šī.

I reckon as (the worst) sinner and evil-doer of all sinners and evil-doers Mohammed—in the religion peace be upon him (?)—; but I am hoping for Thy goodness and compassion and forgiveness; forgive me and my friends and servants (and ?) for the miǰastī (?) our sins; besides may my heart become quiet and leisured for (= to hear) Thy word.

Fol. 16 r

Nabī wa (yə) lī-dī raḥmatī ʿalaihi na*-dəh al-kalām:

(Ma) rg ba-war šī wa saṛī wata nangahān, nāšta da saṛī pa-dunyā kṣe təl-da-təl maqām. Gōra da daghē zamānē ādmiān g̲hwāṛī dunyā au har čī pa-kṣē-dī, pē maśghūl dī ḍēr ādmiān. Jinē pa-karələ yā pa-bāzargānī yā pa-pwandkly yā pa-tarkšē-bandī jinē pa-nōr nōr čār maśg̲hūlī kah ādmiān.

The Prophet has said—compassion upon him—about this is the word: Death comes to man suddenly, there is no place for ever for man in the world. Look, the men of this time seek the world and all that is in it, many men are occupied with it. Some with ploughing or trading or....., or with wearing of quivers, some men make busy with some other work.

Fol. 43 v.

Mē kāṇī kaṛī-dī (or: kāṇai kaṛai-dai) pa-kṣē-mē sūrī (sūrai?) kaṛī-dī pa-kṛandar da prē wər da ādmiāno. Pa-har sūrī kṣē-mē ʿa-ǧāb kaṛai-dei dai pa aṫkal da gunāhāno. Zə ba wa ōr wata kṛəm farmān čī-har yau ʿazāb wī, pa

* Read pa-dəh?

atkal ghwāṛī pa-har yau. Ka la-ōr wu-wuṛəm hēc kala be-na-wu-bāsam* yau la-gunahgārāno ādmiāno.

Dā kalām ba-mūmī pa-kṣē hagha marg (44a) čī la-'azāb xilās šī au nah hagh žwandūn čī-la-rāḷat wī da dōzaxiānō gor šəm.

I have made stones (or: a stone?), and in them I have made holes for the making of a door in them for men (?). In every hole I have made a torment according to the judgment of (their) sins. I shall give a command to the fire, that every torment that may be, it shall seek it according to the judgment on each one. If I emerge from the fire, I shall never take out one of the sinning men. This word he will find in it (?): That death which is from torment and not that life which.....(?)

Fol. 61 r

Pa-hagha saṛī farẓ dai-čī ōbəh war-jaxa na-wī, yau krōh lār wī da dəh au da ōbō pa-miyān (ḍarī krōh yau farsanḡ dai, au krōh dai calōr zara gāmūna).—(ARABIC) qad ja'ala 'llāhu li-kulli-šay'yan (sic!) qadran. (PERSIAN) .....(*Pashto*:) Yā ōbəh wī, da-ranj pa-bahanah yā da dunhamand yā da lē wah ḍār wī; yā da kūhī ōdəh wī, gālī war-jaxa na-wī čī ōbah ē kāṛī, pa-dah farẓ dai-ši tamim dī kah. Tamām.

For this man it is obligatory, if there is no water present, [if] there is one krōh road between him and the water, (three krōh make one farsang, and one krōh consists of 4000 paces).—(*Arabic*) God has made for every thing its power (?).....(PASHTO). Or if there is water, there is through the pretext of suffering, fear either of the sailed one (n. of some animal?) or of the wolf; or [if] there is well-water, it is not near to him, that he may draw the water,—for him it is obligatory to make a substitute (for water). Finished.

Pa-dəh dā kalām: Da saṛī (Fol. 101 r. or: saṛlo?) bōya čī pa-nəwīštama špah har yau la-'āqilo wa myāšt wata di gōṛī pa Sa'bān. Kah cōk (as)-ē wu-wīnī, rōża di wu laṛī; kas-ē na-wīnī, rōża di nā-laṛī da bēgha pōre cō muddat tamām šī da Sa'bān. Ka-yau kas wu-wīnī myāšt da Ramaẓān, guwāī di ē qabūla-ki da 'adl da-pāra imām kah 'illat wī pa-āsmān kṣe.

About this there is this word: It behoves a man (or: men) that on the twenty-ninth night of Sha'bān every one of those who have sense should look out for the new moon. If anybody sees it, they shall keep the fast; if nobody sees it, they shall not keep the fast until the period of the Sha'bān is finished. If one person sees the moon of the Ramazān the Imāma shall accept his testimony on account of his competence if there is a reason for it in the sky.

Fol. 101 v.

Da Kam 'Id myāšt yau kas wu-wīnī, rōžah di na-guṣāī ka 'illat wī pa-āsmān. 'Ayān: Guwāhī di na-qabulawī imām bērūn ka dwa mēṛah yā yau mēṛah dwe 'aurate wī. Patā di wī. 'Ilām ka 'illat na-wī pa-āsmān, guwāhī di na-qabulawī imām bērūn da ḍēro ādmiāno.

If one person sees the moon of Shawāl, he shall not break the fast if there is a reason (for fasting) in the sky. Demonstration: the imām shall

* Ba-na uncertain reading.

not accept the testimony, unless there be two men or one man and two women. May it be a sign for thee. If there is no sign in the sky as a reason, the imām shall not accept it, unless it be of many men.

Fol. 105 v.

Zakāt da āso da āspo dai. Bayān: Ka-cīk ās aspē larī, kāl te[illegible] tamam, taṣtan ō ḫtiyār larī cī yau dīnār di war-ki da her Xaryān (?) yā dī bahā ki la-dwo sawo diramo dį pinjah war-ki tamām. Patā di wī.....Nīstāh zakāt da āso na-da qaǰaro na-da xro bērūn ka-da bāzargānī wī.

There is tithe (to be payed) of horses and mares. Explanation: If anybody has horses or mares, and a whole year passes, their owner is at liberty to give one dinner for each ass (?); or he shall value them, then he shall give five fuel dirhams out of two-hundred. May it be a proof for thee.....No tithe is to be given on horses or mules or asses, unless they are for sale.

Fol. 102 r.

Da ḍəh la-dwo-sawo diramo la-xarca ziyāt wī yā calwēṣt carandah psūna yā dērā carandah ghwā yā pinjah carandah wī ūṣān yā ās yā aspē yā kālī yā da bāzargānī wī ōi-dwa-sawa diram ē bahā wī au kāl pa-dūī sēr sī tamām, hagha tuwāngar dai.

His expenses exceed 200 dirhams, or he has 40 grazing sheep, or 30 grazing cows, or 5 grazing camels or horses or mares, or household articles for trading, the value of which is 200 dirhams, and a whole year has passed for them (in his possession), he is powerful.

Fol. 114 r.

Tro ba-kamzōrī-wata wāyi šaiṭān ma prēṗda (114 b) māyah wa zōr war wata nah wa ghal u kāsir wata. Sarm šmārī či-wa-dūī wata prēṗdī.

Then Satan says to the feeble: Do not give up thy wealth to the powerful, nor to the thief or adulterer. He reckons it a shame to give (anything) up to these.

147 b.

Da āwāz rāḫat bē da ghwaz, da didan rāḫat be da stargo au da xušbōī rāḫat bē da pōze wī, da āghustan rāḫat bē da tan au da xulē rāḫat bē da ċpō au da xwaṣō da atām (?). Ārwī au wīnī āghundī mūmī pa-bāgha-či pa-dunyā ē ārwēdəlī līdəlī āghusti mundī na-wi ghwaz stargē ō tan pōza xulē dā da, 'iyān.

The repose of the voice is without the ear, the repose of seeing without the eyes, and the repose of fragrance without the nose, the repose of dressing is without the body, and the repose of the mouth without drink or food. He hears and sees, dresses and finds in that which he has not heard, seen dressed or found in the world.....(?)

Fol. 145 r.

d' kl'm kwr dlywh nxṣ hgh d čy pḫpdyr krzy d nws phws pṭib d mrd'ri y'd jn'wr'n y' d nwr čyz dp'r ōd dwy xwrdndy ' y'n hay čšph dyr krzy frm'n-

brd'r d šyt'n 'y'n d nws phws d ġhl' d k'syry ḍp'r y' d nwr ḷr'm p'ẓ'b wm "dmy'n pngh(m ?)t d nws d šyṭ'n p'ẓ'b d'w čdy.

Dā kalām ġōra: Da lēwəh naxṣa haġhah da či pa-špa-ḍēr ġarzī da nōs pa-hawwas pa-ṭalab da muridārg yā-da janāwarāno yā da nōr čiz da-pāra či-da dūī xwardan-dī. 'Ayān: Hase či-špah ḍēr ġarzī farmānbardār da Šaitān. 'Ayān. Da nōs pa-hawwas da ġhlā da kāsīrī da pāra yā da nōr ḥarām pa-'aẓāb wum. Ādmiān pa-nagh(m) at da nōs da Šaitān pa-'azb da 'wč (?) dī.

Consider this word: The proof of a wolf (or: beast of prey) is that it wanders much about at night in the lust of its desires, in search of carrion or of animals (i.e. prey), or of other things which are their food. Demonstration: I was in torment on account of the lust of desire, of theft, of adultery, or of other forbidden things. Men are in the torment of w'č (?) on account of the voice (?) of the lust of Satan.

Fol. 145 v.

nxṣ d jn'wr'n hġhah d čy prwj bḍyr krzydh w nws pḷlb dw'sh d 'wbw 'w hr čxwrdwdy d jn'wr'n pšph pghflt ḍk cml'st nyy rs'wh w nwr č ' wt zy'n hey čy pāry't kṣ qr'r ww d nws phws bpəwj ḍyr krzydyr by xw'ṛ cṣ ' ghstn wyl pšph bpghflt ḍk cml'st lk jn'wr'n čnh by rs'wh nwr č'(r) wt zy'n.

Naxṣa da janāwarāno haghah da či pa-rwaj ba-ḍēr garzēdəh u nōs pa-ṭalab da wāṣəh da ōbō au har či-xwurdan-dī da janāwarāno. Pa-špah pa-ghaflat ḍak camlāst (ə) na-yē rasāwəh wa nōr ca-wata ziyān. Hasē či pa-šarī'at kṣa qarār wū da nos pa-hawwas ba-pa-rwaj ḍēr ġarzī-ḍer b-ē xwāṣ (ə), caṣ, aghastan, wayəl. Pa-spah ba-pa-ghaflat ḍak camlast, laka janāwarān ci-nah b-ē rasawəh nor čn(r)-wata ziyan.

The proof (: sign) of the (grazing) animals is that they used to wander about in day time, and (their) lust (is) in the search for grass and water and everything which can be eaten by animals. At night they carelessly lay down replete. They did not bring harm upon anybody else. Thus they who were firm in the law, wander much about in day time in the lust of desire. They have much food, drink, dress, (talk ?). At night thy carelessly lay down replete, like the animals, who did not bring harm to anybody else.

Ādmiān jmā pa-hastī kṣe-dī, jmā hastī da pā-admiāno. Laka kabūna pa-ōbəh au ōbəh pa-kabō kṣe, laka kabūna pa-ōbəh *wandī-dī, hasē pa-mā šwandī-dī ādmiān. Patā či wi. *I'lām*: Mina-l-mā'i kulli šayyun ḥayyun. Pa-Qurān kṣē-dī. (Arabic) *Bayān*: Anā fī kulli sayy'in kā 'l-mā'u bi-ǰami'un (?) mā kāna fi 'l-mā'i. (Pashto) Wayali-dī Suhḥān. Kab či pa-ōbo kṣē garzī max ē wa ōbo wata šī, hasē har lōr wata ci wu jārwuzī, max ē wa mā-watā sī da-ādmiāno.

Men are in my existence, and my existence is in men. Just as fishes are in the water, and the water in the fishes, just as the fishes are alive in the water, thus men are alive in me. May it be a sign for thee. (Arabic)

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* Or read: wy = wi?

The teaching: From the water is every thing alive. (PASHTO) It is in the Koran. (Ar.) *Explanation*: I am in every thing, just as the water. All that exists is in the water (?). (PSHT.). The gracious one has said it. When the fish moves about in the water, its face is turned towards the water. Likewise in whatever direction they turn round, the faces of men are turned towards me.

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Zə yəm pə-wēṣṭoh pə-pōst kṣe da ādmiāno, pə-wino pə-ghwaṣa da ādmiāno, pə-rag pə-pala da ādmiāno, pə-haḍḍo pə-māghzoh da ādmiāno, pə-har cəh kṣē-yəm či cə šta da saṛi (or: saṛio?) pə-jān. Taḥqiq da jmā hastī la-hara cīz bar, laka da la-ādmiāno.....Zə yəm pə-ādmī kṣē-jmā hastī pə-čārsīno da ādmiāno, zə nīžde yəm wa-ādmināno wata la-jāna.

I am in the hairs and in the skin of men, in the blood and in the flesh of men, in the veins and in the sinews of men, in the bones and in the marrow of men. I am in everything which exists in the soul of a man (or: men). The truth of my existence (is) above everything, just as it is (above) men [or: Forsooth, my existence is...?].....I am in man, my existence is in the crossroads of men, I am near unto men in their soul.

THE REINTERPRETATION OF BUDDHISM [1]

By
ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

The Buddhist scholar nowadays sees Buddhism in its setting, and no longer as though it were something entirely new and almost alien to the Indian Weltanschauung; it is largely as the result of Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS' work that Buddhism is now seen to have been far less heterodox than was once thought. And this is a great service. At the same time it provokes the curious reflection, that the suspicious popularity of "Buddhism" in Europe has rested upon a very thorough misunderstanding of what Buddhism really was. The actual teaching was no more than that of Jesus "meek or mild", and like his was in radical opposition to our modern individualism, and to our interest in "the survival of 'personality'". If there is anything that the Buddha is *not*, it is a "humanist".

It is above all in her interpretation of *anattā* that the change has taken place. I am heartily in agreement with her view recently expressed in *JRAS.* 1937, p. 259, that the Buddha took the *ātman* for granted,[2] and here more fully stated in the *original gospel*, p. 39, "May be it is regrettable, that in our rendering of the word *ātman, attā*, we have not consistently and persistently used, not soul or self, but spirit. There is, in both spirit and the Indian term the association with 'breath'". It must be said, however, that the spirit is also the essence (*esse*, "being" as distinguished from the "accidents" of being) of the person, and thus his true or real self as distinguished from the empirical ego (*proprium*,[3] *ahaṁ ca mama ca; mamāyita* in Sn. 367);

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1. With special reference to Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS' recent works, *What was the Original Gospel in Buddhism?* London, 1938; *To Become or not to Become*, London, 1937; and *A Manual of Buddhism*, London and New York, 1932.

2. It would have been as superfluous for the Buddha to say "There is an *attā*" as it would have been to say "There are Devas" or "There is a Brahmā." In M. II. 130-133 he is asked "Are there Devas?" and "Is there a Brahmā" replies in each case. "What a question to ask!" The great point to be insisted upon was that men should not see "an *attā* in what was not-*attā*", should not fall into the delusion of the Asura in CU. VIII 8 (*ātman* = body) nor that of Indra in VIII. 10 (*ātman* = soul). It is only by elimination that the *ātman* can be in any sense defined; when all else has perished, "what remains over (*atiśiṣyate*), that is the Ātman" (CU. VIII. 1. 4-5, cf. BU. IV. 3. 6); hence the use of the *via negativa* alike in the Upaniṣads and Buddhism, and it may be added, in Christianity.

3. It is significant enough that one and the same root underlies Latin *proprium* ("property") and Skr. *priya* ("dear"). The empirical ego (the "great possessions" of the rich man who turned away sorrowful, the "felly" of BU. I. 5. 15) is "naturally" dear to us so long as we think of it as "our own", but when we realise that the Inner Man alone is really our own (nothing but what we *are* being really "ours") then he only is dear to us, and all else dear only for his sake.

and it is for this reason and because of the validity of our consciousness of being (regardless of the invalidity of our conviction of being so-and-so) that *ātman* in reflexive usage (rare in RV and also, in the nominative, in Pali) acquires the general meaning of "oneself". In other than reflexive usage, the fatal objections to the use of "Self" (even with the capital) are two,

(1) that the basic concept of "spiration" is ignored, and (2) that it is almost impossible in English to make any use of the word "self" without the implication of an ego or of "selfishness", the "reader-at-secondhand", as Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS says, thinking only of "his actual present self" (the only self that the *naïthika* can believe in!)

The full meaning of *ātman* is therefore "spiritual self". If only one word is to be used, it is far better to say "spirit" than "self", for the reasons given above and because this rendering brings out the equivalence of the Indian *ātman* doctrine and Christian doctrine of the Holy Ghost (Sanctus Spiritus), Greek doctrine of *pneuma*, Arabic *rūḥ*, etc., and thus would probably do more than any other single change in our habits of translations to rectify current misconceptions of Indian teachings. In any case a rendering of *ātman* by "soul" is most undesirable (translators from Pali have rightly rendered *nāma* or *viññāna* in *nāmarūpa* and *saviññāna-kāya* by "soul"), since it is at least as much from all that is meant by the "psyche" in our "psychology" as it is from the physical body that the Indian *mukta* is delivered. Still less can *ātman* be rendered by "body" (unless in very exceptional contexts[1]) merely because in reflexive usage the whole of the person, constituted of "body, soul and spirit" is intended.

Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS, then, renders (as I have also done) the Buddha's last words by "Be ye such as have the Spirit for their lamp, (*atta-dīpā*, echoed in Sn. 501,) the Spirit for their refuge", cf. MU. VI. 30 "Who as its lamps indwells the heart".[2] The Buddhist denial of *attā* is always exclu-

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1. D. II. 34 *añño attā* corresponds to D. II. *aññaṁ kāyaṁ*: but just as *kāyam* in the latter context is not the "flesh" specifically, but "body" as the word is used in "somebody" or "'gin a body meet a body" so *attā* in the former context is "soul" in the sense in which one can say "not a soul to be seen".

2 As also Dh. 146 and 232, *Andhakārena onaddhā padīpaṁ na gavessatha? ...So karohi dīpam attano* ("Make a lamp of the spirit", not "for" the spirit). *Karohi dīpam attano* is exactly the same as *attānaṁ gaveyyasātha* ("Search for your spiritual-self, or spirit". Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS' version of *gaveyyasātha*, "hunted for" (*Mahāvagga*, I. 23, *Original gospel*, p. 35) is wholly admirable; but "hunting for lost cattle", which as she says "is a feature in Buddhist Suttas" is indeed a "feature" throughout the Vedic tradition (e. g. RV. X. 46. 2; it is represented in Christianity by the doctrine of the *vestigium pedis*,—Eckhart speaks of the soul as "following the spoor of her quarry, Christ") and at this point it might well have been pointed out that the very word for "Way", *maggo* (Dhtp. 296 has *gavesati = maggana*), derives from *mṛg*, to hunt, cf. IAL., NS. XI. p. 78.

To "make a lamp of the spirit" is the same as to have the Buddha for one's light. The Buddha not merely never denied the *ātman*, but is himself the *ātman*. The only explicit statement to the effect that the Buddha is the *ātman* that I know

sive and never inclusive: the error of the *puthujana* (*oi polloi*) consists indeed in the delusion that there is "*attā* in what-is-not-*attā*" (*anattani ...attā*, A. II. 52), i.e. in body or soul (S. III. 130),[1] but it is equally an error to think of the *arhat* as annihilated (D. II. 68, etc.). It is at the close of passages analysing "soul-and-body" (*nāmarūpa, saviññāna-kāya*) that the expression occurs repeatedly, *na me so attā*. "This is not my very-self", i.e. "not my true and spiritual being, but only a temporary vehicle thereof" (in the well known parable of the chariot, it is never said that there is no rider, but only that the so-called "chariot" is an unstable composite, devoid of any real entity).[2] And by this *na me so attā* (the stress is upon the *so*) it could scarcely have been more definitely indicated that there is an *attā*; by *rūpam ..viññāṇam.. .n' eso 'ham asmi n' etam me* (S.I. 112) "Body and soul, that's not me, they're none of mine", the Buddha is certainly not denying a "real me", but only defining it by the exclusion of its accidents, just as he who denies that "I am this" (*aham ayam asmi,*

ti occurs in the Commentary to Udāna 67, where Tathāgata is paraphrased by *attā* (from the point of view of a supposed perversion of the gospel by "monkish" interpreters, this is a curiously "late" adherence to the "older" doctrine: for my part, I should like to know of even *one* unmistakeable denial of the ātmans to be found in a Pali text, and in any case, is it not time to abandon the anti-monastic prejudices by which our reading of history is so often coloured?): it is, however, clearly implied by the Brahmabhūtā = Buddhā of S. III. 83 and Brahmakāya = Dhammakāya of D. III. 84 (where Brahma, not Brahmā may be noted). It is also implied in our "lamp" and "refuge" (*attadīpā, attasaraṇā*): for the Spirit (*ātman*) is precisely the light by which one sees, etc., "when all other lights have gone out" (BU. IV. 3. 6, "gone out", as predicated of the "fires", is *śāntāyām*, "quenched", it is also precisely when the "Eye in the World" has gone out, that the injunction *attadīpā viharatha* applies); other lights are three, the fourth and best is the Buddha himself (S. I. 14), and so it is that at Worlds' End ("within you", and to be known by an "quenching" *samitāvi*, A. II. 49 and S. I. 62), where no sun shines, nor moon, nor stars (*Udāna* 9, answer to D. I. 223, cf. S. I. 15, KU. V. 15 and BG. XV. 6; Rev. XXI. 3) "there is no darkness" ("for the glory of God did lighten it", Rev. XXI. 23); this "Divine Darkness blinding by excess of light", as Dionysius words it, speaking of another "darkness" than that of the world, where the Hidden Light must be tracked "like some lost animal".

1. It is a *less* dangerous error to think of body as "self" than to think of the soul or "personality" as self, because it can be more easily realised that the body is after all a mortal and transient composite, and rather more thought is required if we are also to be convinced that the "soul" is an inconstant compound (S. II. 94).

2. The Buddha, like Agni, is often referred to as *sārathi*, "provided with a chariot". In S. I. 33 *dhammākkham sārathim brūmi*, "I say the *dhamma* is the rider" is as much as to say that he is himself the rider, since "He who sees the *dhamma*, sees me" (S. III. 120). Cf. J. VI. 252 *attā vā sārathi* (=KU. III. 3 *ātmānam rathinam viddhi*): from Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS' point of view remarkable "left in"! Even the famous Milinda passage on the chariot only asserts that "Nāgasena" and "chariot" are both conventional designations of evanescent composites, without in any way excluding the possibility of an essence that may be "in but not of Nāgasena". From the Upaniṣad point of view it is always the regal spirit (*ātman*) that is the rider in the chariot, and the "inner controller" of the steeds.

S. III. 130) nevertheless "is" (*atthi*, Mil. 73). The perfected being, all in act (*kataṁ karaṇīyaṁ = kṛtakṛtyaḥ*) is insusceptible of any but a negative definition, the *arhat* being for example innominate (Sn. 1176), indiscoverable (S.I. 23), incommunerable (*na upeti saṅkhaṁ*, Sn. 1074),[1] there is no more "thusness" for him (*nāparaṁ itthatāya*).

Man has two "selves", which may be at war with one another (BG. VI. 5-7 and S. I. 91-92), of which we speak when we say that "'I' acted in spite of 'myself'" or "against my better nature", and which are the *anima* to be rejected and the *anima* to be saved of Luke XVII. 33, Math. XVI. 25 and John XII. 25, the former being also that which a man must "hate", "if he would be My disciple", Luke XIV. 26. The Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads abound in references to these two selves. Mrs. Rhys DAVIDS says (p. 40) "Only once have I found the distinction patently drawn where in the same Sutta (A. I. 249) we have 'Great Self' (*mahattā*)[2] and 'little self' (*ap'ātumo*)

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1. The opposite of *saṅkhaṁ gacchati*, to "get a number" (S. III. 35)), i.e. to be born. This use of "number" implies the old and universal realisation that the cosmos, from which the Buddhist wished to break out, is precisely the realm of the quantitative, or in other words, finite. Number distinguishes species and individuality; the arhat is not of any kind, not any "what".

2. *Mahattaṁ*, as WOODWARD has seen, was probably intended by the *mahantaṁ* of A. II. 21, where it is said (by Brahmā Sahampati, indeed, but *nil obstat*) that inasmuch as all the Buddhas lay stress on Dhamma, "so surely he who loveth Self (*attakāmo*), he in whom there is mighty longing for the Great-Self (*mahantaṁ*, for *mahattaṁ*, or with *attānaṁ* understood) should stress the Dhamma, and the Buddhas' doctrine as refuge". The PTS Pali Dictionary ignores *mahattā* and has only *mahatta* (n), "greatness"; a confusion of the words would not necessarily involve a confusion of meaning, since the "Great" (*mahat*) or "Great Self" (*ātmā mahān*) is in fact that Sun that in RV. I. 115. 1 is the "Self" or "Spirit" of all things and with whom all things are linked in a common "conspiracy" in accordance with the *sūtrātman* doctrine of AV. X. 8. 38, SB. VIII. 7. 3. 10, etc.

Mahattā is the same as the better known but much abused "Mahātmā", of which we are now in a position to realise the true values. The epithet can be applied to one who is "altogether 'in the spirit' and corresponds to the third category in the Gnostic classification of man as either hylic, psychic, or *pneumatic*. To call a man "Mahātmā" is also as much as to call him "Great Light", or "Sun", as in BU. IV. 4.22 *mahān aja ātmā* and KU. III. 10 *ātmā mahān*. A. I. 249 cited above defines *mahattā* as follow: "The man in whom body, will and intellect (*kāya, citta, paññā*, 'body, soul and spirit' (*prajñā*, literally 'pro-gnosis' implying always a knowledge not derived from any source outside itself, and in this sense being '*intellectus vel spiritus*') have been made-to-become (*bhāvita*, 'developed: the whole expression, like *kataṁ karaṇīyaṁ, kṛtakṛtyaḥ*, etc., implies 'geworden was er ist'), he is not empty, but a 'Great Spirit' (*mahattā*), whose habit has no measure" (*appamāṇavihārī*). For the rendering "habit", cf. *vihāra*, "habit-action". "Not empty" (*aparitto = aprarikta*) is "not emptied out" as is Prajāpati when these worlds have been expressed, but made whole (*kṛtsna*) or holy again as in Prajāpati by the Comprehensor's (*evaṁvit*) sacrifice. Such expressions as *aricyata, riricāno 'manyata*, and *atyaricyata* in PB. IV. 10. 1, 21. 2, and XV. 8. 2. with reference to Prajāpati as having "emitted his offspring" (*prajā sṛṣṭvā*) echo RV. X. 90. 4 where the Person *atyaricyata bhūmiṁ atho paraḥ* "was emptied out upon the Earth and therewith of a manifold (progeny)". It will be noted that both

but the fundamental question of the Upaniṣads, "Which is most the self" (*katama ātmā*, BU. IV. 3. 7), "Which one is it?" (*katama*, MU. II. 1), is certainly reflected in Sn. 508 "By which self (*ken'attanā*) does one attain the Brahma-world?" (Buddhism does not disdain to speak of the *summum bonum* thus, nor even to treat as synonymous Brahmahood and Buddhahood). Again, two different "selves" are certainly implied by the Buddha's approval of the "self-lover" (*attakāmo*, of which the real meaning is wholly betrayed by the rendering "self-lover") in S. I 75[1] (a variant of BU. II 4 and IV. 5), and the disapproval of those who are "overfond of self" (*attā hi paramo piyo*) in A. IV. 97, where the *attā* in question is assuredly the psycho-physical self or ego that "is *not* myself" (*na me so attā*, S. II. 94, III. 224, etc.) and to which an *arhat* can refer in terms of "I" and "my" *only* when speak-

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si and *ric* involve a sexual symbolism. It is in the same way that in JU. I. 57. 5 where the Saman "is verbally outpoured, or emptied out, upon the RK." (*tām ...,vācayaricyata*) ; and analogically *atī tisro brāhmaṇayānīr sadṛśī ricyate yo enaṁ veda*. *Ric* describes the divine incontinence by which the "creation" is brought into being, "genitum non factum" : Eckhart's "act of fecundation latent in eternity". The point of *aparitto* is then that the Buddha has come into his own, he is no longer forspent and divided but continent or self-contained.

1. *Attakāmo* here like *ajjhatarato...tam āhu bhikkhuṁ*, "He whose delight is in the Inner Man, him I call a monk indeed" (Dh. 362), cf. Muṇḍ. III. 1. 4, "He whose fond delight is in the Spirit (*ātmaratiḥ*), he is the best of Brahmo-knowers", and Bg. III. 17 *ātmaratiḥ...kāryaṁ na vidyate* (because *kṛtakṛtyaḥ, kṛtaṁ karaṇīyam*). The knowledge of the (spiritual) Self is commended in the expressions *atta-saññato* (S. I. 103) and *attaññū* (D. III. 252), where this "self-knowledge" is an essential part of the *sappurisa-dhammā*, and A. IV. 114, ranked with *dhammaññū, atthaññū*, etc. There is actually no part of the Indian pneumatology, not even excepting the doctrine of the "thread-spirit", which could not be illustrated from Pali sources alone.

A further remarkable illustration of Buddhist "orthodoxy" occurs in connection with the doctrine of the "elements" or "subsistents". It is generally held that the Hindus reckon five elements, the Buddhists only four. We find, for example, that the body is *catumahābhūtika*, literally "four-great-elementish (S. II. 94). But in a fuller text, S. II. 206-247, the four great elements, designated as such, are earth, water, fire, air, listed in their proper order, and it is said that each of these is reduced to its homonymous principle at death. In the same breath the text goes on to say that the "sense-powers" (*indriyāni*) all together resort to the ether (*ākāsa*). It is, then, a matter of terminology ; the ether is essential to the being of a man, but as being of a higher order than the four, it is not spoken of as a fifth "element" though it occurs in the fifth place. This "ether", indeed, is not a "space", but a "void", and for that reason in the Upaniṣads, *ākāśa* is often replaced by *kha* ; it is a first determination of the *ātman*, proceeding to manifestation as *prāṇa* ("breath"). *The indriyāṇi*, sense-powers, are in fact alternatively spoken of in the Upaniṣads as "breaths" (*prāṇāḥ*), which, are so to speak the antennae of the spirit extended from within us to the objects of cognition, and are as a matter of course reduced ("led back to") their principle at death. The Buddhist doctrine is then so orthodox that, apart from the restriction of the name of "element" to the four more evidently physical factors of our constitution, the text might have been borrowed directly from an Upaniṣad. It may be that it was just in the same way that most of the Greeks reckoned only four elements, not always reckoning *aithēr* a fifth.

ing conventionally and as a matter of convenience (S. I. 14). The two selves are just as clearly distinguished in Dh. 160, where "Self (spirit) is the Lord of self (ego)" (*attā hi attano nātho*), the "Great self", that is, of the "little self", the inner of the outer man, the "*vera sentenzia*" of the "æsthetic surfaces". (cf. 1. 75) : even more explicitly A. I. 149 contrasts the "Fair Self" (*Kalyāṇam attānam*) with the "foul self" (*pāpam attānam*),[2] terms that are certainly equivalent to those of A. I. 249 cited above; the "little self" or "foul self" being precisely that which is *anattā, na me so attā*, "not my-Self", but the "ego" of St. Paul's *vivo autem jam non ego*.

The two "selves" may be in accord or in conflict, as in S. I. 71-72. "For whom now is the *attā* beloved (*piyo*), and for whom unloved (*appiyo*)? In the case of those whose conduct is evil, the spiritual self (*attā*) is unloved. How so? Inasmuch as that which the unloved would do to one unloved, even that they of themselves (*attanā*) are doing to the spiritual self (*attano*)"; and conversely. In S. I. 57 those whose behaviour is childish have "self as foe to Self" (*amitten-eva-attanā*).[2] In Dh. 103, the man who conquers self (*jeyyo attānaṁ*) is the greatest of conquerors (echoed by Asoka in Rock Edict XIII). All of these three passages correspond to BG. VI. 5-6 where the Spirit (*ātman*) is friend (*bandhu*) of one in whom the flesh (*ātman*) has been conquered (*jitaḥ*) by the Spirit (*ātmanā*) but the enemy (*śatru*) of what-is-not-the-Spirit (*anātmanaḥ* = Pali *anattano*). Nor can we fail to observe that S. I. 169, *ajjhatam* (= *adhyātmikam*) *eva jalayāmi...hadayam, jotiṁ jhāyam, jotī attā sudanto*, "I kindle a flame within, the heart the actor, the flame the adopted self" is just the "internal Agnihotra" of ŚB. X. 5. 3. 3 and Ś Ar. X, reflecting, too, the fact that even in the actual ritual it is constantly emphasized that (as in the analogous case of the Christian Mass), it is really *himself* that the Sacrificer, as *ātma-yajñī*, is offering up upon the altar.

It is not a confusion of "selves" that makes Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS (in her *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 114, Note 2) shrink from the expression "le *moi* haïssable"? There is one "self" that we *must* hate "if we would be His disciple" (Luke XIV. 26); the author of the *Cloud of Unknowing* is perfectly true his Master when he says that the greatest sorrow that a man can feel is to reflect that he *is*; and in this sense, as Eckhart says with perfect truth

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1. Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS cites Śvet. Up. VI. 11 but cf. also RV. IV. 1. 17 *ā sūrya ...tiṣṭhat...yu martesu vṛjinā ca paśyan* (where Sūrya is assuredly *ātman* as in RV. I. 115.1) and many parallel passages.

2. Conversely, "For those who have attained, there is naught dearer than the spirit" (*na...piyataraṁ attanā kvaci*), S. I. 57 = Udāna 47; just as in BU. I. 4.8, where the *ātman* is dearer than all else, for the *ātman* is innermost. If one would speak of anything else but the *ātman* as dear, it should be said of him that 'He is like to lose what is verily dear', for this would be true. One should approach the *ātman* alone as dear. He who regards the *ātman* only as dear, is 'dear' indeed, is incorruptible". There can be no greater love than "self"—love,—if we know "who" we are, if we have verified (*sacchikatvā*) the answer to *katama ātmā, kaṁ attānaṁ*, if by "self" we understand and mean the *sarvabhūtāntarātman*.

All scripture cries aloud for freedom from self". If scripture likewise repeats through the ages the injunction "Know thyself", it is because there is another self that can be known in another way than that of the psychologist, and the purpose of the doctrine is to enable man to shift his consciousness of being from the former to the latter self, from the changeable and perishable ego of the man who thinks of himself as So-and-so to an immortal self that can no more than God himself (who as Erivgena expresses it, is "not any what", a literal equivalent of *akiñcana* in the Buddhist texts) be named or defined, "no speechway (*vādapatha*, Sn. 1076) remaining".

That the *arhat*, having already cast off the notion that "I am such and such" (D. III. 249), can make use of such expressions as "I" and "my" only as a matter of practical convenience (S. I. 14) leads us to a consideration of the question of "reincarnation" and *karma*. By "reincarnation" (as distinguished from "transmigration" we mean always the belief in rebirth on this earth, whether in a human or lower form. It must be remarked in the first place that the doctrine of *karma* (essentially, that everything done has an effect, and that nothing happens without a cause) does not differ in any way from the Christian doctrine of the government of the world by "mediate causes" apart from which, as St. Thomas Aquinas says; "the world have been deprived of the perfection of causality"; and that this doctrine of *karma* and a belief in "reincarnation" are by no means interdependent or inseparable.[1] As I understand, no doctrine of "reincarnation" was ever officially taught in India, whether by Brahman or Buddhist, whatever the *puthujana* may have believed; so far as I know, however, the only scholars who have pointed this out are on the one hand B. C. LAW[2] and on the other René GUÉNON. As there is no essence in component things (the *ātman* is not, of course, a composite) there is evidently none that can pass over from

1. St Augustine, who certainly did not believe in reincarnation, no less certainly enunciates a doctrine of *karma*, saying that "the human body preexisted in the previous works in their causal virtues" (*Gen. ad lit.* VII. 24 cited by St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*, I. 91. 2), cf. S. II. 64, "This body, brethren, is neither yours nor that of anyone else. It should be regarded as the the product of past works" (*purāṇañ kammaṃ...abhisaṅkhataṃ*).

2. KEITH reviewing *Concepts of Buddhism* in IHQ. XIV. 182 remarks: "Dr Law insists (p. 45 that the Buddhists deny the transmigration of a soul. Cf. St SCHAYER reviewing PAPESSO, "Chāndogya Up", in *Polish Bulletin of Oriental Studies*, I,1937, p. 98: "the *punarmṛtyu* idea is only a Brahmanistic variant of the Wieder-Tod conception, well-known to ethnologists, and has nothing to do with rebirth". T. W. RHYS DAVIDS recognized that "reincarnation" is excluded when he wrote, with reference to M. I. 256 that there is "a repudiation of the belief in any permanent, transmigrating intelligent principle (*viññāṇaṃ*) in man, and the affirmation of the contrary view—that *viññāṇaṃ* is a contingent principle". In S. II. 13, for example, we cannot ask "whose" consciousness is reconstituted in a new existence, but only "what" consciousness; and thus what is usually meant by "reincarnation" is excluded. The reconstituted consciousness (*paṭisandhi viññāṇaṃ*) is not a reconstituted *being*, but a reconstituted phenomenon; no "thing" passes over from one body to another. This is the Buddhist form of the Brahmanical doctrine that there is no individual *saṃsārin*.

one habitation to another (Mil.71-73); nor does the often repeated simile of the lighting of one lamp from another allow us to read into the doctrine the transmission of an essence, but only of a tendency (just as when one billiard ball strikes another, no thing, but only a directed motion, is transferred).

But, it will be objected, what about the "Jātakas", and the Buddha's claim to an absolute memory of all past births ("habitations") and assertion that the recollection of former habitations can be acquired? The answer is that the Buddha knows that in so speaking parabolically, the *puthujana* may understand (as the modern scholar has understood) that he means that their "individuality" has passed over from one body to another (as if one could say, "When I was Plato",—the modern reincarnationist in fact is very apt to take pleasure in thus connecting himself with some great name or romantic type); but also knows that the instructed disciple will understand that the statement "I was So-and-so" made at the end of a Jātaka tale really means that So-and-so was a link in the beginningless chain or sequence of lives, becomings or "habitations" (of the Spirit), of which habitations "he" now speaking is the last term: last, because my consciousness of being is not of being So-and-so, I am literally no one (*akiñcano...carāmi loke*, Sn. 455), I can no more ask "Where am 'I' going"? than I can "Whence came 'I'?" (S. II. 26). In this connection, a dramatic illustration of the fact that to have shaken one's individuality by no means implies an annihilation (a metaphysical impossibility in any case) can be cited in the Parosahassa Jātaka (No. 99), where the dying Bodhisattva is asked by his disciples "What good have you gotten?" He answers "There is none" (*n'atthi kiñci*) The disciples understand that this means that he has gained nothing. But when the conversation is reported to the chief disciple, who had not been present, he says "You did not understand the meaning (*attha*) of the Master's words. What the Master said was that he had attained to the "Station of Not-being-anyone" (*ākiñcaññāyatana*). The Master reappears from the Brahma worlds to confirm this explanation, a convincing proof that even in "late" monastic Buddhism it was well understood that to have ceased to be anyone does not mean the same as to have been annihilated at death.[1] The continued essence

1. It may be noted that Parosahassa (*parosahassa*) is "beyond a thousand" and that in common Brāhmaṇa usage "a thousand means everything"; the name is a designation of one who has broken out of this cosmic total. At the same time, who ever being joined unto the Lord "is one spirit" (in the words of St Paul) cannot be anyone, for as in KU. II. 18, "the Spirit hath not become anything" (*na babhūva kaścit*).

Parallel texts recur in Sn. 1070 and 1115 "Discerning a 'not-any-what-ness' (*ākiñcaññā*), assured that 'There is not' (*n'atthi*), so cross the flood "and" To have realised 'There is no birth as any-what-ness' (*ākiñcaññā-sambhava*), that is verily 'gnosis'". *N'atthi* in these contexts is of particular interest because it stands for the opposite of the denial voiced by the *natthika* in the sense of "nothing-morist" or "nihilist" whom the Buddha so often condemns. The veritably gnostic *natthika* is philosophically a "realist", for whom "things" are only names, and amongst these things "himself" as known by name and aspect; the *natthika* as "nothing-

of one who has realised here and now that he is "not any what" and is still in the flesh is even more obvious: he can still say "I" in the conventional sense, as in Sn. 455-456 "'I' wander in the world, a learned naught (*akiñcano mamña*),....uncontaminate (*alipphamāno*, cf. KU. V. 11) here and now by human-ties (*idha mānavehi*): futility to ask whose kin am 'I'" ("Who is my mother? and who are my brethren?", Math. XII. 48).

In other words, "we" now reap the consequences, we *are* the consequence truly of what-has-been-done (the world, as St Augustine says: "is pregnant with the causes of unborn things"), i.e. of "*karma*": but not as a consequence of what "we" have done, since there has never been any "I" to do anything. This is the answer to the question (p. 89) "If deeds are done without a doer, that is, a self, who is that experiences the results of them?" (S. II. 75, III. 103). If the "founder" is made to reply "to this question in terms of code, of formula",[1] this only means that he is bringing forward the old and orthodox teaching that the Sun[2] is the Spirit in all things

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monist" is philosophically a "nominalist", for whom only things are real and universals or eternals only names. We feel that MRS. RHYS DAVIDS is at heart a nominalist interpreting a realist doctrine.

1. That is to say, in the proper sense of the word, "dogmatically". It is highly symptomatic of the anti-traditional character of our culture, that this word has acquired a bad meaning. Lord CHALMERS, who renders *diṭṭhi* in Sn. 55 rightly by "hypotheses" goes so far as to render the same word in Sn. 789 by "dogma"! He ought to have known that anywhere outside controversial slang, dogma means "orthodox doctrine", or "science" as distinguished from "opinion" or "private view (*diṭṭhi*)"; the veritable dogmatist (such as the Buddha) has no such opinions of his own, his purpose is not to destroy but to fulfil the law, as *sattar* he lays down the law infallibly. Our democratic attachment to opinionative licence has made us overlook that there can be only one *true* philosophy.

The answer to the question "Who reaps the fruit of acts" (John IX.2 "Who did sin, this man or his parents?") is given in terms of the Middle Way in S. II. 75 (in agreement with BG. XIII. 12 *na sat tan nāsad ucyate*): neither of the extremes is true in itself, viz. that one sows and himself reaps, or that one sows and another reaps. "I" as "little self" am reaping the consequences of what has been done by "other little selves" (in this sense the sins of the fathers are "visited upon the sons"); but I the very Self and spiritual Man ("not as I am in myself, but as I am in God", in my nature apart from time) am not reaping any consequences at all, I only perceive them *yathābhūtam* (as happenings or "accidents"), as the author dramatist views the action of a play, not being himself one of the actors, nor slain when the hero is slain.

2. I.e. the "Uncreated Light", *principium motus et vitæ*. The scholar who sees the "worship of nature" in Vedic texts comes under the lash of Plutarch (*Moralia*, 400) who reproaches the Greeks who cannot distinguish between Apollo and the sun, so much are they blinded by their powers of observation, "diverting the faculty of thought" (*dianoia* = *viññāna*) through the faculty of sensation (*aisthesis* = *vedana*) from what is to what appears to be". If the Buddhist polemic also misrepresents Vedic "religion", it is not from the same point of view, but as a manœuvre and for reasons of convenience. A Roman Catholic of Maritain's type may also have his "reasons" for saying that "primitive imagery...has no philosophical value whatsoever" (*St. Thomas Aquinas*, p. 165, note), but what are we to think of a presumably disinterested scholar who says that "the values of ritual

(RV. I. 115. 1) and the doer of all things (JUB. I. 3. 3), other than whom there is no seer, etc (BU. III. 7. 23) so that "By no means ought a harnessed man, a knower of the principle, to consider that '"I" am the doer of any thing'" (BG. V. 8); or to take it from Christian sources, "If ye through the Spirit do mortify (*mortificatis, thanatonte* = put to death) the deeds (*facta, tasirakseis* = *kamma*) of the body, ye shall live" (Rom. VIII. 13), for as St. Thomas Acquinas expands this and the following verse and Gal. V. 18, "The works of a man who is led by the Holy Ghost, are the works of the Holy Ghost rather than his own" (*Summa*, II-I. 93. 6 ad 1), so that "If any man is to come to God, *he must be empty of all works* and let God work alone" (TAULER, *Following* XVII, italics mine). It had been consistently taught before and after Buddhism, from RV. X. 90. 4 where it is a part of the Person that "here becomes again" (*iha-abhavat punar*, i.e. "is continually born") to Śaṅkara on Br. Sūtra I. 1. 5, where "the Lord is the only round-about-goer" (*nesvarād anyaḥ saṁsāri*), that all action is the work, not of the individual but of the Spirit (*ātmā...ato hi sarvāṇi karmāṇy utti-ṣṭhanti*, BU. I. 6.3). The question "Who reaps?" is asked again in connection with the blind man, in John IX. 2, "Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?" The remarkable answer attributed to the Christ, "Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents: but that the works of God should be made manifest in him", is in full accord with JUB. I. 5. 2, *tvaṁ* (*ādityc*) *kartāsi*, and all traditional teaching. It is precisely the Buddha's answer in S. II. 75, where it is neither true that one sows and himself reaps nor that one sows and another reaps! How is it possible to ascribe to a "late monastic editing" in Buddhism a doctrine that was already pre-Buddhist in India and is also universal?

The teaching is that "The experiencer, the actor, is nowhere" (Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS, *Manual*...., p. 157 [1] Nowhere, indeed! for That One "has not come from anywhere nor become anyone" (KU. II. 18): we cannot say that the Buddha is here, or there, but only that he is (Mil. 73). To make use of Eckhart's expression, the *vimutto* is "free as the Godhead in its non-

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as practised today by the Christian Church are different from those possessed by ceremonial among primitive peoples. Christian ritual is largely symbolic" (SMOTHERS, *An Introduction to Egyptian Religion*, p. 36)? Let us not imitate what is the worst and weakest and least attractive part of the Buddhist texts, their apparently deliberate misunderstanding of Brahmanical "imagery", which is not an "imagery" at all in this sense, but what is called an "adequate symbolism" and is "le symbolisme qui sait" and not "le symbolisme qui cherche".

1. I have, of course, read Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS' words, not as she wrote them to show the absurdity of this doctrine, but as an essential part of the Buddhist "gospel", and I may add, as a simple statement of truth. In any case, there is no "monkish" perversion here, nor anything unique, but only the universal doctrine of the *philosophia perennis*. And however strange my approach may seem to be to some scholars, it has at least this advantage, that it avoids emendations of texts, and the elimination of passages considered "late" (on the basis of their contents), which emendations and eliminations are inevitably expressions of personal opinion (Pali *diṭṭhi*) on the part of those who resort to them.

existence". Those of us who are attached to the "survival of personality" may recoil from this; but it is just this "personality" of which it is said that "He that loseth his life *jīvitaṁ* as in Luke XIV. 26 *mūlaṁ jīvitaṁ*) for my sake, shall find it". That which is anywhere, having local position, cannot at the same time be elsewhere, and is certainly not like the Buddha *anantagocara*[1] (Dh. 179); how could that which is "less than infinitesimal and greater than great" (KU. II. 20 and passim), i.e. without quantity, have a position? When it is said that the Kingdom of heaven (Luke, XVII. 21) or "World's End (S. I. 62 and A. II. 49) is "within you" this is said of all men; and that which is everywhere is certainly nowhere, no private property. If the Spirit is my veritable essence, then this very Self of mine, the only actor, *is* "nowhere"; and its vehicle, the Psycho-physical ego, *is* on automaton[2]

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1. *Buddham anantagocaraṁ apadaṁ; kena padena nessatha*, "Buddha, whose range is infinite, nathless he hath no foot,—by what track can you trace him?" (*vid*, to trace, track, find out, as in Manu) describes the unmoved mover, denying locomotion; the Buddha is, in fact the "Eye in the World" (*cakkhuṁ loke*, passim), and as such both moves(*cakṣuṣā carati*, MU VI. 6) and operates (*mayā cakṣuṣā karmāṇi kriyante*, JUB. IV. 12. 2). By "Eye in the World", any contemporary Brahman would have understood the Sun, the Truth, Spirit, Fire: the Buddhist argument *ad hominem* is so largely addressed to Brahmans *qua* Brahmans that we must evidently listen as Brahmans listened if we want to understand. This means too that we must be vitally interested in the truth of the doctrine themselves, for as MALLINOWSKI has so well said in another context, "Technical language acquires its meaning only through personal participation. Scholars in general are so much afraid of "personal participation", or as *naṭṭhikas* so incapable of it, that Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS, however we may disagree with her in some matters, commands our respect for confessing it.

"Footless" ("ophidian", like the *apare brahmaṇa, apādake* in Muṇḍ. I. 2. 6, cf. AV. X. 8. 21 *apād agre abhavat*) requires a longer commentary; cf. Shams-i-Tabrizi (NICHOLSON, p. 296) "In me is no 'I' and no 'we', I am naught, without head, *without feet*" and "The last to fare *without feet*" (NICHOLSON, p. 137)

2. If one does not like this, the way out is provided: "find thyself", *attānaṁ gaveyyesūtha*, or as Avencebrol expresses it, *Quid est ergo quod debet homo inquirere in hac vita?...Hoc est ut sciat seipsum* (*Fons Vitæ, I.* 2). It may be remarked here that when we attribute free will to the empirical ego, "actual present self", we do so only in space but not in time, saying "I do or go *where* I like" but never "I am *when* I like", or even "how I like," and here there is evidently a lesion in logic, for there is no space apart from time or time apart from space (more obvious than ever, in the light of "relativity"): on the other hand, and with perfect logic, the spirit is independent alike of time *and* space. Thus, "that which gets farther from the primary intelligence, is bound the more by the ties of Fate, and the nearer it approaches the axis of all the more it is free from Fate" (Boethius, *Consolation*, prose VI). "Fate lies in the created causes themselves" (St. Thomas Aquinas), but "My service is perfect freedom".

When in reply to Saccaka the Buddha asks "Have you, as body, or mind, the power to make either do what you will" (Mrs RHYS DAVIDS' words, summarising the Lesser Saccaka Sutta, in JRAS. 1937, p. 262), and says "I understand Sacchaka, you say that 'you' are no other than body and mind" (*Original Gospel*, p. 35), this is identical with Boethius, *Consolation*, prose VI; Boethius knows and confesses himself to be "an animal, reasoning and mortal", to whom "Philosophy" replies, "Know you aught else that you are?" "Naught", he says; Philosophy answers,

of which the behaviour and experience are determined wholly by mediate causes, i.e. *karma* as *hetu*. It is only inasmuch as our consciousness of being (far more authentic than our awareness of being So-and-so)[1] can be shifted from the lesser to the greater "self" (this is St. Paul's "dividing asunder of soul from spirit", Heb. IV. 12; it is as true for Buddhism as for Christianity that "all scripture cries aloud for freedom from self", nor does this, any more than "*anattā*", mean only a freedom from "selfishness", but from "selfhood") that there can be any liberation or immortality, inconceivable of anything originated (S. I. 108 *natthi jātassa amaraṇam*: BG. 11. 27). That the shift can be made is not a demonstrable one: "Work out your salvation (*tumheki kiccam ātappam*, more literally 'Yours to swelter at the task'), the Buddhas do but tell the tale" (Dh. 276)[2]. The modern

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"Now I know the cause or the chief cause of your sickness. *You have forgotten what you are*". "Freewill" is the free will of the Spirit: but "our" will is a *necessitas coactionis*, an affect, not an act but a passion. "Thy will, not mine, be done, O Lord": it is in this sense, and not at all in a "fatalistic" sense, that religion is "resignation" ("Islām"). For the "little self" (ego, *moi*) there can be no freedom except in obedience to the "Great Self" (essence, *soi*). The "little self" has indeed a kind of will, but this is only an instinctive wishing determined by desires, not a free will. The distinction of bondage from freedom is made in this way in CU. VIII. 1. 5-6, and in almost the same terms by Augustine, *De spiritu et littera*, 52 "Why then should miserable men venture to pride themselves on their freewill before they are set free ...For by whom a man is overcome, to him he is assigned in slavery".

1. Cf. S. III. 130 "I see that in the five grasping *khandhas* I have got the notion 'I am', yet I do not recognize that 'I am *this*'". If the concept "I am" is subsequently "removed", observe that it is not spoken as replaced by the concept "I am not"; the nature of being in itself cannot be grasped by any such dialectic; "inasmuch as even here and now the Tathāgata cannot be grasped in truth or reality as existing'" (*thitatā*, S. III. 118), it cannot be asked what he was or will be (S. III. 118); the problem is "undeclared" (*avyākatam*, S. IV. 385), because the answer is inexpressible; there, as the *Upaniṣads* express it, words turn back" (Taitt. Up. II. 4), "You ask too far regarding this Godhood" (BU. VI. 6), "You could not think out the thinker of thinking" (BU. VI. 4), *Al' alta fantasia qui manco possa* (*Paradiso*, XXXIII. 142). As in Buddhism, the Upaniṣads do not tell us *what* the *ātman* is, but rather what is not.

The unreality of the empirical self is plainly recognized in SB. I. 9. 3. 23 (following VS. II. 28 and with reference to VS. I. 5) where at the close of the rite the sacrificer desecrates himself, and not liking to say in so many words "Now I return from the truth (*satyam*) to the lie (*anṛta*)" (converse of VS. I. 5 "Now I enter from the lie to the truth") says instead "Now am I such as I am" (*aham ya evāsmi so 'smi*, also in AB. VII. 24), i.e. So-and-so by and lineage; the initiated sacrificer having been "as it were no man", "nameless", and "as if emptied of self" (SB. *ib*, KB. VII. 2 and SB. III. 8. 1. 2 *viriciva hi ātmā*). Sylvain Lévi rightly thought of the Brahmanism of the Brāhmaṇas as *bien pire du bouddhisme*, though very wide of the mark when he added *qu'il lui a légué une regrettable hérédité*! It is in any case from Brahmanism that Buddhism inherits all that it has in common with Christianity (in saying which we are *not* endorsing the theory of "influence"—"The coincidences of tradition are beyond the scope of accident").

2. *Akkhātāro*, "narrators", in the sense of AB. VII. 18, where the "narrator" of the Śunaḥśepa legend is *ākhyātṛ*. From this point of view the actually spoken

scholar, *naṭṭhika* by temperament and training, and rarely concerned with the truth but only with the fact of what was taught, may be unable to believe that the shift can be made[1], that a man may be here and now an *arhat*, *jīvan-mukta* or *mahātmā*, but not having "sweltered at the task" he is equally unable to deny that it can be accomplished. To go beyond this agnostic position, to assert that the basic assumption is a false one, to assume that the texts are speaking *in der Luft hereim*, would deprive them of any but a philological and literary value.

Let me conclude a notice already overlong with a few words on *bhū* and *jñāna*. I entirely agree that *bhū* has far too often, and not only in Buddhist but also in Vedic contexts been rendered by "be" where "become" was needed. I also entirely agree with Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS' view that it is the whole business of man *werden was er ist*, which implies of course a ceasing to be *was er nur scheint sein*. Excellent examples of *bhū* as *werden* in this sense might have been cited in AB. VII. 15 *bhūṣṇur-ātmā* and *bhūyaḥ* in AA. II. 3. 2 (also with reference to *ātman*). But remark the words *werden* and *ist*: *werden* is process and *ist* like *asi* in "That *art* thou" is timeless reality, apparently a future goal only so long as it has not been reached. It can no more be supposed that a further progress is possible when the "end of the road" has been reached than that the infinite could be traversed. For the Traveller there is nothing to do but to "keep on going, just keep on going" (*caraiva, caraiva*, AB. VII. 15); as the end of the road, where "every where and every when are focussed" there is no longer any meaning in a locomotion. One might as well prefer "learning" to "knowing" as "becoming" to "being"; the Buddhist *asekha*, a designation of the Expert as one for whom there is nothing more to be learnt, corresponds, indeed, to the formulation of Plotinus, for whom the highest beings "never learn, nothing being absent at any time from their knowledge" (*Enneads*, IV. 4. 6). The advocate of a "perpetual motion" is such only as a disbeliever in the possibility of the attainment of perfection; but it is of the essence of Brahminical and Buddhist doctrine that the order to be "perfect even as your Father in heaven is perfect" *can* be obeyed. As Eckhart also says, "Not till she knows all that there is to be known does she pass over to the unknown good". I have shown elsewhere that the thesis cannot be maintained, that the Buddha did not claim *sabbaññū*.

It is quite easy, however, to overdo the rendering of *bhū* by "become", especially where the future (which is also the future of *asmi*) is concerned. I refer especially to A. II. 35 f. where the Brahman Doṇa sees the Buddha's footprints, and following these *vestigia pedis* reaches their author. In the following dialogue he asks whether the Buddha "is" (or "will become", this alternative being the matter of the present discussion) a Deva, Gan-

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gospel is an *ākhyāna*, of which, however, the true meaning is anything but anecdotal. The Buddha legend is a "myth", though not in this term's acquired sense of "fiction".

1. Also the Christian doctrine, Cf. Augustine *De spiritu et littera*, "We cannot deny the possibility of perfection in the present life."

dharva, Man, or Yakkha, the Buddha replying that he "is not" or "will not become" (*na bhavissāmi*) either of these, because the conditions productive of such states of being have been destroyed. If these conditions *have been* destroyed, how can it be supposed that he is speaking even now as a man? He concludes, moreover by saying "I am (*asmi*) the Buddha", and this is tantamount to proof that the previous *bhavissāmi* has a present value, for he evidently means, "I am awake, I cannot be classified or included in any category". It may be noted too that Doṇa uses the future even with respect to the footprints which are present before his eyes, saying "These *will not be*,[1] i.e. are surely not, the footprints of a man". Similar uses of the future can be cited in M. I. 387, "Who can refrain from praise?" (*na vaṇṇaṁ karissati*), meaning "Who is willing to refrain?" or "able to refrain," with present value; and J. I. 71 *idaṁ sambodhiṁ pāpuṇana-ṭṭhāna na bhavissati*, where *ṭhānaṁ* is the subject of *na bhavissati*, by which only "cannot be" can be meant, since the place is just as unsuitable now as it ever will be. The conjectural future has in fact a timeless value very much like the timeless value of the gnomic aorist. And as regards the supposedly late origin of this gnomic future (if we may so call it), what about RV. I. 164. 39 *kiṁ ṛcā kariṣyati*, which is much rather "What use *can* he make of Ṛks.?" than "What use *will* he make?", the idea being that the Ṛks are of no use to him.

We also agree that *bhāvanā* is a "making become", in the sense that we use "grow" transitively, meaning to cultivate or propagate. It is, indeed, as the "Giver of Being" that the Lord is called Prabhū, "He who makes to come forth"; in Māṇḍukya Up. 6 and 11, the equivalence of *prabhava* ("Schöpfung" in DEUSSEN's version) with *miti* is a noteworthy illustration of this creative value in *bhū*; in BG. XIII. 16 *prabhaviṣṇu*, "giving life to," and *grasiṣṇu*, devouring, are the contrasting acts of the Deity, who as in Dent. XXXII. 9 both "kills and makes alive." But it is just here that the equivalence of *bhāvanā* with *jhāna*, which Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS ridicules in her translation of the Dhammapada, p. xx, emerges. Parenthetically, it may be observed that this equivalence is familiar at a later period, for as we have said elsewhere "The Sādhanas constantly employ the roots *cit.*, to think, be known, etc., and *dhyai*, to contemplate, visualise, in the same sense as the causative of *bhū*" (*IAL.* 1935, p. note 5). The difficulty is largely caused by a misapprehension of the nature of *jhāna* (*dhyāna*), a term that is radically misrendered by "meditation" and altogether betrayed by "musing", or worse "quiet musing", or still worse, "clairvoyance". Almost the only proper English words by which the values of Indian *dhāraṇa, dhyāna* (Vedic *dhī*) and *samādhi* can be conveyed are the consideration", "contemplation", and

1. A future sense could only be forcibly introduced by saying "will prove not to be", but even this does not change the fact that in Doṇa's thought the footprints are not those of a man; he is not thinking that they are now the footprints of a man and will later on "become" those of an elephant, i.e. Buddha. And if *bhavissāti* has present and actual value here, it might be expected a priori that *bhavissāmi* would have a present and actual value throughout the same Sutta.

"rapture" or "excess" (the two last in their literal etymological values of a "being taken out of" or a "going out of oneself", for which St. Paul's expression is "being in the spirit") corresponding to the *consideratio, contemplatio,* and *raptus* or *excessus* of Victor of St. Hugo and other contemplatives (Skr. *dhīraḥ*). *Samādhi* is also of course a "unification", an *adaequatio rei et intellectus,* whereas in *dhyāna* there is still a destruction of knower and known. *samādhi* is etymologically and semantically "synthesis".

Now "contemplation", from an Indian traditional point of view, is not a passive "mystic experience", but an act, and moreover a creative or generative act. It is in this sense that the divine manner of knowing is at the same time "speculative" and creative, a self-intention by which "He thinks things, and behold they are". The case of the human artist is analogous to this extent at least that if he did not think things they would never come to be. We said that contemplation is an act; this is stated in so many words in GB. I. 3. 2 "*dhiyaḥ* means *karmāṇi*", in connection with the Gāyatrī[1]. The world itself is a contemplative creation (MU. VI. 17, *idaṁ dhyāyate*). In RV. there is hardly anything that is not described as made or done "by a contemplation" (*dhiyā*), or what amounts to the same thing, "intellectually" (*manasā*), and that is as things are made by the craftsman (*abhi taṣṭeva dīdhaya,* III 38. 1). The Fire-altar for example is made by a contemplation (IX. 71. 6) and it is quite in accordance with this that whenever the builders are at a loss, they are told by the Gods to "contemplate" (*cetayadhvam,* SB. passim). In numerous glosses *dhyāyat=acintayat, dhiya=manasā.* Sometimes *manasā* is used with *dhyai,* e.g. TS. II. 5. 11. 5 *yadi manasā dhyāyati tad vacā vadati,* and there is nothing different in principle here from the later practice enjoined upon the painter, *tad dhyātam bhittau niveśayet,* or that of the wainwright whose constructive work is contemplative (*purāṇyi saṁdadhau rathasyeva ṛbhur dhivā,* AV. X. 1. 8). It is by contemplation that one knows how things ought to be done or made, and it is noteworthy that the one word *kusala* (*kauśalya*), "skill", stands both for prudence and for art. *Jhāna* is essentially a raising of one's level of reference from that of the activity of observation of that of perception of the eternal reasons, and consummated in *samādhi* is an identification with these reasons; returning then from contemplation to a practical activity, one is possessed of the required *pramāṇa,* the "*ascertained* means of operation". There can be no question as to the fundamental coincidence of *jhāna* as "visualisation" with *bhāvanā* as "making become".[2]

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1. HUME's (p. 427) hesitation between "obtain" and "meditate upon" for *dhīmahi* in the Gāyatrī is perfectly intelligible: to contemplate is to possess, and in the last analysis to *become* the object of contemplation, and it is this sense that yoga ("conjunction") as technique, is directed towards an *adaequatio rei et intellectus,* and in its consummation is "Union" achieved by the *attānuyogin* (Dh. 209).

2. This is recognized by Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS herself in *Kindred Sayings,* I. p. 48, note 2, interpreting *bhāvanā* as "*constructive* work (in contemplation, of course)...contemplation means both elimination...and...*creation*" (italics mine). Here she knows well enough that *jhāna* is more than "musing".

We might have discussed innumerable other questions raised by Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS' recent books, but have, preferred to stress the great importance of the *ātman* problem, and to support by additional evidence her view that "the first Sakyans were seeking to strengthen and expand the very nucleus of Brahmanic teaching" (*Minor Anthologies*, I, p. xv; I should rather have said "seeking to *adapt*"), and that of the two *ātmans* which may or may not be at war with one another,—may not be, but should be reconciled—one is the immanent Spiritus Sanctus. For whoever has fully understood the answer to the fundamental question *ken'attanā* will not shrink from the concept of a "self-naughting" and will have gone far towards understanding in what various senses the term "rebirth" can be used.

INSCRIPTIONS OF KATHIAWAD*

By

D. B. DISKALKAR

GOREJA

No. 53] V.S. 1450 [24-8-1393.

This inscribed *pālio* was found in the village Goreja, about six miles north of Mangrol. The inscribed portion measures 15½" × 8½".

It records the death of Bhīmāka, son of Patel Punā in Goreja while trying to rescue the village cattle, on Monday, the second day of the dark half of Bhādrapada in v.s. 1450 or Śaka 1315 during the victorious reign of king Mokalasiṁha.

Text

1 ॥ ७० ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमसंवत् १४५० वर्षे शाके
2 १३१५ प्रवर्त्तमाने दक्षिणायने शरद्ऋतौ भाद्रप-
3 दमासे कृष्णपक्षे द्वितीयायां[1] तिथौ सोम[2] अधि-
4 नीनक्षत्रे व्याघातनाम्नि योगे मेषस्थे चंद्र[3] राज-
5 श्रीमोकलसिंह[4] विजयराज्ये[5] पटल पूना तु-
6 त प० भीमाकेन गोरिजग्रामे गोम्हे देहत्यागे-
7 विहित[6] ॥ बाजा हदद (?) विलपिता पुरवस्थित (?)

MANGROL

No. 54] DATE MISSING. [?

This *pālio* is lying at the gate of the Darbargadh at Mangrol. It measures 1' 8" × 1'-1". A portion of the inscription at the beginning and at the end is illegible.

It records the death of a warrior of the Cūḍāsamā family in a battle in the victorious reign of Mahārāṇā Mejiga, son of Mahārājakula Bhīma at Maṅgalapur (i.e. Mangrol), on Sunday, the 10th of the dark half of Vaiśākha.

The portion of the inscription containing the year is worn out. As the Mangrol inscription of v.s. 1452 states that the place was governed by a Muhammedan officer this inscription must have belonged to an earlier date.

Mahārāṇā Mejiga whose father's name was Bhīma cannot be identified with the Cūḍāsāma king Meliga whose father was Mokalasiṁha and whose inscriptions are dated from v.s. 1469 to 1472. See No. 64 (1) below. It is tempting to identify the prince Bhīma of this inscription with the Yādava chief Bhīma mentioned in the Somanātha Pāṭaṇa inscription No. 44 above.

* Continued from p. 41 of April 1939 issue.

1. द्वितीयायां 2. सोमे 3. चंद्रे 4. सिंह 5. विहितः

Text

1 ॐ .....श्रीविक-
2 म सं.....वर्षे वै-
3 शाख वदि १० रवावद्ये-
4 ह श्रीमंगलपुरे **महारा-**
5 **जकुलश्रीभीम** सुत म-
6 हाराण श्री **मेजिग** पा-
7 दानां विजयराज्ये महं०
8 वी...सुत ठ० जेगडप्रति-
9 पत्तौ....प्रासीद चू-
10 डा० महं० सुत चूडा० देव-
11 सीह.....
12 संप्राप्ते.....सूतः
13 सुखं भवतु श्रीः ॥

MANGROL

No. 55] v.s. 1452. [7-5-1396.

This inscription is engraved on a white marble. It was first discovered in Māngrol but was afterwards removed to the Junagadh Museum where it is now lying. Above this inscription, which is in Sanskrit, is another inscription in Persian characters. Our inscription measures 18" in length and 6" in breadth and is in a good condition.

This inscription was formerly published on p. 246 of the *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*.

It records that in v.s. 1452 while the emperor NASARATKHĀN was ruling in YOGINIPURA (i.e. Delhi) and Dapharakhān was governing on his behalf the province of Gujarat Malik Yakub was in charge of Māngrol (Mangalapur). His brother Malik Mūsā, who was the *Kotwāl* caused to be made the iron gate of the town.

The emperor Nasaratkhan mentioned above is no doubt the emperor Nāsiruddin Muhammad Tughlak (II) and Dapharkhān is Zafarkhān his viceroy over Gujarat (*Bom. Gaz.* Vol. I Pt. I. p. 232). Some time after the date of this inscription Zafarkhān gave up allegiance to the Dehli emperor and founded an independent line which became in after times known as the Gujarat Sultans.

Text

1 संवत् १४५२ वर्षे वैशाख वदि १५ रवौ श्रीयोगिनीपुरे[1] पातसाहि श्रीनसरथतिज[2]
2 राज्ये तत्सुयुक्त श्रौ **गूर्जरधरित्र्यां** श्रीदफरषाने राज्यं कुर्व्वति इह **सुराष्ट्रायां**
श्रीमंग

1. *i.e.* Delhi. 2. i.e. Nasaratkhan

3 लपुरे [राममूलतालीयजवबसीसुत धनीम (?)] मलिक श्री **आकुवे** [मुद्रा] व्यापारे छ
4 र्थति बांधव कोटवाल मलिक श्रीमूसावाम्ना प्रतोलीद्वयेपि निजिलोइघटिता
5 कपाटयुगलो प्रत्येकं कारिता ॥ लोकरक्षार्थं ॥ तोरछी लिपिः कारी बदरदीन
6 धोजा[1] जहीरसुतेन लिखिता ॥ सूत्र राणिगसुत सूत्रनीरधवलेन उद्धंकिता ।

PARNALĀ

No. 56] v.s. 1453. [22-4-1397.

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a Jain image of Caturbhuja in the Jain Derāsar at Parnālā.

It records that the image containing the inscription was consecrated on Sunday, the tenth of the dark half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1453 by a lady named Bhāvaladevī wife of the Guhila king Pratāpamalla.

Text

1 सं० १४५३ वरषे वैशाख वदि १० रवौ प्रतिष्ठा का
2 रापिता गुहिलराव **प्रतापमल्ल**भार्या भावलदेव्या
3 सुत राजगहला ! भातृ धरण्यग भार्यो जसमादि

SOMANĀTHA PĀṬANA

No. 57] v.s. 1454. [21-4-1398.

This inscribed slab is fixed in a wall of the Śāradā Maṭha to the north of the Triveṇi in Somanātha Pāṭana. It measures 14½" × 4½".

The inscription records that two brothers Hājā and Varajā caused the Maṭha of the goddess Kālikā to be built on Sunday, the 5th of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1454. The record further states that because the poet Kālidāsa had obtained a boon from the goddess Kālī his various poems are admired by the people.

Text

1 संवत् १४५४ वैशाख शुदि ५ रवौ भाट० ठक्करसि
2 हभार्यां बा० रूपी सुत ठक्कर हाजावरजाभ्यां पितृमा–
3 त्रोः श्रेयोऽर्थं देवी श्रीकालिकाया मठः कारा
4 पितः ॥ कालिदासकृतैः काव्यैर्विविधैरितरे
5 जनाः । दक्षा भवंति किं चित्रं कालीलब्धवरो हि सः ॥ १

KANAKĀSĀ

No. 58] v.s. 1456 [13-2-1399.

This inscription is engraved on two yellow stone slabs which had been removed from the well called Pāṇiyāri vāv in Kankāsā in the Mangrol state and now built up in a wall of the Daftar khānā at Mangrol. The first slab measures 1'-10" by 1'-4½" and the second 1' by 1'-7". A portion of the inscription is worn out.

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1. i.e. धोजा

The record opens with an invocation to god Śiva and gives a description of a province whose name is missing but which must be Saurāṣṭra and of the town Maṅgalapura (modern Māngrol). Then it is stated that a Brāhmaṇa named Khelā, of the Vatsa gotra, dug up a well. His son was Cāciga who also dug up a well. In this family was born one Nāgadeva, who had built a well. His son was Naradeva, who caused a Brahmapuri to be formed for the use of Brāhmaṇas. His son was Silhāka who built a well. His son was Puruṣottama. His son was Kāṅha, who was appointed governor of Kankāsā by king Rāmadeva. Kāṅha's son was Dāmodara.

The record further states that there was a Brāhmaṇa named Kṛṣṇa, of Kauśika gotra. His son was Vatsa, whose son was Vasiṣṭha. Vasiṣṭha's daughter Gomatī was married to the Brāhmaṇa Dāmodara named above. Dāmodara caused a well to be built in Kankāsā on Thursday, the seventh of the bright half of Pauṣa in v.s. 1456.

The *praśasti* was composed by a Somapurā Brāhmaṇa named Kaṭu resident of Devapattana.

It is not known to which family king Rāmadeva belonged. It is difficult to identify him with the Vāghā king Rāmadeva mentioned in the Lodhvā inscription of v.s. 1499, which is of very late date.

Text

1 नमः श्रीगणेशाय[1]ः ॥ वस्यां विश्राम.....:.....।
2 [..... प्रवहति शिरसः यां] ..... [॥].....
3 ...करकलशो यां विधाता बिभर्ति । शंभोराभास.....
4 शम्भौणि मूर्तिः ॥ २ पृथ्वी पीठं नभ मतमिदं सर्वलोक.....।.....
5 रसि निदधे ह्रदगंधानुबंधात् धन्यो देशः शुकृतवसतिः.....।.....।...
6 तस्मिन् रम्यं अयति नगरं पूर्वतो **मंगलाख्यं** ॥ ३ यत्र तांबूलसद्वल्यो.....
7 नास्थिताः ॥ तत्पुरं **मंगलपुरं**[3] कथं न स्यादिलातले ॥ ३ ज्येष्ठभ्रातुः सर्वस...।
8 धर्मस्थानस्थैकामावनाव्य ॥ तत्संयुक्तो राजधानीं विधाय । मोक्षप्रीता (?).....
9 नित्यमेतां ॥ ४ वत्सः स्वच्छमना बभूव तपसो दारोपकारो मुनिस्तस्यानाकु...
10 अस्यकुलेऽतिविमले सन्त्यागतारोऽभवत् । श्रीमान् **षेलाख्य**विप्रः सकल
11 गुणगणागार एव प्रसिद्धो वाप्यां षेलाभिधायां विलसति सुकृतं येन नि-
12 र्मापितायां ॥ ५ तस्याभवत्सुतानयो विनयोपपन्नः क्षीरांबुधेरिव विधुः स
13 तत्र प्रसन्नः ॥ श्रीचाचिगेशमथ चाचिगवापिकां च सोऽचीकरच्चतुरश्चाचिगनामधे
14 यः ॥ ६ अस्मिन्वंशे विश्रुतो **नागदेवः** स्वातंत्र्येव योऽपरो नागदेवः भूमेर्भारं
15 सोतिवोढुं समर्थं वासीद्वापीं कारयित्वा कृतार्थः ॥ ७ तत्सूनुर्नरदेवो विप्रोचौदार्यसु
16 येन नरदेवः । निर्माय ब्रह्मपुरीं पुण्यां चोसौ ससर्ज वर्णिभ्यः ॥ ८ **सिल्हाको**[5] विश्रुपर ए

1. गणेशाय.
2. The name Saurastra was most probably engraved here i.e. the last words may be सौराष्ट्रदेशः
3. i.e. Mangrol.
4. i.e. षेलाख्य In old inscriptions ष was many times used for ख.
5. सील्हाको.

17 ष सुप्रसिद्धः संभूतो द्विजपतिवंसदा विशुद्धः [।*] सद्वापीं विमलजलां विधाय पूर्तं भू
18 योऽभूत्तिसु नरदेवजोत्र मूर्त्तं । ९ भक्त्या वसुवरोत्तमे परिचरन् निरुद्धय
19 या सन्मना मन्वेहं पुरुषोत्तमः शमनवद् विख्यातकीर्तिः क्षितौ । नाम्ना
20 ऽयं **पुरुषोत्तमः** सुकृतधीः वीरह्मसुतो विधुतो न क्रूरे वरुणे जने...
21 मनो दानेन मानेन च । १० श्रीमालवगणानां कारागाराद्धलाच्च साहश्रीमो
22 चयन् भानुताक्ष्यौद् लेने जीमूतवाहनतां ॥ ११ तत्पुत्रोऽभूत् **कान्ह**नामा सुमा
23 [त्मो – – सुश्मिन्] **रामदेवेन** राज्ञा । भग्ने वोऽग्नौ स्वीयवाटप्रविष्टान् दुःखे-
24 नात्तान् सर्वमर्त्यानरक्षत् । १२ गोत्रे चास्मिन् सकलसुगुणे [स्वो] दये **कान्ह**
25 पुत्रः । शश्वत् शुक्लः कुलकमलिनीबोधकृत् निष्प्रवंचः [पूर्णार्थैः] न...
26 इलाभास्करो भासुरोऽभं धन्यो मान्यो द्विजपतिकलापोषकोप्योदयाय
27 ॥ १३ सत्यज्ञ हेमसरीचित्रसमाज्यदुरात्र चर्मिर्मितं सदनमाज्य हि निर्वृताय
28 सोऽलं.....दकवापिकायां कैलासशृंगसदृशं सुखमप्युवास ॥
29 .....स्यांवा देवकीमता ॥ नोचेद्**दामोदरं** पुत्रं सुवते का (?)
30 .....**दामोदरो** नाम्ना सत्वं दामोदरो मतः । सुवर्गरेषाहृद्धां
31 .....। १६ प्रत्येकाः सुरभिस्रुता निधाय नीरं तुल्ये...
32 .....स्वा विमलकलाक्षये सु [... दर्के सवदि...]
33 .....यः पुन्योर्फि ज्ञाता[1] चान्यात् सर्वसेवारसारे । नीरं
34 .....वापी चके सोत्र **कंकासकाख्ये** । १८ वसुधामेदावा[2]

Second Stone

1 ॥ ०॥ ॥ वसुधानेदावाता र [म्या] रामाश्रया सत्यसमा च ! जनका[लजे ? **पंचघटी** बनाल]या भाति ॥ १९ मे
2 षपक्षमिथुनकन्यामकरकुंभ[3]लीनवीनमीनैश्च । यत्ते वापी । तुल्यां शुद्धोदका गगन-सद्दीप्या ॥ २०
3 नामा[4] **कृष्ण**[5] कर्मणा शुक्ल एव ख्यातो रुचो यः द्विजे माधवे च । देहे गौरो वर्णवि-श्राम । आसीत् गो
4 त्रेऽस्मिन् कौशिके[6] सचरित्रे[7] ॥ २१ द्विजोत्तमस्तस्य सुतोग्निहोत्री **वस्तो**पि नारः श्रुतकर्मणां
5 यः । योढुं क्षमोभूत् कलिनांगलेऽस्मिन् पुछेन[8] सां[9] केसरिणा विशुद्धे ॥ २२ यत्तत्सुन्न
6 दीक्षितोऽयं **वसिष्ठः** ख्यातो भूम्यां सद्गुणैः किं वसिष्ठः । नोचेत् पुत्री गोमती सा कथं स्यात् य
7 स्याः प्रीतिः स्वाग्नि दामोदरे च । २३ स्यात्सौभाग्यैकलता पतिभक्ता वनितागुणै-
8 र्युक्ता । दामोदरस्य दयिता सरस्वतीसुता गोमतीति [॥] २४ या शक्तिः समवायाया तत-
9 मिदं बिम्बक्रियारूपया या सारा त्रिपुरा परांबरचुरी ? प्रत्यंगिरा प्रोच्यते[10] । माता स्नेह

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1. चान्यात्,
2. These words are useless here as they are repeated on the second stone.
3. The word after कुंभ seems to be कुलीर meaning कर्क. 4. नाम्ना.
5. कृष्णः 6. कौशिके 7. सचरित्रे 8. पुच्छेन 9. सः 10. प्रोच्यते

10 रता गुणत्रयमयी भक्त्या नतानां स्मृता। प्रीता या कुलदेवता गणभृतानेतावतादृधिं
11 दै॥ २५ चिन्तमस्ति भुवि भारती भृशं बाडवोपि वहते दिवानिशं। भूपुरं स सिषुर्धा पु
12 षधामा सत्प्रशस्तिमतनोत् कटुनामा [॥७] २६ सलेखानेन फल्गुना वा
13 स्तुशास्त्रविदा मुदा। अमिता निर्मिता कांता वापी तापौघ पालना। २७ सं
14 वत् १४५६ वर्षे पौष शुदि सप्तम्यां तिथौ गुरुदिने श्री देवपत्तने वास्त
15 व्यो सोमपराज्ञातीय वाश्विक खाद्गिसुत वाशिक कटुआकेन प्रश
16 स्ति(:) कृता॥ सूत्रधार(:) पाल्हासुतकल्हाकेन वापी कृतं[1]। सर्वप्रशस्तिकर्ता[2]॥

PATADI

No. 59] vs. 14[5]6. [19-1-1400.

This inscription is engraved on a slab of black stone built up in a wall of the Darbargadh at Pāṭḍi. The record was carefully and finely engraved but a considerable portion to its right hand is too much weather worn. The inscribed portion measures 14½" in length and 9½" in breadth.

The inscription gives the following names of kings, the name of whose family is not preserved : They are Varasiṁha, one intermediate ruler, Śatruśalya, and Jayatkarṇa. The record, dated eighth day of the dark half of Māgha of v.s. 14[5]6, refers to the reign of this last king. By the names of kings, by the find spot of the inscription, and by the date we can safely say that the royal family described here was the Zālā family that ruled over Zālāvāḍ. In the second verse the fort, evidently of Paṭḍi, is said to have been built by the king, who immediately preceded Varasiṁha, but whose name is missing. This king as we know from the Zālā genealogy was Rāmasiṁha. After him Virasiṁha (or Varasiṁha as our record states) ruled. Ranmalji's name, who succeeded him is not preserved. He is said to have made लक्षहोम. His son was Śatruśalya. Śatruśalya was succeeded by his eldest son Jetsiṁha or Jayatkarṇa as our inscription names him. From the words सुंदरां मज्जनम[त्] preserved in the eleventh line it seems that he built a well on the eighth day of the dark half of Māgha in v.s 14[5]6.

Text

1 . . . . . कुलदेवि[भ्यां] ऊचे चैत्रजेतुः
2 . . . . . दुरितनाशं तद्विधेये विधेयाः। १ अ
3 . . . . पतिः। प्राकारः कारितो येन धात्रीमुकुटभासुरः। २ त
4 . . . . क्षीरोदधिरिवा[त]लः। **वरसिंह**स्ततो जज्ञे वेदधिक्कृतादरः।
5 . . . . प्रति गदा...। लक्षहोममसौ चक्रे वंशिनोनन्दिनु
6 . . . . [कोटिदो धर्म्ममार्गे]षां **शत्रुशल्य**स्तदंगजः।
7 . . . . वासवः। मूर्तो धर्म इव श्रीमान् **शत्रुशल्यो** नरेश्वरः। ६
8 . . . . . निरुपम...हि सदा हरिः। ७ श्री
9 . . . . . श्रीमान्...नरेश्वरः। ८ चंच

1. कृता... 2. सर्वा प्रशस्तिः कृता।

10 . . . . . [जित]कर्णो जैत्रश्च
11 . . . . . अयत्कर्णमहीपतिः सुंदरां श्वेरवंश्य
12 . . . . . कर्णनृपात्तो हरिभक्तिपरायणः
13 . . . . . [मंगले] मंगला वैश्याश्चंती विजयें
14 . . . . . । १२ संवत् १४[५।]६ वर्षे माद्य वदि ८

BHUVĀṬIMBI

No. 60] v.s. 1457. [2-5-1401.

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab standing on the bank of the Bhūvaḍa tank in Bhuvāṭimbi near Sūtrāpāḍā in the Junagadh state. It measures 14" × 11".

It records that Nāgubai daughter of Bharama and his wife Megati of the Bāraḍa community caused a tank to be dug up in the village Pallāsālā in Saurāṣṭra on Monday, the 5th of the bright half of Vaiśākha in v.s. 1457 in the victorious reign of the king Śavagaṇa and during the regime of the Panchakula headed by Jhājhā (?).

It may be noted that the king Śavagaṇa is also mentioned in the Phulkā inscription of v.s. 1448.

Text

1 ॥ ०।० ॥ संवत् १४५७ वर्षे वैशाष वदि
2 ५ मां तथौ सोमदने उतराषाढ नक्षत्रे । च
3 रणे चंद्रे उत्तराक्षने श्रीष्मरतौ । राजश्रीश्री
4 वगणविजयराजे महं श्री [ज्ञाझा ?] पंचकुल
5 प्रतिपत्तौ सुराष्ट्रदेशे । पलाशलाप्रामे । बारडज्ञाती रा
6 ज भरमभार्या बाई मगती तस्य शता बाई नागू तटाक
7 धर्मस्थानं कारापयत्वा । कर्ता शैवबही माळ
8 देव श्रीभूतडधामि तडागं पण्यां शुभं भवतु

JAMALĀ

No. 61] v.s. 1461. [31-8-1404.

This inscription is engraved on a *pāliyo* standing near the *kotko* in the village Jamalā. The inscribed portion measures 13" by 12".

It records the death of Jājeja Mālā son of Vahadasī on Sunday, the eleventh day of the dark half of Bhādrapada in v.s. 1461.

Text

1 संवत १४६१ वर्षे भाद
2 पदमासे कृष्णपक्षे एका
3 दसीदिने रिवौ वहडसी
4 सुत मालातमि जमला
5 विदणि जाडेजा मिरदु ।

SOMANATHA PATAṆA

No. 62] v.s. 1462. [23-7-1406.

This inscription is found on the *Padathār* of Mithasha Bhang in Somanatha Pāṭaṇa. It measures 10" in height and 11" in length.

It opens with the Islamic formula 'Bhismillah etc.', followed by the date Friday the 8th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa in v.s. 1462 and mentions that when BRAHMADĀSA, son of ŚIGANĀTHA, was governing PĀṬAṆA HEBATKHAN son of Dafarkhan, Malik Sāl son of Malik Badruddin, and Malik Shera son of Malik Shekha attacked the town with a large army. Then Vora FARID son of Vora Mahamad fell in a battle while fighting on behalf of Brahmadāsa against the Turks.

The reading Śigarātha of the word is quite clear in the second and the last line. But it is tempting to propose that the proper spelling is Śivanātha, and that the king is identical with the king Śivarāja and Śivagaṇa of the Khorāsā and Chorvād inscriptions and of the Phulkā and Bhuvātimbi inscriptions respectively. It is therefore in the fitness of things that Brahmadāsa, son of Śiga(va)rātha should be ruling at Somanātha Pāṭaṇa in v.s. 1462 as the present inscription states.

Text

1 बिस्मिल्लाह रहमान रहीम ॥ संवत् १४६२ व
2 र्षे श्रावण शुदि ८ शुके । श्रीपत्तने शिगनाथपु.
3 तर राजश्रीब्रह्मदासविजयराज्ये । तस्योपरि
4 समायात पान श्री दफरसुत पानथी हेबत म
5 लिक बदरदीन सुत मलिक साल मलिक शेख
6 सुत मलिक से [र] समस्तचतुरंगसैन्यवेष्टिते
7 वहुरा महमद सुत वहुरा फरीद् राजश्री ब्रह्म
8 दास [चद्रार्या?] तुरुष्कैः सर्वं कुसं कृत्वा संभागे सू
9 तः पितामह वहुरा सीदी ॥ प्रपितामह महमद व्यव
10 माता बाई दोलत मातामह ना. फाझिम प्रभा
11 तामह भातृ० व्याली मातुलक भातृ० अंगी ॥
12 पितृव्यक व्य० हाजी ॥ भ्रातृ व्यव० सीदी भ्रातृ
13 व्यव० आदम ॥ कंदनी श्रीशिगनाथपत्तनेत्या: ॥

VERĀVAL

No. 63] v.s. 1464. [14-3-1408.

A stone slab bearing a bilingual inscription in Persian and Sanskrit is lying in the police Thānā in the Māṇḍavī chauk in Verāval under Junagadha State. The Sanskrit inscription engraved below the Persian one measures 22 inches in length and only 3 inches in breadth.

It opens with the date, the second day of the dark half of Caitra of v.s. 1464 and refers to the reign of the Sultan Dafarkhan Muzfar and further mentions that Mahamalik Fazaral Ahmed caused the city wall to be built which was completed on the 13th day of Śrāvaṇa.

Dafarkhan originally the Gujarat viceroy of the Delhi emperor assumed independence under the name of Muzfar in about v.s. 1463 (See *Bom. Gaz. History of Gujarat* p. 234).

Text

1 संवत् १४६४ वर्षे चैत्र वदि २ पूर्वे श्रीप्राकरमुहूर्ते करी श्रीद्फरषान [श्रीसाहि] पातसाह

2 मुदाफर सुलतानविजयराज्ये महामलिक श्री फजरख अहमद.....कारा

3 पिता श्रवण यद १३ निष्पन्न सुभं भवतु कल्याणमस्तु ॥

VANTHALI

No. 64] v.s. 1469. [7-5-1413.

The following five inscriptions engraved on five memorial stones were discovered in Vanthali at a distance of six miles from Junagadh. The first three of these memorial stones are now preserved in the Junagadh Museum. The remaining two cannot be traced anywhere. But fortunately their rubbings have been preserved in the Rājkot Museum. The first three stones measure 16½" by 9 ; 15½" by 11½" ; and 17½" by 6½" respectively. They are all in a fairly good condition.

All the inscriptions are of the same date, viz. Sunday, the seventh day of the bright half of Jyeṣṭha of v.s. 1469 and refer to the reign of the king Meligadeva, son of Mokalasiṁha who belonged no doubt to the Cūḍāsamā family that ruled at Junagadh and Vanthali. On the above-mentioned date a number of soldiers of king Meliga fell in a battle while fighting with the Muhammedans. The following five *pāliās* are of five soldiers of them.

The first inscription mentions that Pātāka, son of Vega, son of Cūṇḍā belonging to the Yādava family and having the surname Būhā died on the battle field while fighting against the Bādashaha's army. But children, elderly persons etc. as well as eighteen princes managed to reach safely to Junagadh. The second inscription records the death of Nūhīā, son of Noghaṇa of the Bāraḍa community. In the third the death of Velāyulu, son of Dāsā Cācā is recorded. In the fourth the death of Meghā, son of Jādhava Merā is recorded and in the last inscription the death of Rauta Campā, son of Paḍhiyāriā Jhāṭā is recorded. This inscription is half in verse, and half in prose.

This fight took place at Vanthali between the Gujarat Sultan Ahmad and the Cūḍāsāmā king Meliga, in which the latter was defeated and driven towards Junagadh. This statement of Mirat-i-Sikandari is supported by the present inscriptions.

(१)

1 [संवत् १४६९] वर्षे ज्येष्ठ शुदि ७ रवौ श्रीवा [म॰] नपुरे

2 वैरिवर्गवन [दा] वानल महाराग श्रीमोकल

3 सिंहसुत श्रीमेलिगदेव विजयिराज्ये वृत्तान्तं-

4 कवादव राज चू [णा] सुत राज [वि] णु तसुत राज पा
5 ताकः समाथालश्रीपातसाहसैन्यैः सर्म युद्धं कुर्व
6 न् संग्रान मृतः । अष्टवशभिः संस्थतैं राज्यपुत्रैः
7 सचालस्थत्रे [रा]: पीराः श्री जीर्ण[प्रा]कारं [क्षेमे]न गृंताः]

(२)

1 संवत् १४६९ वर्षे जेष्ठ[1] शुदि ७
2 रवौ श्रीवामनपुरे महारा
3 ए श्री मेलगदे विजयराजं
4 प्रशस्ति सजाते तुरष्कैः सं
5 ग्रामे बा [रे] ड नु [घ] ग सुत न्
6 भा रिणसंग्रामे सूत्यं श्री

(३)

1 संवत १४६९ [व] र्षे जेष्ठ शुदि ७ रवौ श्रीवाम
2 नपुरे महारा [ण] श्री मेलगदेनिज [य]
3 राज्यं प्रशस्ति सजाते तुरष्कैः संग्र
4 मे दासा चाचा सुत वेलगुल संग्रा [मि] मृत्यः

(४)

1 संवत् १४६९ वर्षे ज्येष्ठ शुदि ७ रवौ ।
2 श्रीवामनपुरे महाराण श्रीमेल ।
3 गदे विजयराज्यं प्रशस्ति संजाते ।
4 तुरष्कैः संग्रामे जादव मेरा सुत ।
5 मेघारिण संग्रामे मृत्यः श्री

(५)

1 ॥ ०।० स्वस्त श्रीमनृपविक्रमार्कसमयातीत
2 आषाढादि[2] संवत् १४६९ वष ज्येष्ठ मासे शुक्ल
3 पक्षे सप्तम्यां तिथौ रविदिने रागश्रीमेलिग [राज्ये]
4 पडीआरीया क्षादासुत राउत चांपा वामनस्थ
5 लीभंगे युद्धं कृत्वा स्वर्गं प्राप्ता शुभं भवतु [७]
6 शूरः सत्यपरो रणे परबलं भेत्ता गुणानां नि
7 धिः संग्रामे यवनै ७ — ७ ७ ७ ७ वातादितो
8 यो गतः [।] भानोर्मंडलमाशु वामनपुर भित्वा ध
9 नाढ्यो गतो भग्नो क्षाटसुतो हतः सुभटताल
10 कारचंपाक्षयः ॥ १ ॥

1. No spelling mistakes which can be easily seen are corrected in the inscriptions.
2. Mark the special importance of this expression for the ancient astronomy of the province. See No. 33 published above.

MESAVĀṆA

No. 65] v.s. 1470. [9-7-1414.

This inscription is engraved on a yellowish *pālio* standing in the eastern quarter of the village Mesavāṇā.

It records the death of Ahira Viṭā of the Ghaṇāṇia community in a fight at Mesavāṇā, on Monday, the seventh day of the dark half of Āṣāḍha in v.s. 1470 during the reign of king Meliga, evidently of the Cūḍāsamā family.

Text

1 ॥ स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १४७० वर्षे आषा
2 ड वदि ७ सोमे उत्तरा नक्षत्रे मीनस्थे चंद्रे
3 **मेखूआण** ग्रामेः महाराज्य श्रीः **मेलगरा**
4 ज्यैः घणाणीआ म-जलसुत घणीआ
5 ना आहीर वीटा संग्रामे गाम भांगता सूत्यः

VAGHELĀṆA

No. 66.] v.s. 1471. [24-8-1415.

Vāghelāṇā is a very small village at a distance of three miles to the west of Libaḍā in the Kuṭiyāṇā Mahal of the Junagadh State. The subjoined inscriptions are from two memorial stones standing near a well there. The first inscription measures 16" in length and 12" in breadth, while the second measures 16" in length and 16" in breadth.

Both the inscriptions are of the same date, viz. Saturday, the fourth of the dark half of Bhādrapada in v.s. 1471 and refer to the reign of king Meliga.* Both the inscriptions record the death at Vāghelāṇā of two men of the Ghāmaḍiyā community.

Text

(१)

1 ॥ ७।० ॥ संवत् १४७१ वर्षे भाद्रप
2 मासे कृष्णपक्षे ४ चतुर्थ्यां तिथौ
3 शनि (?) दिने अयेह **वाघेला**
4 **णा**ग्रामे महाराणा श्रीमेलिगजि
5 वराज्ये घामडीआ सां
6 वा सुत घामलआ.....
7 .....
8 .....

(२)

1 ॥ ७।० ॥ संवत् १४७१ वर्षे भाद्रप
2 दमासे कृष्णपक्षे ४ चतु

* A copperplate grant of Mahāṇāṇā Meliga of v.s. 1471 Bhādrapada Kṛṣṇa Saptamī is said to have been found. I could not, however, get any trace of that.

3 ष्वां तिथौ शनि (?) दिने अ
4 देह वाघेलाणाआने
5 महाराजा श्रीमेलिगदि
6 जयराज्ये थानलीया
7 सांढा सुत थानली...
8 .....
9 धारासीचें रहु ॥

VANTHALI

No. 67] v.s. 1472. [1416.

This inscription is found fixed in the well of the Kapilāśrama at half a mile's distance from the town Vanthali, in Junagadh State. It is very much worn out, but fortunately the important portion is preserved. It measures 17" by 13½".

The record gives the name of the Cūḍāsamā king Meliga and the date v.s. 1472 for him.

Text

1 स्वस्ति श्री...साय नम
2 श्रीविक्रम सं १४७२ वर्षे
3 ...मासे.....
4 .....श्रीमेलिग
5 विजय.....वरा
6 .....
7 .....श्री
8 .....५ श्री...
9 –12.....

JUNAGADH

No. 68.] v.s. 1473. [21-5-1417.

The following important inscription is engraved on a slab of stone fixed in the wall of what is popularly called Mahāprabhu's Baiṭhaka on the east of the Revati Kuṇḍa, which is near the celebrated Dāmodar Kuṇḍa on the way to Girnar from the town Junagadh. The inscribed portion, which is in a good state of preservation measures 1', 9". in length and 10" in breadth.

The inscription was published in the *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency* on p. 243, and again on p. 361.

The record opens with an invocation to god Vināyaka. Then Dāmodara is praised in good poetry. Then is given the genealogy of the Cūḍāsamā kings of Junagadh thus—In the Yadu family there was a king named Maṇḍalika, who conquered the Muhammedans (Mudgalas as the record states). His son was Mahīpāla, whose son was Khangāra. He was a patron of the art of singing. He is said to have conquered eighteen islands and

set up the image of Somanātha. His son was Jayasiṁha, whose son again was Muktasiṁha. The latter's son was Maṇḍalika. Maṇḍalika's younger brother was Meliga, whose son was Jayasiṁha. The commander of the army of this Jayasiṁha was Dāmodar, son of Pati? Narasiṁha. In a battle fought at Zinjharakoṭa (i.e. Jhānjhmer in the Bhavanagar State, twelve miles to the south of Talājā) he completely defeated the Muhammedans. He caused a Maṭha to be built on Thursday, the fifth of the bright half of Jyeṣṭha in v.s. 1473 for the use of pilgrims. The record was composed by Śyāmala, son of Mantrisiṁha, and grandson of Dhāndhala, of the Nāgara community. It was engraved by Karaṇa, son of Jhālā.

It may be mentioned that the Maṭha is now-a-days called Mahāprabhu's Baithaka.

Text

1 ॥ ०।० ॥ ॐ नमो विनायकाय ॥ योगीन्द्रैर्मुनिपुंगवैरनिमिषैर्यो मृग्यतेऽस्यः परं न ध्यानेन न चेज्यया न तपसा

2 **चर्तुं** हृदाप्याप्यते ॥ गोप्तासा नव[नीतत्स्करप]तो बद्धो गवां दामभिः स्थाणुत्वं गिर-मोचयद्वृ[षरवो]शंभो

3 ॥ दरोऽवात्वगत् ॥ १ **मंडलीक**नृपतिर्यदुवंशे यो बभूव युधि **मुद्गल**जेता । श्रीकरी-सहितभूपविशेष्य-

4 ॥ स्तस्य सूनुरभवन्महिपालः ॥ २ तत्तनयोऽनिभर्तां **खंगारो** नारवेदमुद्वर्त्ता । द्वीचनव-द्वयवर्त्ता **सोमेशस्था-**

5 ॥ पनाकर्त्ता ॥ ३ भूलक्षदानपरितोषितभूमिदेवस्तनंदनः समभवन्नयसिंहदेवः । वर्णा-

6 श्रमस्थितिकरो नृप**मुक्तसिंह**स्तस्मादरिद्विरदविक्रमसुक्तसिंहः ॥ ४ **मधुपनृपतिमुद्देस्तीर्थं** राडन्यना-

7 र्थो जनितनिजजनित्रीतुल्यबुद्धिर्वदान्यः । सभितिसुभटसुखो **मंडलीक**सादीयोऽनि च त

8 मनुजन्मा **मेलिग** [:०] स्फुलक्षः ॥ ५ भीताभयव्रतवरनृपमेलिगनंदनश्च **जयसिंहः** । अस्ति च

9 तस्य तु राज्ये वसुसप्तमंत शै[न्यवे] समये ॥ ६ अभिषेगयितुमुपेतं **सिंह**रकोटस्य परिसरे स

10 ॥ [म] रे । यो हत्वा **यवन**बले मुनोच धर्मीवनाक्षोभं ॥ ७ संवद्दामनुरंगसागरमही संक्षेप

11 ज्येष्ठे सिते पंचम्यां भृगुवासरे व्यरचयत्षट्कुष्णषट्कर्मकृत् । पाटिक्षीनरसिंहदेवतनयो दा

12 ॥ मोदरः पूर्वजानुस्मृत्यै वतियात्रिकोपकृतये सिद्धवखंडं मठं ॥ ८ नागराभ्यंतराह्वातिद्विज-धांधलनंदनः

13 मंत्रिसिंहस्तस्य सुतः प्रशस्तेः श्यामलः कविः ॥ ९ इति सं. १४७३ वर्षे सूत्र जाल्हासुत सु. करणाकेन

CHORWAD

No. 69] v.s. 1485. [9-5-1429.

This inscription is found engraved on a stone pillar now fallen down to the south of the Nāganātha temple in Chorwād. It measures 1'-4½" in length and 11" in breadth.

It records the death of a warrior named Nānā son of Koha in a fight during the victorious reign of Mahārāṇā Jayasiṁha, who was evidently the Cūḍāsamā king of Junagadh, on the sixth day of the bright half of Jyestha in v.s. 1485.

Text

1 संवत् १४८५ वर्षे जे
2 ष्ठ सुद ६ महाराज जे
3 सिंगराज्ये...कोह
4 सुत नान मूत्वः

MESVĀṆA

No. 70] v.s. 1488. [1432.

This inscription is on a *pāḷio* standing in the eastern *pādar* of the village Mesavāṇa. It measures 1′.5″ × 9″.

It records the death of an Ahira named Khavā while protecting cows on Wednesday, the 5th of the bright half of Māgasara in v.s. 1488 during the reign of king Mahīpāladeva.

Text

1 ॥ ०। संवत् १४८८ वर्षे मागसर
2 ॥ सुदि ५ बुधे[1] अहेह मेसूआण
3 ॥ ग्रामात् महाराज्य श्रीः महपालदे
4 ॥ राज्ये पूर्वानक्षत्रे धनस्थे चंद्रे घणा
5 ॥ पीआ आहीर...सुत षे
6 ॥ वा गौग्रहे मूत्वः विष्णुचरणे वासः ॥

MESVĀṆA

No. 71] v.s. 149[5] [18-1-1439.

This inscription is engraved on a *pāḷio* standing in the eastern *pādar* of the village Mesvāṇā.

It records that Ghaṇāṇiyā Punjā fell in Mesavāṇā in a fight while protecting the cows on Sunday, the 3rd of the bright half of Māgha in v.s. 1495 during the reign of the king Mahipāla, evidently of the Cūḍāsamā family of Junagadh.

Text

1 ॥ ०। ० ॥ स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १४९[५] वर्षेषे माघमासे सुक्लपक्षे ३ रवौ
2 पूर्वानक्षत्रे कुंभस्थे चंद्रे राण श्री महिपालविजयराजे
3 घणाणीआ मंदीउत्र ? घटीया सुत घणाणीआ पूंजा
4 मेसुआणग्रामे गौग्रहे मूत्वः। विष्णुचरणे वासः ॥

1. The date does not agree.

LODHAVĀ

No. 72] V.S. 1499. [1442-43.

This inscribed *pālio* was found in the village of Lodhavā in the Junagadh State.

It records the death of a Vājā warrior in the village Lodhuā in v.s. 1499 or Śaka 1365 during the rule of the Vājā king Rāmadeva.

Text

1 स्वस्ति श्रीजयोभ्युदयः श्रीनृपविक्रमार्क
2 समवातीत सं १४९९ वर्षे शाके १३६५
3 प्रवर्तमाने वायेह श्री...मङ्गल
4 करणे लोढुआग्रामे वाजा श्रीरामदेव
5 आस्थाने—माहज्ञातीय वाजा राम
6 सुत गोध—नो देवलोकफल
7 प्राप्त...श्री ॥ उपास भार्यो
8 सायमण । शुभं भवतु ॥ स्वर्गलोकोस्तु ।

MŪL-MADHAVPUR

No. 73] [?

The following interesting but incompletely engraved inscription was originally found in the temple of Mādhavarāi in Mūl-Madhavpur at a mile's distance to the east of the modern town of Mādhavpur in the Porbandar State. It cannot now be traced but its rubbing is preserved in the Barton museum, Bhavanagar. The inscribed portion which, as the rubbing shows, was in an excellent state of preservation, measures 17¼"×13". The poet who composed it was no doubt a learned man.

Kṛṣṇa is said to have married Rukmiṇi at Mādhavapura after she was brought from Kuṇḍinapūra.

The first three verses of the inscription record the praise of Mādhava and the fourth that of Rukmiṇi who gave up her parents, brothers and kinsmen to marry Mādhava. A poetic description is given in the next verse of Mādhavapur, the capital town of Mādhava. It is said to have been worshipped by the sea by the offerings of the waves as if they are white flowers. From the sixth verse an account is given of a kṣatriya family born of the sage Kāśyapa. A king named Molhaṇa was born in it. His son was Ayapāla. The latter's son was Kīrapāla (or Kumarapala) who was a brave, pious and virtuous king. He caused to be made (but strictly speaking he must have repaired) the Revatīkuṇḍa revered as Gayā and a temple of Balarāma and Revatī. From the 15th verse śiva is praised when the engraving of the inscription is abruptly stopped.

Text

1 ॥ ०॥ ॐ नमः श्रीसरस्वत्यै ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ पायाद्कुमारपालस्य रुक्मिण्या सह माधवः

दत्तावीर्दुर्जेभा येन मूर्त्तिस्थापनहेतवे ॥ १ यः सर्वज्ञो गोपवेषोऽतिवृद्धः कामी योऽजो ब्रह्म
3 चारी प्रसिद्धः । दाता योधी यो विनुक्षोऽपि बद्धः । सर्वव्यापी माधवः साधु
बोऽव्याद् ॥ २ द्वितीयं
4 स्वयुक्त्याजरमभरमच्छायममलं प्रपंचव्यावृत्या कथयति कथंचिच्च चकिता। स्तो वाच-
श्चित्तं न
5 वनमपसृतं मधुरिपोस्तदेताद्भद्रात्र प्रष्टमनवद्यमूर्त्तिमिषतः ॥ ३ यातेर्यं हरिपादपंकज
6 जो भक्त्यै जगदुर्भगं । त्यक्त्वाम्बाजनकौ सहोदरमहो संबंधिबंधूनपि । न्यायाद्यधिसतांव
सर्व
7 मनुजान्सेव्यो हि सर्वात्मना विधात्मेवसतो विहाय सुहृदः सा रुक्मिणी पातु वः ॥ ४
हिंडीरपि-
8 ण्डपरिपांडुरपुष्पशुचिभिः स्वच्छैर्महोर्म्मिनिकरैः स्वकरैः प्रपूज्य । रत्नाकरोऽपि नगरी धन-
9 धोषणेन भौतीव नित्यमिह माधवराजधानीं ॥ ५ जयति क्षत्रियवंशो...लो नृपतिर्मोल्ह
10 णस्येह । अवलंब्य यं कराभ्यां विचरति क्षुद्रः कली धर्म्मः ॥ ६ कुल[म]...[व]र्ण्य
ब्रह्मनिष्कद्रय
11 **पस्य** नरपतिरयपालस्तत्र वीर्याद्भुतोऽभूत् । करयुगलधरो यः संयु[गि]...यैर्दशशतकरतो
12 ण्डोद्दण्ड एतत्र चित्रं ॥ ७ तस्मालहे क्षूंरपालो वदान्यः कविद्भुयात्तत्सदृशो वदाम्यः ।
13 वरत्र द्वारं सर्वदा भूसुरेभ्यः यो (से)वते ये स्थूललक्षा मनुष्याः ॥ ८ आस्यैकेन प(वि)
वेत्तदासचयुगानि
14 स्थे (स्थं) चतुर्वक्त्रवत् । न्यावात्पश्यति लोचनद्वयस्था साक्षात्सहस्रक्षवत्[1]। युद्धे बाहु-
सहस्रसन्नृप[2]
15 तिवत् द्वाभ्यां कराभ्यां रणे दाने कल्पतरुर्धनस्य बहुधा स्यात्क्षूंरपालप्रभोः (भुः) ॥ ९
सर्वे भुक्तिविमु
16 क्तिभूरिकलिता श्रीविष्णुनक्तिर्लता प्रह्लादध्रुवनारदप्रभृतिभिर्बालेन संवर्द्धिता । वा दक्षा क
17 लिवल्लिनाऽतितरसा सद्बुद्धिसद्वासनायोगादय बलाद्यथा स्थितिरभूत्ता क्षूंरपालद्विजोः ।
18 १० असारं संसारं विदलकदलीकांडसदृशं मनस्याचार्यासौ सुकृतमकृताभ्यूहकरः । विधु
19 स्वादारभ्य व्यसनमिदमेतस्य सुमहत् जयी सर्वत्र स्याद्भुवि **कुमरपालो** नरपतिः ॥ ११
दाता रैवत
20 भूपतिर्वयतपोऽमत्रं[3] च संकर्षणो देवे इव्यपति वरा[4] त्रिजगतीरत्नं परं रेवती । होता वा
21 त्र पितामहोऽभूतमहो तीर्थं यत्राहवं वरं किं किं वर्णनगोचरेऽस्ति जगति[5] विद्युत्सभेकैकम
22 स्तद्भुतं ॥ १२ गत्वाऽर्थं रेवतीकुंडमथवं[6] मंडपान्वितं रेवतीचलपोर्मूर्त्तीं कारयामास धर्मवित्
23 ॥ १३ वैराग्यं भोगयुक्तं च ब्रह्मज्ञानं विनापि सवत्यानंदं[7] महामुक्तिं श्रीमोक्षस्वामिदर्श-
नात् ॥ १४
24 यस्यर्द्धांगे हिमगिरिसुता मूर्द्धि गंगातिसीता सौ—

Further portion is not engraved.

(To be continued.)

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1. i.e. Indra. 2. i.e. Sahasrārjuna. 3. वरतमोऽमत्र (?) 4. वरा.
5. This word is engraved here through mistake. 6. मखंडं. 7. चा.

THE ORIGIN OF PALI MIDDHA

By

FRANKLIN EDGERTON

One of the five hindrances (*nīvaraṇāni*) to arhatship, in Buddhism, is (to use the Pali form) *thīnamiddha*, commonly understood by both oriental commentators and western interpreters as something like "sloth and torpor." The word is always analyzed as a dvandva, in which the two parts are *thīna* and *middha*; but the usual assumption is that they are synonyms, or near-synonyms. See Professor P. V. BAPAT in the F. W. Thomas Volume (*NIA* 1939), pp. 4-18, for a collection of Pali and Sanskrit passages showing how these terms were interpreted by the Buddhists themselves (chiefly in postcanonical times). These are interesting as showing how scholastics tried to read in differences of meaning between *thīna* and *middha*, which they felt must be somehow different. The hopeless confusion and inconsistency of these efforts suggests to my mind that they are of no real importance for the original meaning of the term or terms. The commentators, and probably (as I shall suggest) even some authors of canonical texts, had lost any exact understanding of what *thīnamiddha* originally meant. Professor BAPAT does not discuss its origin.

The compound is very much commoner than either of its parts, especially in early Pali literature. The second part, *middha*, in particular, seems to be very infrequent there. The Majjhima Nikāya, for instance, contains no occurrence of *middha*, according to Mrs. Rhys DAVIDS's word-list, though it contains *thīnamiddha*. If we may judge from the paucity of references under *thīna* (alone) in the PTS. dictionary, it too seems to have been much less common than the compound. Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit has the compound *styānamiddha* (LV 139. 9, 262, 16, Mhv. i. 79. 16), as well as both parts alone (*middha* e.g. LV 179. 6, 202, 2, Divy. 555. 22).

The etymology of *thīna* is clear and certain. It equals Skt. *styāna*, which occurs as a noun for instance in Yogasūtra i. 30 (comm. *akarmaṇyatā cittasya*, "lack of activity of the mind-stuff," WOODS). It is therefore not limited to Buddhist Sanskrit. And since its derivation from the (not common but well attested) root *styā* (*styai*), "become stiff" or the like, is unexceptionable, there is no reason to suspect the writers of Buddhist Sanskrit of a historically "false" back-formation. Their *styāna* may be accepted as the true Skt. form from which Pali *thīna* was derived.

But what is *middha*? The PTS. dictionary thinks of *medhi* "pillar", Pali *medhi*, Pkt. *meḍhi*, preferring this to connexion with *medha* "broth" (originally "fat"?). Neither of the suggestions, nor FAUSSÖLL's (Suttanipāta, Glossary) from *mṛdh*, nor any that I have seen, inspires any confidence. Of course no reliance can be placed on the Hybrid Sanskrit form *middha*,

which is likely to be merely a taking-over of the Middle Indic form. This is what writers in that curious dialect did regularly (often with attempts to "Sanskritize" a form which looked too glaringly dialectic; but in this case no such process will have been felt necessary, since *siddha* looks like a harmless Sanskrit participle, cf. *siddho*), when they did not know any Sanskrit original for the "protocanonical Prakrit" word.

The frequent occurrence of forms in Jain religious literature parallel to those of the Buddhists makes it always desirable to look there, especially when we find Buddhist terms that raise difficulties. Now it seems never to have been noticed that the Jains have a word occurring in a double form in both their canonical Prakrit and later Sanskrit works, which looks as if it might be related to the Pali *thīnamiddha*. This is, in AMg., either *thiṇaddhi* or *thiṇagiddhi* (SHET's Pkt. Dict., Pāiasaddamahaṇṇavo, *s. vv.*; RATNACHANDRAJI, Ardhamāgadhī Dict., *s. vv.*). The Sanskrit form of the former is *styānarddhi* (JOHNSON, Triṣaṣṭiś., *GOS* 51, p. 403); of the latter, *styānagṛddhi* (Varāṅgacarita, ed. UPADHYE, Bombay, 1938; iv. 24). The two words are synonyms, and variants of one another. Miss JOHNSON renders *styānarddhi* by "somnambulism." RATNACHANDRAJI gives a somewhat fuller explanation, from which it appears that under its influence a man may not only walk, but perform extremely violent and sinful acts, such as killing people, in his sleep. It is a form of karma, more especially one of those which "obscure" or hinder "belief" (*darśanāvaraṇīya*); it belongs to one group (consisting of five) of that category, the others of which are various degrees of "sleep" and "drowsiness". As it is named last in the set of five, the first being simple "sleep" (*nidrā*), it is evidently an extreme form (extreme, that is, in its regrettable effects, at any rate).

This is very neatly consistent with what would seem to be the natural etymology of *styānarddhi*: *styāna*+*ṛddhi*, "increase, high development, of stupefaction," or the like. From this, Pkt. *thiṇaddhi* could be a direct derivative. About the synonym *styānagṛddhi* (*thiṇagiddhi*) there is more dubiety. The Prakrit might be understood as for Skt. **styāna-vṛddhi*, which would have been virtually a synonym of *styānarddhi*; *v* of Skt. is occasionally replaced by *g* in Pkt., PISCHEL §§231, 254. The Skt. would then be a secondary reflex of the Pkt. Another possibility will be suggested presently.

It is particularly to be noted that, while *thīṇa* = *styāna* occurs in Prakrit (as a separate word, apart from these compounds), there is no occurrence of the second member, in whatever form; no **addhi* or **iddhi* or **giddhi* (in a meaning resembling that of Pali *middha*). The like is true of Jainistic Sanskrit.

I hold that we must accept the original identity of the Pali *thīnamiddha* (BSkt. *styānamiddha*) with the original of the Jain Skt. and Pkt. compound quoted. The variations in meaning are of the sort which we should expect to arise in the course of development of different dogmatic systems (Buddhist on the one side, Jain on the other). They are not sufficiently serious to validate any doubt about the original oneness of the two terms.

On the formal side, I can see no other way of explaining them than the assumption that they started from a Prakritic form representing Skt. *styāna* + *ṛddhi* or *ṛddha*. The difference between a *ta*-formation, originally a participle but used as a substantive exactly as the original participle *styāna* is used, and a *ti*-formation, is negligible; both may have been once used side by side. In normal Middle Indic, several sandhi treatments are possible in such a case. First, *thīna* (*thīṇa*) + *iddhi* may yield *thīṇaddhi* (*thīṇ*°), with loss of the second vowel, and no resultant lengthening since a consonant cluster follows. This is the AMg. form. It would naturally be Sanskritized as *styānarddhi*, which would at the same time be the normal resultant of fusion of the two stems in their Sanskrit forms. Secondly, hiatus may remain, giving * *thīṇaiddhi* (*thīṇ*°), which is not actually recorded. Third, the "hiatus-bridging" (analogical) sandhiconsonant *m* may be inserted. See GEIGER, Pali, § 73. 2 ("häufig"); PISCHEL § 353, where are particularly to be noted the numerous examples of such anorganic *m* in the seam of compounds, when as in the present case the second member begins with a vowel. Hence Pali *thīna-m-iddha*.

It may be objected that *middha* is used alone, even in the Pali canonical texts. But I cannot feel this as anything but a historically secondary reinterpretation, a "false" interpretation if you like, introduced at a time when the derivation and original force of the compound had been forgotten. In the overwhelming majority of instances, in the canon, it is only the compound that we find. Evidently it is an ancient, inherited word (or "concept," if you prefer the mentalist phraseology). It is probably older than Buddhism, certainly older than the oldest Buddhist canonical texts, as is shown by its frequence and confirmed by the Jain parallels. Since *thīna* (=*styāna*) by itself was known, and since the meaning of the compound was not very different from that of *thīna*, it is not hard to understand how in the course of time the Buddhist monks came to feel that this mysterious *middha* (of no comprehensible etymology) must be a word meaning about the same thing. So, in relatively late times but before the end of the Pali canonical period, *middha* was born. The mentioning in pairs, whether compounded or not, of near-synonyms is such a familiar thing in all stages of Indic that it furnished a ready-made pattern for this reanalysis of the word.

All the desperate struggles of late Buddhist commentators and modern scholars to find an etymology for *middha* were therefore, of course, doomed to failure. And the evidence collected by Mr. BAPAT has also no bearing on the original meaning, though of course it is significant of the way later Buddhists understood it (and interesting in the light it throws on the scholastic mind, which must split hairs even if it has to create imaginary problems to operate on).

It remains to say a word of the Jain variant *thīṇagiddhi* (*styānagṛddhi*). I suggested above one possible origin, but I do not really think that as likely as another, now to be presented. My analysis of the Pali form requires the assumption that a form with hiatus, say *thīna* (*thīṇa*)—*iddha* (*iddhi*), must

once have existed, at least fleetingly. Now the Jains have a word AMg. *giddhi*, Jain Skt. *gṛddhi*, "greed, passionate attachment." Since in AMg. and most other Prakrits intervocalic g may disappear, and since as we saw these dialects also show a tendency to avoid hiatus between words or parts of a compound word, even by inserting unhistorical consonants, it is not hard to see how in time the Jain monks came to interpret their word for "somnambulistic vicious activity" (as an "obscuring" of "belief") as if "grasping through, or in a state of, stupefaction," or something resembling that. To them, *thīṇa-iddhi* could easily stand for *thīṇa-giddhi*; both might be "regular" developments of an imagined Skt. **styāna-gṛddhi*. That this construction is "wrong," that is historically fanciful, is proved by the alternative *thīṇaddhi*, which persists by its side. But once the Pkt. *thīṇagiddhi* had been established, it would inevitably be represented in Sanskrit (when the Jains began to use that language) by *styānagṛddhi*, from which the preceding asterisk must then be removed.

The suggested origin of Pali *middha*, by historically false word-division, is not without parallels. Cf. the English *newt* and *nickname*, from older *ewte* and *ekename*. In both these words the initial *n* was originally the final of the indefinite article *a(n)*; *an ewte* and *an ekename* were secondarily analyzed as *a-newt* and *a-nickname*. See Leonard BLOOMFIELD, *Language* (New York, 1933), p. 419.

A SANSKRIT INDEX TO THE CHANDOGYA UPANISAD*

(With References to other Sanskrit Texts)

By

E. G. CARPANI

II. ā-o.

260. Ā (1), adv.-prep. : unto, until, as far as, hither. Lat. *ad*. I,6.6 ; II, 1.4 ; III,13.6 ; 19.4 ; V,2.1 ; VII,2.1 ; 7.1 ; 8.1 ; 10.1 ; VIII,8.1.

261. Ā (2), first syllable of *ādi*. II,8.1.

262. ĀKĀŚA, m.: ether ; sky ; atmosphere. "*Ākāśa* is the subtle and ethereal fluid, supposed to fill and pervade the universe and to be the peculiar vehicle of life and of sound (MONIER-WILLIAMS). *-śas* (nom. sg.) : I,9.1 ; III,11.7 ; 12.7-9 ; 13.5 ; 18.1 ; IV,13.1 ; V,6.1 ; 23.2 ; VII,4.2 ; 12.1 ; 26.1 ; VIII,1.1,3 ; 14.1. *-śam* (acc. sg.) : 1,9.1 ; IV,10.5 ; V,10.4,5 ; 15.1 ; VII,2.1 ; 7.1 ; 11.1 ; 12.1-2 ; VIII,12.4. *-śena* (instr. sg.) : VII,12.1. *-śāt* (abl. sg.) : I, 9.1 ; V, 10.4-5 ; 12.2 ; VII, 13.1 ; VIII, 12.2. *-śasya* (gen. sg.) : VII,12.2. *-śe* (loc.sg) : V,23.3 ; VII,12.1.

263. ĀKĀŚAVANT, a. : spacious ; extensive. *-vatas* (acc. pl.) : VII,12.2.

264. ĀKĀŚĀTMAN, a. : with ether as self. *-mā* (nom. sg.) : III,14.2.[1]

265. ĀKĪṬAPATAṄGAPIPĪLAKAM, adv. : together with worms, flies, and ants. See No. 502.

266. ĀKHAṆA, a. : hard. *-ṇas* (nom. sg. m.) : I,2.8. *-ṇam* (acc. sg. m.) : I,2.7-8.

267. ĀGĀIṆ, m. : effective singer. "qui obtient en chantant la réalisation de" (RENOU). *-ṇā* (nom. sg.) : I,2.14.

268. ĀGNĪDHRĪYA, a. : being with the Āgnīdhra ; m. : the fireplace within the Āgnīdhra. *-yasya* (gen. sg.) : II,24.7.

269. ĀṄGIRASA, a. : descended from Āṅgirasas. *-sas* (nom. sg.) : III, 17.6.

270. ĀCARAṆA, n. : approaching, conduct. *-ṇe* (loc. sg.) : VIII,12.3.

271. ĀCĀRYA, m. : teacher. *-yas* (nom. sg.) : IV,9.1 ; VII,15.1. *-yam* (acc. sg.) : VII, 15.2 ; *-yāt* (abl. sg.) : IV,9.3.

272. ĀCĀRYAKULA, n. : teacher's family. *-lam* (acc. sg.) : IV,5.1 ; 9.1. *-lāt* (abl sg.) : VIII,15.1.

273. ĀCĀRYAKULAVĀSIN, a. : dwelling with a teacher's family. *-sī* (nom. sg. m.) : II, 23.2.

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* Continued from *NIA* I, 10.

1. *mano-mayaḥ prāṇa-śarīro bhā-rūpaḥ satyasaṅkalpa ākāśa-ātmā sarva-karmā sarva-kāmaḥ sarva-gandhaḥ sarva-rasaḥ sarvam idam abhyāttaʼ-vāky an-ādaraḥ*/Cf. M.U. VI, 17 ; Kauṣ U. II, 14. See also M. U. II, 6 ; B.Ā.U. V, 6 ; Muṇḍ U. III, 1.7 ; Śvet. U. III, 20 ; IV, 14. *manomayaḥ prāṇaśarīre* cf Muṇḍ. U. II,2.7.

274. ĀCĀRYAJĀYĀ, f.: teacher's wife. -(nom. sg.): IV, 10.3.

275. ĀCĀRYAVANT, a.: one who has a teacher; having a teacher. -vān (nom. sg. m.): VI, 14.2.

276. ĀCĀRYAHAN, m.: slayer of a teacher. -hā (nom. sg.): VII, 15.2-3.

277. ĀJI, f.: combat, race. -jes (gen. sg.): I, 3.5. (*campus planus* [BOPP].).

278. ĀJYA, n.: clarified butter. -yasya (gen. sg.): V, 2.4-5.

279. ĀṬIKĪ, proper name (f.). Name of the wife of Uṣasti. -kyā (instr. sg.): I, 10.1.

280. ĀṆḌA, n.: egg. -ḍam (nom. sg.): III, 19.1. Cf. M.U. VI, 36; Mahā-Bh. XII, 311. 3-4 (C. 1157 1-2); Bāṣkalamantra U. IX.

281. ĀṆḌAKAPĀLA, n.: egg-shell. -le (nom. du.): III, 19.1.

282. ĀṆḌAJA, a.: egg-born. -jam (nom. sg. n.): VI, 3.1 :—

teṣāṁ khalv aṣṭāṁ bhūtānāṁ trīṇy eva bījāni bhavanti,
āṇḍa-jaṁ jīva-jam udbhij-jam iti[1]

283. ĀT, adv.: afterwards; then; from this. III, 17.7.

284. ĀTMAKRĪḌA, a.: delighting in self. -ḍas (nom. sg. m.): VII, 25.2. See No. 4.

285. ĀTMATAS, adv.: from the Soul. VII, 26.1.

286. ĀTMAN, m.: breath, soul, spirit; principle of life and sensation; the abstract individual; the individual soul; the self; the soul of the universe. -mā (nom. sg.): I, 7.2; 13.1; III, 14.3-4; IV, 3.7; 15.1; V, 11.1; 12.1; 13.1; 14.1; 15.1; 16.1; 17.1; VI, 8.7; 9.4; 10.3; 11.3; 12.3; 13.3; 14.3; 15.3; 16.3; VII, 3.1; 5.2; 25.2; VIII, 1.5; 3.3-4; 4.1; 5.3; 7.1, 3-4; 8.3-4; 10.1; 11.1; 12.4-5; 14.1. -mānam (acc. sg.): I, 3.12; II, 9.4; 22.5; V, 11.2,4,6; 12.1-2; 13.1-2; 14.1-2; 15.1-2; 16.1-2; 17.1-2; 18.1; VI, 16.1-2; VIII, 1.6; 5.1-2; 7.1-3; 8.1,4; 11.1-2; 12.6. -manā (instr. sg.); VI, 3.2-3; 11.1. -mane (dat. sg.): II, 22.2. -manas (gen. sg.): V, 12.2; 13.2; 14.2; 15.2; 16.2; 17.2; 18.2; VIII, 5.2; 8.1. -manī (loc. sg.): V, 24.4; VIII, 15.1. -mānas (nom. pl.): II, 22.3. -masu (loc. pl.): V, 18.1; 24.2.[2]

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1. "Cette remarque n'a rien à faire ici, où elle trouble la suite des idées. C'est sans doute une interpolation amenée par le chiffre 3, et qui donne à penser que ces classifications ont pu souvent être réunies par voie des chiffres." (SENART, *op. cit.*, p. 79.) "Questo capoverso si collega con la sezione precedente per via del numero tre che qui e lì occorre; ha però osservato il FOSSMICHI, *Il pensiero religioso nell'India*, 199, che non si tratta di una semplice intrusione, perchè vi è un nesso logico: la nascita degli esseri è dovuta o al calore (uovo incubato), o all'acqua (sperma) o a un seme vegetale." (PAPESSO, *op. cit.*, p. 191.)

2. *ātman*: Old Germ. *ātum* (cf. Goth. *aknus*); Angl. Sax. *adhm*; Mod. Germ. *Athem*; Irish *adhm*. Cf. Gr. *autmḗ, atmós, atmís.*

For the development of the conception of *ātman* and its union with Brahma, see R. E. HUME, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-32; V. PAPESSO, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-64; B. G. TILAK, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-358; Cf. Otto STRAUSS, Die ältesten Upaniṣaden, in *Indische Philosophie*, München, 1925, pp. 42-61; F. BELLONI-FILIPPI, *Due Upaniṣad*, Lanciano, *n.d.*, pp. 14-19.

287. ĀTMAMITHUNA, a. : coupled with self. *-nas* (nom. sg. m.) : VII, 25.2.

288. ĀTMARATI, a. : finding satisfaction in self. *-tis* (nom. sg. m.) : VII, 25.2. See No. 4.

289. ĀTMAVID, a : knowing the supreme spirit or self. *-vit* (nom. sg.) : VII, 1.3.[1]

290. ĀTMAVIDYĀ, f. : knowledge of the supreme spirit or of the self ; spiritual knowledge. -(nom. sg.) : IV, 14.1.

291. ĀTMASAMMITA, a. : measured in itself (Hume). *-tam* (acc. sg. n.) : II, 10.1,6.[2]

292. ĀTMĀDEŚA, m. : instruction with regard to the soul (HUME) ; doctrine of the soul. *-śas* (nom. sg.) : VII, 25.2.

293. ĀTMĀNANDA, a. : finding bliss in soul (self). *-das* (nom. sg. m.) : VII, 25.2.

294. ĀTHARVAṆA, a. : relating to Atharvan. *-ṇas* (nom. sg. m.) : VII, 1.4. *-ṇam* (acc. sg. m.) : VII, 1.2 ; 2.1 ; 7.1. Cf. B.Ā.U. II, 4.10 ; IV, 5.11 ; M.U. VI, 32-33 ; Muṇḍ. U. I, 1.5.

295. ĀDARŚA, m. : mirror. *-śe* (loc. sg.) : VIII, 7.4.

296. ĀDI, m. : beginning, commencement. *-dis* (nom. sg.) : II, 8.1 ; 9.4 ; 10.2.

297. ĀDITYA, a. : belonging or devoted to Aditi ; pl. : the Ādityas. *-yas* (nom. sg.) : I, 3.7 ; 5.1 ; 6.3 ; 11.7 ; 13.2 ; II, 2.1-2 ; 10.5 ; 20.1 ; 21.1 ; III, 1.1 ; 6.4 ; 7.4 ; 8.4 ; 9.4 ; 10.4 ; 13.1 ; 18.2 ; 19.1, 3 ; IV, 11.1 ; V, 4.1 ; 19.2 ; VIII, 6.1. *-yam* (acc. sg.) : I, 11.7 ; II, 9.1, 8 ; 10.5 ; 24.11-12(n.) ; III, 1.4 ; 2.3 ; 3.3 ; 4.3 ; 5.3 ; 15.6 ; 19.4 ; IV, 15.5 ; 17.1 ; V, 10.2 ; 13.1 ; VIII, 6.5. *-yena* (instr. sg.) : III, 18.5. *-yāt* (abl. sg.) : II, 10.5 ; IV, 15.5 ; 17.2 ; V, 10.2 ; VI, 4.2 ; VIII, 6.2. *-yasya* (gen. sg.) : I, 6.5-6 ; II, 10.6 ; III, 1.4 ; 2.3 ; 3.3 ; 4.3 ; 5.3 ; VI, 4.2 ; VIII, 6.2. *-ye* (loc. sg.) : I, 6.6 ; II, 14.1-2 ; IV, 11.1 ; V, 19.2 ; VIII, 6.2. *-yās* (nom.pl) : II, 24.16 ; III, 8.1 ; 16.5-6. *-yebhyas* (dat. pl.) : II, 24.14. *-yānām* (gen. pl.) : II, 24.1 ; III, 8.3-4 ; 16.6.

298. ĀDITYAJAYA, m. : victory over the sun. *-yāt* (abl. sg.) : II, 10.6.

299. ĀDITYATVA, n. ; sunhood. *-vam* (nom. sg.) : VI, 4.2.

300. ĀDIBHĀJIN, a. : connected with *ādi*. *-jinī* (nom. pl. n.) : II, 9.4.

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1. *tarati śokam ātma-vid...*

स यो ह वै तत्परमं ब्रह्म वेद ब्रह्मैव भवति नास्याब्रह्मवित्कुले भवति ।
तरति शोकं तरति पाप्मानं गुहाग्रन्थिभ्यो विमुक्तोऽमृतो भवति ॥

Muṇḍ.U. III,2.9. See M.U. I,2 for the ignorance of *ātman*.

2. *'atha khalv ātma-sammitam ati-mṛtyu saptavidhaṁ sāma upāsīta.....* "*Ātmasammitam* enferme un double sens, d'une part : 'qui se mesure par ou sur lui-même'... et de l'autre : 'égal à l'*ātman*, à l'âme', et c'est sans doute le sens primitif du terme, celui qui explique ou qu'explique l'autre épithète *atimṛtyu*, puisque l'*ātman* dépasse la mort..." (SENART, *op. cit.*, p. 21.) "*ātmasammita*, non ha qui anche il significato di 'commisurato con, uguale all'*ātman* universale', che gli dà Śaṅkara." (PAPESSO, *op. cit.*, p. 118.)

301. ĀDIṢṬA, n. : rule of conduct ; instruction. *-ṭam* (nom. sg.) : III, 18.1-2.

302. ĀDEŚA, m. : instruction, precept, rule, account. *-śas* (nom. sg.) : III, 19.1—(*ādityo brahmaty*=M.U. VI, 16) ; VI, 1.4,6. *-śam* (acc. sg.) : VI, 1.3. *-śās* (nom. pl.) : III, 5.1-2.

303. ĀDHIPATYA, n. : lordship. *-yam* (acc. sg.) : III, 6.4 ; 7.4 ; 8.4 ; 9.4 ; 10.4 ; V, 2.6.

304. ĀNANDIN, a. : happy, joyful. *-nas* (nom.pl.) : VII, 10.1

305. ĀPAYITṚ, m. : procuring ; obtainer. *-tā* (nom. sg.) : I, 1.7.

306. ĀPŪRYAMĀṆAPAKṢA, m. : the half-month of the waxing moon. *-ṣam* (acc. sg.) : IV, 15.5 ; V, 10.1. *-ṣāt* (abl. sg.) : IV, 15.5 ; V, 10.1.

307. ĀPOMAYA, a. : consisting of water. *-yas* (nom. sg. m.) : VI, 5.4 ; 6.5 ; 7.1, 6.

308. ĀMALAKA, m. : Emblic myrobalan ; n. : the fruit of e. myr. *-he* (acc. du. n.) : VII, 3.1.

309. ĀMIKṢĀ, f. : curd of two-milk whey. *-ṣayā* (instr. sg.) : VIII, 8.5.[1]

310. ĀYATANA, n. : support ; resting-place ; seat ; abode. *-nam* (nom. -acc. sg.) : V, 1.5 ; 1.14 ; VI, 8.2. *-nāya* (dat. sg.) : V, 2.5. *-nāni* (acc. pl.) : VI, 24.2.

311. ĀYATANAVANT, a. : having a support. *-vān* (nom. sg. m.) : IV, 8.3-4. *-vatas* (acc. pl.) : IV, 8.4.

312. ĀYAMANA, n. : stretching. *-nam* (nom. sg.) : I, 3.5.

313. ĀYUS, n. : life ; vital power ; duration of life. *-* (acc. sg.) : II, 11.2 ; 12.2 ; 13.2 ; 14.2 ; 15.2 ; 16.2 ; 17.2 ; 18.2 ; 19.2 ; 20.2 ; III, 16.6 ; IV, 11.2 ; 12.2 ; 13.2 *-uṣas* (abl. sg.) : II, 24.6, 10,15.

314. ĀRAṆYA, a. : relating to a forest ; m. : wild animal(s). *-yās* (nom. pl. m.) : II, 9.7.

315. ĀRUṆI, a. : descended from Aruṇa ; proper name. *-ṇis* (nom. sg. m.) : V, 11.2 ; VI, 8.1. *-ṇim* (acc. sg. m.) : V, 17.1. *-ṇaye* (dat. sg. m.) : III, 11.4.

316. ĀRUṆEYA, a. : descended from Āruṇi ; proper name. *-yas* (nom. sg. m.) : V, 3.1 ; VI, 1.1.

317. ĀRJAVA, n. : propriety of act or observance. *-vam* (nom. sg.) : III, 17.4.

318. ĀRTVIJYA, n. : the office of a sacrificing priest. *-yāis* (instr. pl.) : I, 10.6 ; 11.2-3.

319. ĀRṢEYA, a. : derived from a Ṛṣi. *-yam* (nom. sg. n.) : I, 3.9.

320. ĀVA-, prn. stem of first person. See No. 254.

321. ĀVARTA, m. : turning ; turning round ; activity. *-tam* (acc. sg.) : IV, 15.6.

322. ĀVARTIN, a. : returning. *-tīni* (nom. pl. n.) : V, 10.8.

323. ĀVASATHA, m. : dwelling-place. *-thān* (acc. pl.) : IV, 1.1.

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1. ....*pretasya śarīrasya* [*bhikṣayā*] *saṃskāreṇa alaṅkāreṇa iti sat-kurvanti, etena hy amuṃ lokaṃ jeṣyanto manyante.* I prefer the BÖHTLINGK's emendation *āmikṣayā*. See the Saṅkara's gloss of *bhikṣā* by *gandha-mālya-anna-ādi-lakṣaṇā*.

324. ĀVIRBHĀVATIROBHĀVA, m. : appearance and disappearance. *-vau* (nom. du.) : VII, 26.1.

325. ĀŚĀ, f. : hope. -(nom. sg.) : VII, 14.1-2 ; 26.1. *-śām* (acc. sg.) : II, 22.2 ; VII, 14.1-2. *-śayā* (instr. sg.) : VII, 14.2. *-śāyās* (abl. -gen. sg.) : VII, 14.2 ; 15.1.

326. ĀŚIṢ, f. : prayer. *-iṣas* (nom. pl.) : VII, 14.2.

327. ĀŚĪḤSAMṚDDHI, f. : fulfilment of wishes (HUME). *-dhiṣ* (nom. sg.) : I, 3.8.

328. ĀŚṚDDHA, a. : kindled by hope. *-dhas* (nom. sg. m.) : VII, 14.1.

329. ĀŚVATARĀŚVI, proper name (m.). *-viṣ* (nom. sg.) : V, 11.1. *-viṁ* (acc. sg.) : V, 16.1.

330. ĀSURA, a. : belonging to or devoted to evil spirits. *-ras* (nom. sg. m.) : VIII, 8.5.

331. ĀSTĀVA, m. : the place of reciting a particular hymn. *-ve* (loc sg.) : I, 10.8.

332. ĀSYA, n. : mouth. *-yam* (nom. sg.) : V, 18.2. *-yāt* (abl. sg.) : I, 2.12.

333. ĀHAVANĪYA, m. : eastern fire ; oblation-fire. *-yas* (nom. sg.) : IV, 13.1 ; V, 18.2. *-yasya* (gen. sg.) : II, 24.11. *-ye* (loc. sg.) : IV, 17.6.

334. ĀHĀRAŚUDDHI, f. : pure nourishment. *-dhau* (loc. sg.) : VII, 26.2. Cf. Mund. U. III, 1.8.

335. ĀHUTI, f. : offering oblations with fire. *-tiṁ* (acc. sg.) : V, 19.1. *-tis* (abl. -gen. sg.) : V, 4.2 ; 5.2 ; 6.2 ; 7.2 ; 8.2. *-tau* (loc. sg.) : V, 3.3 ; 9.1.

336. ĀHRĀDA, m. : sound of thunder. *-dās* (nom. pl.) : VII, 11.1.

I

337. I-, prn. stem of third person. [Lat. *id* ; Gothic *ita* ; Old Germ. *iz* ; Mod. Germ. *es*.] See No. 344.

338. ITARA, prn. a. : other ; another ; different from (with abl.). [Cf. Lat. *iterum* ; Irish *iter* ; Gr. *ἕτ*] *-rān* (acc. pl. m.) : I, 2.9 ; V, 1.12.

339. ITAS, adv. : hence, from this ; from this point ; from this world ; here. Occurs 8 times.

340. ITI, adv. : so ; thus. Occurs 695 times.

341. ITIHĀSAPURĀṆA, n. : ancient history (legend). *-nam* (nom. acc. sg.) : III, 4.1-2 ; VII, 1.2, 4 ; 2.1 ; 7.1.

342. ITTHAM, adv. : thus ; in this manner. VII, 5.2.

343. ID, pcl. : just, quite, even ; exactly. III, 17.7.

344. IDAM, dem. prn. : this, this here. [Cf. Lat. *id*.] *ayam* (nom. sg. m.) : occurs 35 times. *idam* (nom. -acc. sg. n.) : 72 times. *iyam* (nom. sg. f.) : 13 times. *imam* (acc. sg. m.) : 12 times. *imām* (acc. sg. f.) : III, 11.6. *anena* (instr. sg.) : 7 times. *asmai* (dat. sg.) : 19 times. *asmāt* (abl. sg.) : 4 times. *asya* (gen. sg.) : 104 times. *asyās* (gen. sg. f.) : IV, 17.8. *asmin* (loc. sg.) : 35 times. *asyām* (loc. sg. f.) : III, 12.2. *imau* (nom. du. m.) : VIII, 8.3. *ime* (nom. pl. m.) : 12 times. *imāni* (nom. -acc. pl.

n.) : 10 times. *imās* (nom. -acc. pl. f.) : 16 times. *imān* (acc. pl. m.) : 2 times. *ebhis* (instr. pl.) : 2 times. *ebhyas* (dat. -abl. pl.) : 6 times. *ābhyas* (abl. pl. f.) : VIII, 6.2. *eṣām* (gen. pl.) : 6 times. *āsām* (gen. pl. f.) : 2 times. *eṣu* (loc. pl.) : VIII, 7.4. *āsu* (loc. pl. f.) : VIII, 6.2.

345. INDRA, m. : proper name (Indra). *-ras* (nom. sg.) : VIII, 7.2 ; 9.1. *-ram* (acc. sg.) : II, 22.3. *-reṇa* (instr. sg.) : III, 7.1, 3. *-rasya* (gen. sg.) : II, 22.1, 3. *-re* (loc. sg.) : II, 22.5.

346. INDRADYUMNA, proper name (m.). *-mnas* (nom. sg.) : V, 11.1. *-mnam* (acc. sg.) : V, 14.1.

347. INDRIYA, a. : belonging to Indra ; n. : might. *yam* (nom. sg. n.) : III, 1.3 ; 2.2 ; 3.2 ; 4.2 ; 5.2.

348. IBHYA, a. : rich. *-yam* (acc. sg. m.) : I, 10.2.

349. IBHYAGRĀMA, m. : village of a rich man. *-me* (loc. sg.) : I, 10.1.

350. IMA—, prn. stem of third person. See No. 344.

351. IYAM—, see No. 344.

352. IVA, encl. pcl. : like ; as it were ; just. Occurs 37 times.

353. IṢĪKĀTŪLA, n. : the point or upper part of a reed (MONIER-WILLIAMS). *-lam* (nom. sg.) : V, 24.3.

354. IṢṬĀPŪRTA, n. : sacrifice and merit. *-te* (acc. du.) : V, 10.3.

355. IHA, ad. : in this place ; here ; hither. [Cf. Gr. *ithaí* ; Goth. *ith.*] Occurs 23 times.

356. IHAKĀRA, m. : the sound *iha*. *-ras* (nom. sg.) : I, 13.1.

I

357. ĪKĀRA, m. : the sound ī. *-ras* (nom. sg.) : I, 13.1. See No. 41.

358. ĪdṛŚA, a. : of this appearance. *-śās* (nom. pl.) : IV, 14.2.

U

359. U, encl. pcl. : and ; now ; also. Occurs 33 times.

360. UKTHA, n. : praise ; recitation. *-tham* (nom. sg.) : I, 7.5.

361. UCCAIS, adv. : high ; above ; upwards. I, 11.7.

362. UCCHIṢṬA, a. : left ; rejected ; n. : leavings ; fragments. *-tam* (nom. -acc. sg. n.) : I, 10.3 ; V, 24.4. *-tās* (nom. pl. m.) : I, 10.4.

363. UTA, conj : and ; also : even. Occurs 7 times.

364. UTKRAMAṆA, a. : a going forth ; departure. *-ṇe* (loc. sg.) : VIII, 6.6. *...viṣvañ̃ anyā utkramaṇe bhavanti...* =KRṭ.U. VI, 16 ; cf. M.U. VI, 30.

365. UTKRĀNTAPRĀṆA, a. : departed. *-ṇān* (acc. pl.) : VII, 15.3.

366. UTTAMA, a. ; highest. *-mam* (acc. sg. n.) : III, 17.7. *-meṣu* (loc. pl.) : III, 13.7.

367. UTTAMAPURUṢA, m. : the supreme spirit. *-ṣas* (nom. sg.) : VIII, 12.3.

368. UTTARA, a. : upper, higher, superior. *-ram* (nom. -acc. sg. n.) : III, 15.1 ; 17.7.

369. UTTARATAS, adv. : above, from the north ; northward. Occurs 7 times.

370. UTTHĀTṚ, m. : one who rises. *-tā* (nom. sg.) : VII, 8.1.[1]

371. UD (1), adv. : up, out. Occurs 5 times.

372. UD (2), used in word-analysis. I, 3.6-7 ; 6.7 ; II, 8.2.

373. UDAKA, n. : water. *-kam* (nom. -acc. sg.) : III, 19.2 ; IV, 15.1. *-ke* (loc. sg.) : I, 4.3. ; VI, 13.1.—Cf. B.Ā.U. II, 4.12 ; M.U. VI, 35 ; VII, 11.

374. UDAṄMUKHA, a. : facing the north. *-khas* (nom. sg. m.) : II, 24.3, 7, 11.

375. UDAÑC, a. : directed northward. *udaṅ* (nom. sg. m.) : III, 13.4 ; IV, 15.5 ; V, 10.1 ; VI, 14.1. *udak* (acc. sg. n. as adv.) : IV, 17.9. UDĪCĪ (nom. sg. f.) : III, 15.2 ; IV, 5.2. *udañcas* (nom. pl. m.) : III, 4.1. *udīcyas* (nom. pl. f.) : III, 4.1.

376. UDANYĀ, f. : thirst. -(nom. sg.) : VI, 8.5.

377. UDAPĀNA, n. : the drinking of water. *-nam* (nom. sg.) : I, 10.4

378. UDAYA, m. : rising. *-yam* (acc. sg.) : III, 19.3. *-yat* (abl. sg.) : II, 9.2.

379. UDARAŚĀṆḌILYA, proper name (m.). *-yāya* (dat. sg.) : I, 9.3.

380. UDAŚARĀVA, m. : pan of water. *-ve* (loc. sg.) : VIII, 8, 1-2.

381. UDĀNA, m. : breathing upward. *-nas* (nom. sg.) : III, 13.5 ; V, 23.1. *-nāya* (dat. sg.) : V, 23.1. *-ne* (loc. sg.) : V, 23.2.

382. UDGĀṬṚ, m. : Udgātar priest ; chanter of the Sāma-Veda. *-tā* (nom. sg.) : I, 2.13 ; 6.8 ; 7.8 ; 11.6 ; IV, 16.2. *-tāram* (acc. sg.) : I, 10.10. *-tar* (voc. sg.) : I, 10.10 ; 11.6. *-tṛn* (acc. pl.) : I, 10.8.[2]

383. UDGĪTHA, m. : chanting of the Sāma-Veda. *-thas* (nom. sg.) : I, 1.1-5 ; 3.4, 6-7 ; 5.1, 5 ; 6.8 ; 9.2 ; 12.1 ; II, 2.1-2 ; 3-1 ; 4.1 ; 5.1 ; 6.1 ; 7.1 ; 8.2 ; 9.5 ; 10.3 ; 11.1 ; 12.1 ; 13.1 ; 14.1 ; 15.1 ; 16.1 ; 17.1 ; 18.1 ; 19.1 ; 20.1 ; 21.1 ; 22.1. *-tham* (acc. sg.) : I, 1.7-8 ; 2.1-7, 10-12, 14 ; 3.1-3,5 ; 5.3 ; 9.2-3 ; 10.10 ; 11.6-7. *-the* (loc. sg.) : I, 8.1.[3]

384. UDGĪTHABHĀJIN, a. : sharing in the *udgītha*. *-jinas* (nom. pl. m.) : II, 9.5.[1]

385. UDGĪTHĀKṢARA, n. : a syllable of *udgītha*. *-rāṇi* (acc. pl.) : I, 3.6-7.[3]

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1. .... *sa yadā balī bhavati, atha utthātā bhavati, uttiṣṭhan paricaritā bhavati, paricarann upasattā bhavati*.... "Il semble que les mots *utthātā*, *paricaritā* et *upasattā* aient ici comme un double aspect, l'un dans leur sens étymologique, l'autre avec la valeur spéciale dans laquelle ils ont été fixés par l'usage. *Paricaritā* est 'serviteur', mais étymologiquement 'celui qui va et vient, qui s'active' ; *upasattā* est 'celui qui est assis', mais en même temps 'l'habitant, le domicilié'. Pour *utthātā* j'ignore quelle est la signification dénominative, mais elle doit exister ; car autrement ce tour par le nom d'agent serait bien gauche." (SILVAIN, *op.cit.*, pp. 96-7.)

2. See A. HILLEBRANDT, *Ritualliteratur, vedische Opfer u. Zauber.*, Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie, III.2 ; J. M. Van der HOOGT, *The Vedic Chant studied in its textual and melodic form*, Wageningen, 1929, pp. 58ff. ; *Das Sāmavidhānabrāhmaṇa, eingeleitet u. übersetzten* von S. KONOW, Halle, 1893 ; J. EGGLING, *The Satapatha-Brāhmana translated*, S.B.E., XXVI, Part II, p. 310 ; CALAND-HENRY, *L'Agniṣṭoma, description complète de la forme normale du sacrifice de Soma dans le culte védique*, Paris, 1906-7.

386. UDDĀLAKA, proper name (m.). *-kas* (nom. sg.) : V, 11.2; VI, 8.1. *-kam* (acc. sg.) : V, 17.1. *-kāya* (dat. sg.) : III, 11.4.

387. UDBHIJJA, a. : born by a sprout. *-jas* (nom. sg. m.) : VI, 3.1. See No. 282.

388. UPA (1), adv.-prep. : to, near to ; unto. Occurs 6 times.

389. UPA (2), used in word-analysis. II, 8.2.

390. UPAKOSALA, proper name (m.). *-las* (nom. sg.) : IV, 10.1. *-la* (voc. sg.) : IV, 14.1.

391. UPAJANA, m. : additional production ; increase. *-nam* (acc. sg.) : VIII, 12.3.

392. UPATĀPIN, a : sick. : *-pi* (nom. sg.) : VIII, 4.2. *-pinam* (acc. sg.) : VI, 15.1.

393. UPADRAVA, m. : accident. *-vas* (nom. sg.) : II, 8.2 ; 9.7 ; 10.3.

394. UPADRAVABHĀJIN, a. : sharing in accident. *-jinas* (nom. pl. m.) : II, 9.7.

395. UPANIṢAD, f. : secret doctrine ; sitting down near. *-sat* (nom. sg.) : VIII, 8.5. *-sadam* (acc. sg.) : I, 13.4 ; VIII, 8.4. *-sadā* (instr. sg.) : I, 1.10.[1]

396. UPARI, adv.-prep. : above, upon, over, further (*upari upari* : continuously). [Cf. Gr. *hupér* ; Lat. *super* ; Zend *upara* ; Goth. *ufar* ; Old Germ. *obar* ; Mod. Germ. *über*.] VIII, 3.2.

397. UPARIṢṬĀT, adv.-prep. : from above ; behind, after. Occurs 4 times.

398. UPAVĀDIN, a. : censuring, blaming. *-dinas* (nom. pl. m.) : VII, 6.1.

399. UPAVYĀKHYĀNA, n. : further explanation. *-nam* (nom. sg.) : I, 1.1,10 ; 4.1 ; III, 19.1.

400. UPASAṬṬṚ, m. : worshipper. *-tā* (nom. sg.) VII, 8.1. See No. 370.

401. UPASADA, name of a ceremony. "The ceremonies which constitute a part of the *Jyotiṣṭoma* (Praise of Light) form of the Soma sacrifice and during which the sacrificer is allowed a certain amount of food." (HUME) *-dais* (instr. pl.) : III, 17.2.

402. UPASARAṆA, n. : flowing towards. *-ṇāni* (nom. pl.) : I, 3.8.

403. UPASTHA, m. : lap ; the organs of generation. *-thas* (nom. sg.) : V, 8.1.

404. UPĀKARAṆA, n. : bringing near, commencement. *-ṇāt* (abl. sg.) : II, 24, 3, 7, 11.

405. UPĀSANA, n. : seat ; being intent on ; attendance. *-nam* (nom. sg.) : II, 1.1. See No. 395.

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1. See S. SCHAYER in *Rocznik Orjentalistyczny*, Ueber die Bedeutung des Wortes Upaniṣad, III, 57-67. SCHAYER renders *upa-ās* by "umwerben". Cf. H. OLDENBERG (*upaniṣad-upāsana*), *Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus*, Göttingen, 1915, p. 37.

405. UBHA, prn. : both. [Cf. Gr. *ámpho* ; Lat. *ambo* ; Lith. *abbu* ; Slav. *oba*.] *-bhau* (nom.-acc. du. m.) : I, 1.10 ; 7.7 ; VII, 12.1 ; VIII, 1.3 ; 6.2 ; 8.4. *-bhe* (nom.-acc. du. n.-f.) : IV, 16.4 ; VIII, 1.3 ; 3.5. *-bhābhyām* (instr. du.) : IV, 16.5.

407. UBHAYA, a. : both. *-yam* (nom. -acc. sg. n.) : I, 2.2-6 ; III, 18.1-2. *-yi* (nom. pl.) : I, 2.1 ; VIII, 7.2.

408. UBHAYAPĀD, a. : with both feet. *-pāt* (nom. sg. m.) : IV, 16.5.

409. URAS, n. : the breast. -(nom. sg.) : V, 18.2.

410. URUGĀYAVANT, a. : unconfined. *-vatas* (acc. pl.) : VII, 12.2.

411. ULŪLU, m. : ululation. [Cf. Lat. *ululatus*.] *-lavas* (nom. pl.) : III, 19.3.

412. ULBA, n. : the bag which surrounds the embryo. *-bam* (nom. sg.) : III, 19.2.

413. ULBĀVṚTA, a. : covered with ulba. *-tas* (nom. sg. m.) : V, 9.1.

414. UṢASTI, proper name (m.). *-tis* (nom. sg.) : I, 10.1 ; 11.1.

415. UṢṆA, a. : hot, warm ; pungent. *-ṇas* (nom. sg. m.) : I, 3.2.

416. UṢṆIMAN, m. : *heat*. *-māṇam* (acc. sg.) : III, 13.8.

Ū

417. ŪKĀRA, m. : the sound *ū*. I, 13.2.

418. ŪRDHVA, a. : rising upwards ; erected, raised. *-vas* (nom. sg. m.) : III, 10.4 ; 11.1 ; 13.5 ; VI, 6.1-4 ; VIII, 6.5 ; *vam* (acc. sg. n. *as* adv. -prep. aloft, above, later) : II, 9.6-7 ; VII, 1.1 ; VIII, 6.6. *-vās* (nom. pl.) : I, 4.3 ; II, 2.3 ; III, 5.1. *-vābhis* (instr. pl. f.) : VII, 11.1. *-veṣu* (loc. pl.) : II, 2.1.

419. ŪṢMAN, m. : heat ; vapour, exhalation ; ardour, passion. *-māṇas* (nom. pl.) : II, 22.3., 5. *-masu* (loc. pl.) : II, 22.4.

(To be continued.)

ABHILASITĀRTHACINTĀMANI AND MATSYA PURĀNA

By

G. H. KHARE

In Vol. I, No. 8 of the *New Indian Antiquary*, I have shown in my article on *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* and *Śilparatna*, that out of the 148 verses from *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* devoted to iconography as many as 94 occur in *Śilparatna* ad verbum and as *Śilparatna* is definitely later than *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* in date, the latter must have borrowed from the former. Here I wish to lay before the readers of this journal my results of the comparison between the iconographic descriptions from *Matsya Purāṇa* (MP)[1] and *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* (AC).[2]

First of all I give here a comparative table of the icons described in the two works with their serial numbers in the respective works so that the readers may know the icons that have been dealt with in the two works as well as their order.

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi	Matsya Purāṇa
(1) Viṣṇu (24 varieties)	
(2) Hari (with 8 hands)	(1) Viṣṇu (with 2, 4 & 8 hands)
(3) Vāmana	
(4) Śrīdhara	
(5) Nṛvarāha	(12) Mahāvarāha
(6) Narasiṃha	(13) Nārasiṃha
(7) Trivikrama	(14) Trivikrama
(8) Matsya	(15) Matsya
(9) Kūrma	(16) Kūrma
(10) Caturmukha	(17) Brahman
(11) Mahādeva	(2) Rudra
(12) (When) killing Gajāsura	(4) Gajacarmadhara
(13) (In) nāṭya	(3) Nṛtyat
(14) (When) burning Puratraya	(5) (In) Tripuradāha
(15) Svacchanda Bhairava	(8) Bhairava
(16, 17) Maheśa (with 4 & 8 hands)	(6, 7) Jñānayogeśvara (with 4 & 8 hands)
(18) Ardhanārīśvara	(9) Ardhanārīśvara
(19) Umāmaheśvara	(10) Umāmaheśvara
(20) Harihara	(11) Śivanārāyaṇa
(21) Ṣaṇmukha	(18) Kārttikeya
(22) Vināyaka	(19) Vināyaka

1. Anandashrama Sanskrit series No. 54, chapters 258-261.
2. Mysore Oriental Library edition; part I, chapter 3, verses 726-874.

(23) Kātyāyanī	(20) Kātyāyanī
(24) Surarāja	(21) Surarāja
(25) Vahni	(23) Vahni
(26) Pitṛrāja	(24) Yama
(27) Rākṣasendra	(25) Rakṣasendra
(28) Jaleśa	(26) Varuṇa
(29) Samīraṇa	(27) Vāyu
(30) Haramitra	(28) Kubera
(31) Īśāna	(29) Īśa
(32) Seven Mothers (General)	(30-38) Nine Mothers
(33) Vireśvara	(39) Vireśvara
(34) Śrī	(40) Śrī
(35) Nāga	(41) Nāga
(36) Daitya-Dānava	(43) Rākṣasa
(37) Piśāca	(42) Piśāca
(38) Vetāla	(44) Vetāla
(39) Kṣetrapāla	(45) Kṣetrapāla
(40) Manasija (Madana)	(46) Kusumāyudha
(41-49) Sun & 8 planets	(22) Prabhākara

From the table given above it will be clear that in AC 49 and in MP 46 icons have been described in all. In AC we have Viṣṇu (24 varieties), Vāmana, Śrīrāma and the 8 planets beginning with the Moon, which we do not find in MP; while the nine mothers, Śiva (Jñānayogeśvara) and Viṣṇu (2 & 4 hands) described in MP are not to be traced in AC, where we get only a general description of the mothers. In case of Viṣṇu (with 8 hands), the Sun and Bhairava, although the names are somewhat identical, they possess no points of similarity. Regarding a large number of the remaining icons, we can say that not only the descriptions, but the names and the order[1] even are either completely or nearly identical. To be more particular the names of icons no. 6-13, 7-14, 8-15, 9-16, 18-9, 19-10, 22-19, 23-20, 24-21, 25-23, 27-25, 31-29, 33-39, 34-40, 35-41, 37-42, 38-44, 39-45, are the same in the two works; while numbers 5-12, 11-2, 12-4, 13-3, 14-5, 20-11, 21-18, 26-24, 28-26, 29-27, 30-28, 36-43, 40-46, though different from each other in name, have the same descriptions.

When I say the descriptions are identical, I do not mean that the texts are identical. They are indeed different. But if one compares the two descriptions of any single image, one will find that they are the same in essence. But this is not all. Even the comparison from the textual point of view will show that many phrases from the two descriptions are identical either nearly or ad verbum.[2] To substantiate my point I give here all such phrases from the descriptions of 23 different images.

1. There is some irregularity in the order of icons from MP as compared with that from AC. But on the whole my statement is not far from truth.

2. One will easily find some difference even in identical passages. But it is only apparent; it is due to the difference in syntax of the descriptions from the two works.

	AC	MP
	(1) **सूकराह** AC 3/1/738; **महावराह** MP 260/28	
1	दंष्ट्राग्रेण समुद्धृताम्	दंष्ट्राग्रेणोद्धृताम्
2	विस्मयोत्फुल्ललोचनाम्	विस्मयोत्फुल्लवदनाम्
3	उपरिष्टात्प्रकल्पयेत्	उपरिष्टात्प्रकल्पनेत्
4	दक्षिणं कटिसंस्थं च बाहुं तस्य प्रकल्पयेत्	दक्षिणं कटिसंस्थं तु करं तस्याः प्रकल्पयेत् ।
5	कूर्मपृष्ठे पदं चैकमन्यन्नागेन्द्रमूर्धनि	कूर्मोपरि तथा पादमेकं नागेन्द्रमूर्धनि
6	तीक्ष्णदंष्ट्राग्रपोतास्यं	तीक्ष्णदंष्ट्राग्रपोतास्यं
	(2) **नरसिंह** AC 3/1/742; **नारसिंह** MP 260/31	
7	भुजाष्टकसमायुक्ताम्	भुजाष्टकसमन्विताम्
8	खड्गखेटकधारिणीम्	खड्गखेटकधारिणम्
	(3) **त्रिविक्रम** AC 3/1/751; MP 260/36	
9	तथा त्रिविक्रमं कृत्वा	तथा त्रिविक्रमं कृत्वा
	(4) **चतुर्मुख** AC 3/1/754; **ब्रह्मा** MP 260/40	
10	चतुर्बाहुं शुभेक्षणम्	चतुर्बाहुः शुभेक्षणः
11	वामपार्श्वे तु सावित्रीं दक्षिणे तु सरस्वतीम्	वामपार्श्वेऽस्य सावित्री दक्षिणे च सरस्वतीम्
12	हंसारूढं लिखेत्क्वापि क्वचिच्च कमलासनम्	हंसारूढः क्वचित्कार्यः क्वचिच्च कमलासनः
	(5) **महादेव** AC 3/1/759; **रुद्र** MP 259/3	
13	मुक्ताकैरिभसङ्काशः	शुक्लोऽर्कैरिभसंघातः
14	कमलायतलोचनः	दीर्घायतनिलोचनः
15	द्वीपिचर्मपरीधानः	व्याघ्रचर्मपरीधानः
16	केयूरहारसम्पन्नः	हारकेयूरसम्पन्नः
17	कटिसूत्रत्रयान्वितः	कटिसूत्रत्रयान्वितः
18	द्वयष्टवत्सरवेशीवः	द्वयष्टवर्षाकृतिः
	(6) **अर्धनारीश्वर** AC 3/1/772; MP 260/1	
19	केयूरवलयान्वितम्	केयूरवलयान्वितः
20	कटिसूत्रत्रयान्वितम्	कटिसूत्रत्रयान्वितम्
	(7) **उमामहेश्वर** AC 3/1/779; MP 260/11	
21	हरवक्त्रावलोकिनीम्	हरवक्त्रावलोकिनी
22	स्पृशन्तीं देवदेवस्य वामांसे लीलया लिखेत्	वामांसे देवदेवस्य स्पृशन्ती लीलया ततः

(8) **हरिहर** AC 3/1/785; **शिवनारायण** MP 260/21

23 | हरिहरं वक्ष्ये सर्वपातकनाशनम् | शिवनारायणं वक्ष्ये सर्वपापप्रणाशनम्

(9) **षण्मुख** AC 3/1/792; **कार्त्तिकेय** MP 260/45

24 | तरुणादित्यसङ्काशम् | तरुणादित्यसप्रभम्
25 | भुवान् द्वादश कुर्वीत | भुजान् द्वादश कारयेत्
26 | ग्रामे द्विबाहुः | वने ग्रामे द्विबाहुकः
27 | द्विभुजस्य कुमारस्य करे शक्तिः | द्विभुजस्य करे शक्तिः

(10) **विनायक** AC 3/1/799; MP 260/52

28 | विनायकस्य वक्ष्यामि | विनायकं प्रवक्ष्यामि
29 | पीनस्कन्धाङ्घ्रिवामिकाम् | पीनस्कन्धाङ्घ्रिवामिकम्
30 | ऋद्धिबुद्धिभ्यां वपुस्तादात्मनाऽन्वितम् | ऋद्धिबुद्धिभ्यामवस्तान्मूरुकान्वितम्

(11) **कात्यायनी** AC 3/1/803; MP 260/55

31 | लोचनत्रयसंयुक्ताम् | लोचनत्रयसंयुक्ताम्
32 | अर्धेन्दुकृतशेखराम् | अर्धेन्दुकृतलक्षणाम्
33 | अतसीपुष्पसच्छायां | अतसीपुष्पवर्णाभां
34 | त्रिभङ्गिस्थानसंस्थानां महिषासुरमर्दिनीम् | त्रिभङ्गिस्थानसंस्थानां महिषासुरमर्दिनीम्
35 | त्रिशूलं दक्षिणे | त्रिशूले दक्षिणे
36 | षष्ठां वा परशुं वाऽपि | षष्ठां वा परशुं वाऽपि
37 | वामस्तान्माहिषम् | अवस्तान्माहिषम्
38 | हृदि शूलेन निर्भिन्नम् | हृदि शूलेन निर्भिन्नम्
39 | भृकुटीभीषणेक्षणम् | भृकुटीभीषणाननम्

(12) **सुरराज** AC 3/1/811; MP 260/66

40 | किरीटकुण्डलधरं | किरीटकुण्डलधरं
41 | छत्रचामरधारिण्यौ स्त्रियौ पार्श्वे च कल्पयेत् | छत्रचामरधारिण्यः स्त्रियः पार्श्वे प्रदर्शयेत्
42 | सिंहासनस्थमथवा लिखेद्गन्धर्वसंयुतम् | सिंहासनस्थे चापि गन्धर्वगणसंवृतम्
43 | इन्द्राणीं वामतस्तस्य लिखेदुत्पलधारिणीम् | इन्द्राणीं वामतश्चास्य कुर्याद्युत्पलधारिणीम्

(13) **पितृराज** AC 3/1/820; **यम** MP 261/12

44 | दण्डपाशधरम् | दण्डपाशधरम्
45 | प्रदीप्ताग्निविलोचनम् | दीप्ताग्निसमलोचनम्
46 | महामहिषमारूढम् | महामहिषमारूढम्
47 | कराळैः किङ्करैश्चैव | कराळाः किंकरास्तथा

(14) **राक्षसेन्द्र** AC 3/1/823; MP 261/15

48 | रक्षोभिर्बहुभिर्वृतम् | रक्षोभिर्बहुभिर्वृतम्

(15) **समीरण** AC 3/1/827; **वायु** MP 261/18

49	समीरणं प्रवक्ष्यामि धूम्रं हरिणवाहनम्	वायुरूपं प्रवक्ष्यामि धूम्रं तु मृगवाहनम्
50	चित्राम्बरधरम्	चित्राम्बरधरम्

(16) **हरमित्र** AC 3/1/829; **कुबेर** MP 261/20

51	द्रविणाध्यक्षपाणिनिः	धनाध्यक्षकरैः

(17) **ईशान** AC 3/1/832; **ईश** MP 261/23

52	त्रिशूलपाणिम्	त्रिशूलपाणिनम्

(18) Mothers AC 3/1/835; 9 Mothers MP 261/24

53	मातृणां लक्षणं वक्ष्ये	मातृणां लक्षणं वक्ष्ये

(19) **वीरेश्वर** AC: 3/1/837; MP 261/39

54	वृषारूढो जटाधरः	वृषारूढो जटाधरः

(20) **श्री** AC : 3/1/838; MP 261/40

55	श्रियं देवीं प्रवक्ष्यामि	श्रियं देवीं प्रवक्ष्यामि
56	मणिकुण्डलधारिणीम्	मणिकुण्डलधारिणीम्

(21) **नाग** AC: 3/1/842; MP 261/48

57	नागेरूर्वं	नागेरूर्वं

(22) **मनसिज** AC 3/1/852; **कुसुमायुध** MP 261/53

58	पार्श्वे वाऽधमुखः कार्यो मकरध्वजधारकः	पार्श्वे चाधमुखं तस्य मकरध्वजसंयुतम्
59	भाजनोपस्करान्विता	भोजनोपस्करान्विता

(23) **रव्यादि नवग्रह** AC 3/1/858; **प्रभाकर** MP 261/1

60	तेजसा कृती	तेजसाऽऽकृती

Now we know that there is no consensus among Sanskrit scholars about the date of Purāṇas. But it is generally believed that the earlier Purāṇas have come into being before the seventh century of the Christian era[1]. MP cannot be later than 1080 A.D., the date of Albīrūnī, who directly refers to that Purāṇa by name.[2] But the accepted date of AC is 1129 A.D. I must, therefore, naturally conclude that MP is the only chief source of AC for iconographic descriptions.

1. WINTERNITZ: *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 525.
2. *Ibid*, p. 526.

CANDRAGUPTA MAURYA AND THE MEHARAULI IRON PILLAR INSCRIPTION

By

H. C. SETH

In a recent issue of the *New Indian Antiquary*[1], Dr. O. STEIN has at length discussed my views, that Candra of the Mehrauli iron pillar inscription is identical with Candragupta Maurya, put forward in a paper "Inscriptional Evidence of Candragupta Maurya's Achievements".[2] Dr. O. STEIN seems to be convinced of my views that the Emperor Candra of the Mehrauli inscription is neither identical with Candragupta I or Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty, nor with Candravarman. But he does not agree with me in the other part of my suggestion that Candra is identical with Candragupta Maurya. He himself does not suggest that the inscription refers to any other ruler in Indian history, whose existence may otherwise be known through literary and other records. This negative attitude inevitably drives him to the conclusion that "the panegyric tenor of the 'praśasti' must not mislead to the assumption of a ruler of great power". This is not a correct view to take. The very fact that the Emperor Candra put up an iron column, so unique in the annals of early history, testifies to his power and greatness. There is also nothing in the inscription on the iron column to make us think that it is an exaggerated and false eulogy of some petty local chieftain.

In this paper, in trying to meet the difficulties raised by Dr. O. STEIN as regards the identification of Candra with Candragupta Maurya I shall confine myself to the main issues. It cannot be denied that there is a certain identity of names between Candra and Candragupta, and that like Candra, Candragupta Maurya also created a vast empire by his own efforts and held undisputed sway over it for a fairly long period. Dr. O. STEIN does not see eye to eye with us that the conquests of Candra described in the inscription could well be described as that of Candragupta Maurya. It seems that his ideas on the history of India during this period are not very clear. One fails to understand the logic of the following statement of his, "But neither can the people of the North-West who are mentioned in Aśoka's inscriptions, prove anything for the time of Candragupta, as they do not rank with the subjects of his dominion."[3] In the first place it is wrong to say that the Gandhāras, Kambojas, Yonas and Nābhakas were outside the dominion of Aśoka. These people are clearly distinguished from Antiochus of Syria in the north-west, and Colis and Pāndyas, Satyaputras and Keralaputras in the south, who appear to be the independent

1. "Round the Meharauli Inscription". *NIA.* No. 3. June 1938. pp. 188 ff.
2. *JIH.* XVI. 1937. 117 ff.
3. *NIA.* 1. 192.

neighbours of Aśoka. Secondly the mention of these north-western people in the Asokan inscriptions proves a great deal even as regards the extension of the empire of Candragupta over these people. It gives an absolutely reliable inscriptional evidence of the statement of the European classical writers that Candragupta conquered a great part of Ariane. As Strabo informs us "the Indus formed the boundary between India and Arianē, which lay immediately to the west, and was subject to the Persians; for in later times the Indians occupied a great part of the Arianē which they received from the Macedonians."[1] How this area was acquired by the Indians is also described by Strabo: "The order in which the nations of Arianē are placed is as follows: Along the Indus are the Paropamisadai at the base of the Paropamisos range; then towards the south are the Archotoi; to the south of whom succeed Gedrosenoi with the other nations who occupy the coast. The Indus runs in a parallel course along the breadth of these regions. The Indians possessed some of the countries lying along the Indus, but these belonged formerly to the Persians. Alexander took them away from the Arionoi and established in them colonies of his own. Seleukos Nikator gave them to Sandrakottos in concluding a marriage alliance, and received in exchange 500 elephants"[2].

Pliny also says that "most writers do not fix the Indus as the western boundary (of India), but add to it four satrapies of the Gedrosi, Arachotae, Arii, and Paropamisadai".[3] Vincent SMITH acutely remarks, "the observation of Pliny that numerous authors include in India the four satrapies of Gedrosia, Arachosia, Aria, and the Paropanisadae must have been based on the fact that at some period previous to A.D. 77, when his book was published, these four provinces were actually reckoned as part of India. At what time other than the period of the Maurya dynasty is it possible that those provinces should have formed part of India? Pliny's information about the country was mainly drawn from the writings of Megasthenes and the other contemporaries of Alexander, Candragupta and Seleukos; and the natural interpretation of his observation requires us to believe that the four satrapies in question were 'the large part of Ariane ceded by Seleukos'. Kabul and Kandahar frequently have been held by the sovereigns of India, and form part of the natural frontier of the country. Herat (Aria) is undoubtedly more remote, but can be held with ease by the power in possession of Kabul and Kandhar."[4] The information left to us by some of these classical writers of Candragupta's occupation of the north western India and the highlands of the Hindukush is in a very remarkable degree corroborated by the drama Mudrārākṣasa, which states that Candragupta conquered Magadha with the help of the people of this area. Among others we cannot fail to recognise Yavanas, Kambojas, Pārasīkas and Vāhlikas, who formed part of Candragupta's army of occupation of Magadha. In the light of this incon-

1. M'CRINDLE, *Ancient India* (1901 ed.), p. 16.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
3. *Hist. Nat.*, VI. 23.
4. *Early History of India*, p. 151.

trovertible evidence both Indian and Greek, supported by the inscriptional evidence provided by Aśokan Edicts, that the highlands of Hindukush formed part of the empire of Candragupta, we fail to understand why Dr. O. STEIN feels so surprised at our suggestion that the *highlands* of Bactria were included in Candragupta's empire. It is likely that these highlands this side formed the boundary line between the empire of Candragupta and Seleucus. It does not preclude the possibility of some parts of old Bactria being included in the empire of Seleucus, which later on became independent under Diodōtos. On very strong grounds Bāhlīka has been identified with modern Balkh (old Bactria) which lay across the seven tributaries of the Indus, and which had played such an important part from the earliest time in Indian, Persian, and Central Asian history. The general terms in which the conquest by Candra of the different parts of his empire are described also indicate that Bāhlīka must refer to a country and people across the Indus who were well-known in the early centuries of the Christian era. Even if it be disputed that Bāhlīka is identical with Bactria and that Candragupta conquered any part of Bactria, we have yet the clear evidence of *Mudrārākṣasa* that according to the Indian traditions Candragupta held sway over the Vāhlīkas. The main issue involved here is that the Indian traditions regarding Candragupta, like the Meharauli inscription for Candra, inform us that he conquered Bāhlīkas. It will not be relevant to discuss here whether Chinese Turkestan and other parts of Central Asia also were included in the Mauryan empire[1]. Dr. O. STEIN has not yet carefully gone into the whole case.

The reference to the conquest of the enemies in the Vanga country in the Meharauli inscription evidently again in general terms suggests that the emperor Candra carried a successful campaign in eastern India. There cannot be any doubt that Candragupta also conquered the vast kingdom of Nandas in the east. *Mudrārākṣasa* hints at a bloody encounter with Nandas before Candragupta's occupation of Pataliputra. *Milindapañho* also records a terrific battle between Candragupta and Nandas. Curiously enough Dr. O. STEIN suggests, "the sources say nothing of a war between confederated peoples and Nanda on one side, and Candragupta on the other side; rather, the stories about the beginning of Candragupta's career point to his gaining slowly more and more followers till he could get so much power to ascend the throne, appearing as a liberator too."[2]

The Meharauli inscription also refers in general terms to the conquest of southern India by the Emperor Candra. In controverting our suggestion that Candragupta also conquered considerable parts of India beyond the Vindhyas, Dr. O. STEIN again makes a statement which ignores the well ascertained historical facts. He remarks the "argument which declares that a considerable part of the country beyond the Vindhya was included in the

1. We have discussed afresh the question in a paper "Kingdom of Khotan under the Mauryas", read before the VIII International History Congress, Zürich. It is being shortly published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*.

2. *NIA.* 1. 193-194.

Maurya empire and that it is certain that Aśoka did not conquer it, lacks any proof".[1] Two facts are absolutely clear from the Aśokan inscriptions. One, that the edicts were inscribed in the various parts of the dominions governed by him. They fairly well mark the boundary of his empire and show that a considerable part of the country south of the Vindhyas was included in his empire. Internal evidence in the inscriptions also shows that the Cōḷas, Pāṇḍyas, Satiyaputras and Keralaputra in the extreme south were the independent border states. Secondly, that Aśoka only conquered Kaliṅga. Evidently we conclude that the part of the country between the Vindhyas and the independent kingdoms of the south mentioned above was conquered either by Candragupta himself or by his son, Bindusāra. The evidence that we have put together in the paper under discussion weighs more in favour of Candragupta himself conquering considerable parts of the country beyond the Vindhyas. Some parts may have also been conquered by Bindusāra. The fact that some of the classical writers following Megasthenes mentioned the military forces of certain of the Indian races of the time of Candragupta does not necessarily show that they were outside Candragupta's empire. It is well-known that in India very often a conquering monarch allowed the vanquished kings to rule the conquered territory under his suzerainty, the subordinate kings maintaining considerable armed forces. Dr. O. STEIN is also not correct in saying that "the military forces only of southern peoples are mentioned in the list of the peoples and kingdom, going back apparently to Magasthenes". Pliny along with the forces maintained by Candragupta himself, as well as the Andhras, Kaliṅgas and other tribes, also mentions the military strength of certain hill tribes living between the Indus and the Jumna. "The hill-tribes between the Indus and the Iomanes are the Cesi; the Cetriboni, who live in the woods; then the Megallae, whose king is master of five hundred elephants and an army of horse and foot of unknown strength; the Chrysei, the Parsagae, and the Asangae, where tigers abound, noted for their ferocity. The force under arms consists of 30,000 foot, 300 elephants, and 800 horse. These are shut in by the Indus, and are surrounded by a circle of mountains and deserts over a space of 625 miles".[2] Moreover the fragments of Megasthenes that have been reported to us by the classical writers do not inform us as to when and for what period he was at the court of Candragupta. May be that he was with Candragupta in the early part of his reign and left India before Candragupta undertook the expedition towards the South, which he would have done towards the later part of his reign after his power was fully consolidated in the North.

The references in South Indian literature of the southern invasion of the Mauryas is of an early date.[3] As these references to the Mauryas occur along

1. *NIA.* 1. 189.

2. M'CRINDLE's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian.* p. 145 (1926 ed.).

3. The date of the Tamil poet Māmulaṉār who refers to the southern invasion of Mauryas is not definitely ascertained. Prof. DIKSHITAR assigns him to the period 230 B.C. and 300 A.D. (*The Mauryan Polity* p. 64.)

with the Nandas, in all probability they refer to the invasion of Candragupta. These indicate that he invaded Southern India via Koṅkaṇa. Saurāṣṭra, we know from Rudradāman's inscription, was within his empire. Koṅkaṇa was also within Mauryan empire as is evidenced by the existence of the fragments of Aśoka's Major Rock Edicts found in Sopara near Bombay. This part too was not conquered by Aśoka, but he inherited it from his father and grandfather. Thus, the fact that Kalinga in the east was not included in Candragupta's empire will not militate against his conquest of Southern India from westward as indicated in the Tamil literature.

The following passages from *Mudrārākṣasa*, which indicate the extension of the empire of Candragupta to southern parts of India, are regarded by Dr. O. STEIN as expressing in a conventional form the wishes and the extent of the dominions.

(1) चाणक्यः—

आ शैलेन्द्रात्त्रिलक्षान्तःस्खलितसुरनदीवीचिरासारशीताद्
आ तीरान्तैकरागस्फुरितमणिरुचो दक्षिणस्यार्णवस्य।
आगत्यागत्य भीतिप्रपतनृपशतैः शश्वदेव क्रियन्तां
चूडारत्नांशुगर्भास्तव चरणयुगस्यातुलीरन्ध्रनागाः॥

राजा। आर्यप्रसादादनुभूयत एवैतत्।

(2) चाणक्यः—

अम्भोधीनां तमालप्रभवकिसलयश्यामनेलवनानाम्
आ पारेभ्यश्चतुर्णां चटुलतिमिकुलक्षोभितान्तर्जलानाम्।
मालेवाम्लानपुण्या नतनृपतिशतैरुह्यते या शिरोभिः
सा मय्येव स्खलन्ती प्रथयति विनयालंकृतं ते प्रभुत्वम्॥ (Act. III.

It is to be noted that if we put these passages in their proper context, they seem to indicate that the extension of Candragupta's empire upto the southern oceans was taken by the author of the drama not as a mere conventional expression but as a fact. True, by themselves these passages could not be of much value in establishing the fact that Candragupta conquered considerable parts of the country beyond the Vindhyas. But they have their value as evidence when taken along with other independent evidence pointing to the same fact. In any case they point to a tradition prevailing in the time of the author of *Mudrārākṣasa* that Candragupta's empire extended to southern oceans. It is at par with the similar statement (यस्याज्ञाप्यधिवास्ते वसतिर्धिषणैर्दक्षिणः) recorded for the Emperor Candra in the Meharauli inscription. Scholars of Indian literature will not find it possible to accept the strange suggestion of Dr. O. STEIN that the Southern Ocean "does not point to the Deccan, but rather to the coast of the Indus delta"[1].

Thus, we find that Dr. O. STEIN has not advanced any convincing reason which may make us revise the statement that we made in the other paper that "if we assume, as there is every reason to do, that the iron pillar ins-

1. *NIA.* 1. 198.

cription is an honest and unexaggerated statement of the conquest of a really powerful monarch, the inscription can apply to none so well and correctly as to the great founder of the illustrious Maurya dynasty."[1]

The main question in identifying Candra with Candragupta Maurya is the palæographic nature of the Mehrauli inscription. Scholars, with a great deal of certainty, palæographically place the inscription in the early Gupta period. Fleet drew the attention to the significant fact that "allowing for the stiffness resulting from engraving so hard a substance as the iron of this column, they approximate in many respects very closely to those of the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta."[2] Now one of the significant questions regarding the Mehrauli inscription is whether it is posthumous or not. If it is not posthumous, and the record was put in the life time of Candra himself, who according to the inscription also set up the iron pillar, then epigraphic evidence will lend a very great support to Candragupta I or Candragupta II being identical with Candra. If it is posthumous, then, as we shall discuss below, it becomes extremely doubtful if the inscription refers to any of the Gupta kings at all.

Until recently it was generally believed that the Meharauli inscription was a posthumous record, but of late Dr. BHANDARKAR[3] and Mr. Dasaratha SHARMA[4] have raised doubts regarding its being so. But no convincing argument has been advanced by these scholars to show that it is not posthumous. We give below the reasons for which we regard it to be definitely a posthumous record.

(1) The expression in the first stanza that by the breezes of his valour the southern ocean is even still perfumed[5] could not be used for a monarch who was alive.

(2) The expression in the second stanza[6] that his glory and fame, which recall his great prowess which destroyed his enemies, do not even now leave the earth could hardly be a suitable eulogy of a king who is alive. There is hardly any reason to think that the fame of a monarch yet alive in the fulness of his glory should leave this earth before the king himself has left it.

(3) In the same stanza the simile that his fame does not even now leave the earth like (the remnant of the great glowing heat) of a burned out fire in a great forest would be a fit description of the achievement only

1. *IIH.* Vol. XVI. p. 127.
2. *CII.* Vol. III. p. 140.
3. *Indian Culture* 3, 511.
4. *IIH.* XVI. Part I, and Vol. XVII. Part I.
5. यस्याद्याप्यधिवास्यते जलनिधिर्वीर्यानिलैर्दक्षिणः
6. खिन्नस्येव विसृज्य गां नरपतेर्गामाश्रितस्येतरां
मूर्त्या कर्मजितावनीं गतवतः कीर्त्या स्थितस्य क्षितौ ।
शान्तस्येव महावने हुतभुजो यस्य प्रतापो महा-
न्नाद्याप्युत्सृजति प्रणाशितरिपोर्यस्यस्य शेषः क्षितिम् ॥

of a monarch who is dead. It will be ridiculous to compare the fame of a living monarch with the heat of a burned out fire.

(4) The way in which the conquests of Candra are described in a general way, without specifying in detail as to the kings, conquered by him also indicates that the inscription was put on the iron column much after the death of the Emperor eulogised in it. We may contrast it, in this respect, with Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription, where details of the conquests of different kings, peoples and territories are given.

(5) We have a more direct evidence that the monarch was not alive at the time of the engraving of the inscription in the following lines.

खिन्नस्येव विसृज्य गां नरपतेर्गोमाश्रितस्योर्जितां
मूर्त्या कर्मजितावनीं गतवतः कीर्त्या स्थितस्य क्षितौ ॥

The inscription, thus, indicates that the monarch was not killed in the battle-field or otherwise murdered, he, in fullness of years wearied of the world, had gone to heaven won by his actions. It is this generally accepted interpretation of these lines that has been called in question recently by Mr. Dasharatha SHARMA. He argues that in the above stanza "the word 'pratāpa' is syntactically as much connected with खिन्नस्येव नरपतेः and प्रणष्टारिरिपोर्दिवम् as with शान्तस्येव हुतभुजः and, therefore the correct reading of the verse should be as follows :—

"He whose 'pratāpa', the remnant of that energy, which destroyed his enemies, does not even now leave the earth like the heat (pratāpa) of an ash-covered fire or like the glory (pratāpa) of a monarch who though bodily gone to another world, won by his actions, still remains on the earth by his fame." Mr. Dasharatha SHARMA, then concludes "Thus translated the verse gives no ground for the statement that the inscription is posthumous. All that it asserts,and that of course in a very poetical and beautiful way, is that his supremacy and unequalled prestige at the time of incising the record were the result of a number of successful battles in the past in which he uprooted and destroyed his enemies."[1]

Mr. Sharma's interpretation of the above passage, even if grammatically acceptable, will be senseless and highly unpoetic. It will be absurd to compare the glory of a living monarch with the glory of an un-named dead king or with the heat of a burned out fire. Equally absurd is it to say that it was not Candra, but the un-named dead king, who wearied of this world, had bodily gone to heaven won by his actions. It will look more like the eulogy of the un-named dead king than that of king Candra. The remark, that the king, wearied of this world, had gone to heaven won by his actions, will have sense and force only if it applies to Candra himself. It will, then, be in line with other ideas expressed in the poem; and we get a coherent account that, though at the time when the inscription was put on the pillar king Candra after fully enjoying the earth had gone to heaven, merited by his

1. *JIH.* Vol. XVI. Part. I, p. 13. ff.

actions, yet even at that time his fame perfumed the breezes of the southern ocean, and the memory of his valour and prowess, which destroyed his enemies, yet persisted in the world, like the heat of a great burned out forest fire.

Thus, if we examine carefully we find that the whole force and the beauty of the Meharauli inscription lies in the fact that it describes the achievements of some monarch who was dead, and dead long before it was written. Not only the inscription would be a most unsuitable monument of a king's achievements in his own life time, but it is unlikely that it was a record put up even by his son, or grandson. It will ill fit a son, even if he partially inherits his farther's great achievements, to say that the glory of his father persists even in his own time, and that his fame is like the heat of a burned out fire, and then round of by saying that the pillar was put by a king called Candra (चन्द्रेण) without giving either his own name or that of any of his anscestors prior to Candra.

If we regard it as a posthumous record of Candragupta I, it is improbable that Samudragupta would have commemorated the achievements of his father in the form of the Meharauli pillar inscription. Similarly it is also very unlikely that the son of Candragupta II would have commemorated his father's achievement in this form. Besides this, the early character of the epigraphy of the inscription will preclude the second possibility. Moreover the absence in the Meharauli inscription of the general setting, characteristic of the Gupta inscriptions, makes it highly improbable that it refers to any of the Gupta kings. Mr. Allan correctly observes, "Not only is there no real ground for identifying Candra with Candragupta II, but it is improbable that the inscription belongs to this dynasty at all"[1]. We have elsewhere given other reasons also which make it improbable that Candra is identical with Candragupta I or Candragupta II.[2].

The following points emerge from the above discussion :—

(1) Candra, who himself had put up the iron pillar, was not alive at the time the inscription was incised on the pillar. He was, perhaps, dead long before. It will be idle to discuss whether Candra himself put an inscription on the iron pillar. If, as is likely, the Dhar iron pillar was also put up by him, it seems that Candra left no record on these pillars. We have also the stone pillar at Kausambi, which undoubtedly belongs to the Mauryan period, but there is no record on it of that time. Since we never suggested that the inscription under consideration belongs to the time of Candragupta Maurya, or is the restoration of the old one, Dr. O. Stein's difficulty "that Aśoka never used Sanskrit, all his inscriptions are not only in different Prakrit dialects, but also entirely in prose, while here Sanskrit and the śārdūlvikrīḍita metre are used",[3] is entirely irrelevant.

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1. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, p. XXXVIII.
2. *JIH*. Vol. XVI p. 117 ff.
3 *NIA*. 1. 194.

(2) Epigraphically the inscription with a great deal of certainty has been assigned to the early Gupta period. As Fleet suggested, its characters very closely resemble that of Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. This makes it unnecessary to seek a *post Gupta* king who could be identical with Candra.

(3) It is highly improbable that the inscription refers to any of the Gupta kings themselves.

(4) We are forced to the conclusion that the inscription is an eulogy of some great *pre-Gupta* king, who himself had erected the iron column, but the inscription under consideration was incised on it in the Gupta period, perhaps, in the reign of Samudragupta.

The question, therefore, is who this pre-Gupta king could be, who was so much idolised in the time of the Guptas. Jayaswal correctly observes, "There is a revival of the tradition of Candragupta Maurya in Gupta times. Royal parents name their sons after him. Viśākhadatta compares him with Viṣṇu in his play.....Candragupta's laws in the *Kauṭilya* are closely reproduced in the *Nārada Smṛti*. Candragupta's *Artha-Śāstra* is versified and adapted in the *Kāmandakīya Nītisara*. There is an ambition, partly realised, of founding a large empire from Pāṭaliputra like that of Candragupta Maurya"[1].

When we couple the fact that Candragupta Maurya was so greatly idolised in the Gupta times, during which period the inscription on the iron column was also put, along with the facts discussed above that the career and the conquests of Candra so closely resemble that of Candragupta Maurya, we are left with a conviction that Candra of the Meharauli inscription is the first Great Maurya. All the Indian traditions Brāhmanical, Jain and Buddhist, as well as the Greek do not throw any light on the parentage of this great man. It seems that, perhaps, even at the time when the inscription was put on the iron column the parentage of Candragupta was forgotten. This may account why it has not been referred to in the Mehrauli inscription. But the traditions of his great conquests as well as of the fact that he had put up the iron column had persisted during the Gupta period, when the panegyric was inscribed, like what we do to-day when we put fitting memorials to old historical monuments after lapse of centuries. The suggestion that it was, perhaps, put at the command of the Great Emperor Samudragupta is a surmise based on the facts that the characters of the iron pillar inscription resemble so closely the character of his own inscription in the Allahabad pillar, and a great conqueror more easily appreciates the greatness of another conqueror.

1. *Hindu Polity* Pt. I. p. 215.

CORRESPONDENCE

MY RESEARCH IN EUROPE—III

No evidence is so decisive and illustrative of the true conditions of our historic past as that of contemporary records. Moreover, the fact that each writer presents his own point of view not only adds to the interest but illustrates more clearly the angle of vision through which those events were looked upon by that particular part of the society. It shows at least one aspect of contemporary life. The Factory and General Records at the India Office possess a great treasure trove of this kind of first rate evidence for the history of India. The extraction and classification of selected material under different subjects would doubtless afford an extensive and valuable data for the history of the last three and a half centuries.

The Factory Records have 1850 volumes and the General Records over 3000 volumes. In addition to these, there are separate sections under "Proceedings in India (1854-58) and (1859-1898)", "Proceedings in Bengal (1704-1858) and (1859-1897)", "Proceedings in Bombay (1702-1900)", "Proceedings in Madras (1702-1900)", "Minor Administrations (1834-1899)", and "Marine Records (1600 onward)." These may contain more than 5000 volumes. But my remarks are limited to the "Factory and General Records and such portions of the other Records as pertain to the period upto 1800 A.D." The sizes of these volumes vary from 9" × 13" to 18" × 24" with between 200 to 1200 pages each. The mode of writing differs not only with the course of time but with individual copyist. Apart from a few exceptions in the seventeenth century, a large hand with sufficient space between the lines is used, and is a welcome relief to the eye which is strained while running across the faint impressions on the soiled and age-worn paper. A number of abbreviations and words with a peculiar meaning sometimes differing from the current usage have been employed.

The manner of correspondence adopted by the East India Company will indicate how this large volume of the records has been built up. Each factory had to maintain its Registers of Diaries, Consultations and Accounts in addition to its daily correspondence. Copies of all these were made out and submitted to London periodically, either directly or through the official Superiors in India. All letters, with their accompaniments, addressed to the Company were prepared in triplicate, and the first copy was sent on by the sea or overland route, and the duplicates and triplicates by subsequent ships. Thus the Company in London would ordinarily receive three copies of the correspondence and one copy of each of the Registers. Rarely of course, seventh or eighth copy is seen in the records. Copies of the local correspondence in the Inward and Outward Registers of the respective Factories were also sent to the Company Directors for perusal; but these were multiplied by the inclusion of such letters in Diaries or Consultations and sometimes as accompaniments.

In addition to this Factory correspondence, Commodores of ships were required to maintain and submit their Journals to the Company and the ambassadors or negotiators their narratives to their Superiors in India. Not all these copies exist in the present records. The majority of the correspondence is in duplicate. Only a few are single and the rest are in more than two copies. Thus a research worker often comes across the same material more than twice. This multiplies his work no doubt, but the corresponding advantage derived by way of corrections of inaccurate dates and names in one or the other amply compensates the labour. This system was, however, revised just after the middle of the eighteenth century. Consultations and Accounts continued to reach London as before, but

the degree of safety ensured in the conveyance proportionately discouraged the necessity of confirmatory copies.

Besides the deficiencies and omissions in the correspondence, the original letters, treaties and other documents of vital importance received from the Native Power and submitted to the Court of Directors for perusal, as also the news sheets frequently referred to during the course of correspondence between 1690 and 1720 are untraceable in these Records.

The correspondence was primarily a business correspondence, but it often contained casual or even important news full of events. The Factors, no doubt, restricted their correspondence to commerce, but while in the course of business they witnessed the grandeur of the Mogul Court, they were naturally inclined to describe what they saw there. Their trade grew and spread; developments in the political atmosphere of the surrounding country began to influence their output; and this necessitated explanations to their masters. Still there was not much occasion to note the current political news of the country as such, but Shivaji's loot of the Rajapore Factory (1660) in order to punish the English Factors for their interference in the local affairs, made them more conscious of the need to be well-informed of what was happening in the neighbourhood. The territorial interests began to develop well after the sack of Surat (1664) and the Factors became more inquisitive about affairs in neighbouring kingdoms. Consequently, the news has been a reliable source of contemporary evidence of the events up to Sambhaji's death (1689). Thereafter, some uncertainty prevailed on the Western Coast and the Great Mogul's progress imposed severe restrictions on their activities. The unsettled state of the Deccan appears to be another cause for the sudden absence of news in the Bombay and Surat Records till about 1720. Madras, however, remained for sometime eventful and Bengal embroiled in contest with the Nabob; but activities around Madras after 1700 attract students of the Maratha History less because the scene of the struggle was shifted from the South to Maharashtra again. During this period Surat and Bombay were themselves experiencing troubles from the local chiefs and their records are consequently broken and incomplete. They recorded only rare news of such events as directly affected their safety and of Angre's rise on the sea. With the expansion of the Maratha Empire, Bengal, Bombay and Madras became once more full of life and the news from all over India became of particular interest to them. Among the subordinate Factories, Hugley and Carwar were particularly active. These Subordinate Factories generally did not show any appreciable zeal in this respect, perhaps for want of the necessary penmanship. This defect is visible even in the Superior or Head Factories at times whenever their heads possessed less ambition and vision for their achievements.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the English Power was sufficiently established in India to be able to treat with and to maintain Resident Ambassadors at the different capitals of kings and chiefs. These Factories henceforward devoted a separate section to political and administrative affairs. Much vigilance and care was bestowed in securing detailed political news with accuracy. The introduction of Select and Secret Committees with powers to control the political activities in India, made the conduct and behaviour of the Factors more regulated, and administration more systematized and perhaps very rigidly controlled. Every aspect of political life was being examined with thoroughness, and well considered and soundly weighed points of view and decisions in regard to the various subjects concerning their relations with the different Indian Powers were recorded. Especially, the Bengal Secret Committee, as the supreme authority in India, considered and discussed every proposal or move from all its bearings on the political life of the country and safety of their own people before any advice as to the procedure was issued to its subordinate Governments. As a natural outcome of

these deliberations, particularly well-sifted material has become available for the history of that period.

The extracts and selections by Danvers from the Dutch, Portuguese and French records at the various depositaries in their kingdoms, which have been secured at the India Office enhance the value of the Factory Records considerably. Some extracts of importance from the original English and Dutch Records have been available in the Orme and Mackenzie Collections and some in the Home Miscellaneous Series. These greatly help students to secure a groundwork and afford a clearer insight into what should be gleaned from the original records.

The bias, which this evidence exhibits, divides these Records, in a broader sense, into three parts. In the first or earlier part, news has more or less a blunt appearance. It is often incomplete and somewhat distorted. It displays very little of the true understanding of the people and the country. In the second period, after the awakening of territorial interests, it improved in information and facts; but still no signs of fair-mindedness of the wider vision of the situation are in evidence. The tendency was more to dazzle the Court of Directors at Home and their Superiors in India with the possibilities of their achievements and the scope for valuable services to their masters. Not unnaturally, advantage was taken of the remoteness of the country to avoid making statements that might injure the prestige of the party or to try to explain away awkward situations arisen out of their failures. Orders laid down from London from time to time were often transgressed, and any losses sustained in such actions had to be minimised or attributed to some kind of real or unreal violation, or atrocities on the part of the natives. The duplicity, which their ambition dictated them to exercise, was, if possible, kept secret from their masters. The third period commences from the establishment of the English Power. It is full of discourses guided by logic and caution and has as its aim an effectual organised mass action for a permanent power than any ideal of encouraging the zeal and ardour of any individual servant. It is full of politics with a very little tendency for distortion of facts, except perhaps in the Memoirs, which were occasioned by the necessity for self-defence or directed to justify the writer's conduct against the charges imputed to him directly or indirectly.

This short review of the Records is made simply to show their bearing on Indian History in general and Maratha History in particular down to 1800. Of course, much light on the commercial, economic and social spheres can be shed by the material. This will be more evident from the various but published memoranda and catalogues showing the contents of these Records.

Many attempts to study these Records have been made. Results in some cases have been made public, but space here will not permit a detailed bibliography. Only a short commentary may be possible. The "English Factory Records", "Court Minutes" etc., by Foster and Sainsbury are complete upto 1685, but their continuations in different series upto 1677 have a particular end in view. "Forrest's Collections" and "Selections" relative to particular events have the same object which marks Sir William Foster's later publications. The Madras Government have published their Records, but they have not attempted to complete it by supplementing the omissions and filling the gaps from the records available in a more perfect condition at the India Office. A considerable treasure of great importance has thus been left behind. The "Selections from the Governor General's Correspondences" are neither complete nor general, but have been made with some specific purpose. The Press Lists of the Records at the Bengal Secretariat Record Room, especially of the Revenue and Judicial matters, are not much help to political history. The Press Lists or 'Catalogues of the Secretariat Records—Bombay' are also inadequate in their details. The "Charters, Treaties, Engagements, etc., with the British Rule in India" have been published

in more than one series ; but they need supplementing by those which have not been filed separately but incorporated in the ordinary factory correspondence dating before 1750. The Bombay Government have produced selections from the Residency Records, but they date from 1783 onwards. Messrs. Gense and Barnaji's publications on Mostyn's Embassy to Poona and activities of the Gulcowars of Baroda do afford much information of the period, but they are incomplete even for the purpose they are intended for. Some extracts do appear in Travels, Journals, Biographies and history books, but they are necessarily limited to the purpose for which they are attempted, and are not of great help to scholars working on other subjects or from a different angle of vision. Only a few memoirs have been published and a few incorporated in history books. All these publications are, of course, not the result of the study of the India Office Records only but also of the various Presidency Records in India.

A great help will be rendered to history if the correspondence and consultations of the Select or Secret Departments are published. These are different from the General and Revenue matters and now possess no special or particular political or military value. Nor do they retain any secret or confidential nature as will affect the present administration in India, particularly so because Treaties and engagements with the Native Powers have been made available in extenso. Such a publication will certainly create a larger, clearer and true vision of our historic past in the minds of both Indians and Englishmen and will remove the misunderstanding fostered by the sporadic publications of certain memoirs and histories by those who had neither the material nor a true understanding of the people and conditions of the historic times.

Since my second report of 1st October 1938, I exclusively devoted myself to these records. The portion of the records I could go through during the period of seven months is as follows:

Section	Number of Volumes		
	To be seen	Perused	Remaining to be seen
Factory Records			
Bombay	30	30	...
Broach	5	1	4
Surat	119	45	74
O. C. or original letters from India .	69	69	...
do. Duplicates & Triplicates ...	11	11	...
Miscellaneous	25	25	...
Letters to India	28	28	...
Drafts of Despatches	10	10	...
General Records			
Danvers Collections			
(b) French Records	13	13	...
(c) Portuguese Records ...	7	3	4
Home Series	541	3	538
Bengal Letters received ...	40	22	18
India Office			
Orme Collection	180	21	159
British Museum			
English	23	2	21
Total ...	1101	283	818

This brings the total of 872 manuscripts examined during the period of one and quarter years of my stay.

For comparison and other purposes, more than 103 publications have to be gone through, and four or five publications now rare have been copied down during the seven months.

About 100 more photographs of old historical paintings have been added to this collection.

In view of the short period remaining at my disposal, I am aiming at completing the work at the India Office up to 1794, but of course this will necessitate my obtaining some paid assistance in copying. It will not be possible to visit Dutch, French and Portuguese depositaries. The only satisfaction I can have will be that I was able to secure the cream of the material through the Danvers Collections.

V. S. Bendrey

London, 1st May 1939.

NEW TRACES OF THE GREEKS IN INDIA

By

STEN KONOW, Oslo

In the autumn of 1937 the Director General of Archæology in India issued a press communiqué about the discovery of a relic casket, with an important Kharoṣṭhī inscription, in Bajaur. We were told that 'it records the enshrinement of the relic of Buddha by one Vijayamitra (who may have been a petty dignitary) in the time of the Maharaja Menander. The date is given as the 25th day of the month of Vaiśākha in the fifth year of the King, who must have lived about 150 B. C. ... The name of the writer of the record has been scribled at the bottom of the casket as one Vikila.'

I wrote at once to the Director General and asked if it would be possible to get photographs. He kindly replied that the inscription would soon be published, and that the only correction he would make in the communiqué was that the name of the scribe is not *Vikila*, but *Viśpila*.

It was at once clear that this new record might prove to be of outstanding importance, because we have so few traces of the Greeks in India. This state of things has now, after the appearance of the communique, been well elucidated in W. W. TARN's fascinating book, 'The Greeks in Bactria and India,' Cambridge 1938.

If we abstract from the *Milindapañha* and the assumed mentioning of Dattamitra (Demetrius) in a passage of the *Mahābhārata*, and from frequent allusions to Yavanas in literature and some loan-words we are chiefly restricted to some inscriptions with Greek names or with reference to Yavanas (Yonas), and even TARN's short list is too full, for O. STEIN has shown, *Indian Culture*, p. 345, that my reading *Dewipor* on a Taxila seal is wrong, what I ought to have seen myself.

These records are more important as showing how the Greeks were influenced by Indian nations than as sources containing traces of Greek institutions and Greek civilization. An important exception is the Kharoṣṭhī inscription mentioning the meridarkh Theüdora. For, as F. W. THOMAS has shown, *Festschrift Ernst Windisch*, Leipzig 1914, pp. 362 ff., it contains a trace of the Greek administrative system in India, which is also of interest to classical scholars, because the charge of meridarkh is not too well known from Greek sources.

When I edited the Theüdora inscription in the *Corpus* I did not venture to say more than that it is one of the oldest, perhaps the oldest, of all post-Aśokan Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions and cannot be *later* than the middle of the first century B. C. Now after the Menander epigraph has been published, we can confidently assign it to the middle of the second century B.C., so that

Theüdor was probably an official under Menander, and the charge of meridarkh was introduced already then.

It was not, however, an ephemeral institution, for the title occurs again in a Taxila record, where the name of the officer has been lost. In the *Corpus* I tentatively assigned this record to the second half of the first century B.C., but it now came to me to be a little younger, and it certainly belongs to a period when Greek rule in Taxila had come to an end. It thus confirms the impression we have formed from other indications that the Sakas, and still more the Parthians, in India continued the Greek administrative system,[1] and here we have a real trace of the Greeks in the country.

TARN has tried to show that we have several traces of the Greek *poleis* which we know existed in India, in the Yavanas mentioned in several records from Western India. He thinks that these Yavanas were Indians, who were citizens of some Greek *polis*. His argument is mainly based on two records.

In the Nāsik inscription No. 18, Indrāgnidatta, whose name shows him to have been an Indian, is described as *otarāka*, *Dātāmitiyaka*, and *Yoṇaka*. There can be no doubt that *otarāka* means a "northerner", and *Dātāmitiyaka* i.e. certainly the same as *Dattāmitrīya*, which is mentioned in the Kāśikā on Pāṇini IV ii 123 as example of a derivative of a local name outside the eastern country. Nor can there be any doubt that this local name might be a popular rendering of Greek Demetrias. On the other hand, the designation *otarāka* (*uttarāka*) makes it, so far as I can see, impossible to follow TARN in thinking of a Demetrias in Patalene. We must accept the explanation of SENART and others that we have to do with Demetrias in Arachosia. This is also borne out by the form *Yoṇaka*, which is mainly restricted to the North-West, if we abstract from the Aśoka inscriptions and an uncertain case from Sanchi. TARN pp. 416 ff., maintains that *Yoṇaka* must have come to India from Hellenistic Greek. From the view-point of Indology it can of course be a regular formation from *Yona*, but TARN may be right about the origin, though it is hardly justified to say that the word even came into actual use in India proper. Also the *Milindapañha*, where it occurs, points to the North-West.[1]

The other record utilized by TARN is the Karle inscription No. 10. This inscription consists of two short lines, one above the other: *Dhenukākaṭā*

1. TARN has also, p. 257, tried to settle the question about the date of this record. He says about Indrāgnidatta: "He knew enough current Greek to call himself Yonaka, and Demetrias in Patalene still kept its Greek name. As *Yonaka* was still in use c. 50 B.C., while Demetrias had gone out of use in the Roman period, the date ought to be somewhere between ca. 50 and ca. 30 B.C." This argument falls with the proper location of Demetrias, the remark about *Yonaka* being in use c.50 B.C. being based on the assumption that the Yung-k'ü of the Older Han Annals is *Yonaki*, which may or may not be right, but does not prove anything for other districts than the North-West. On p. 376 TARN has been misled by SENART's translation of *mātāpitaro* as "father and mother" to the conclusion that Indrāgnidatta 'had been slightly affected by Greek custom.'

and *dhaṃmayavaṇasa*, respectively. Different explanations have been suggested, and TARN thinks that 'the Indian who called himself Dhammayavana thereby claimed that he carried out the duties of a Greek *citizen*; that is, he was a citizen of a Greek *polis*. In other words, a *Dharmayavana* would be a person who adopted the *Yavanadharma*. I cannot find this explanation more likely than the old ones. I do not know whether we can be sure that the word is complete. It is *à priori* tempting to assume that we have only a fragment: *Dhaṇukhākaṭā* [....*deya*] *dhaṃma Yavaṇasa*.... Else it seems possible either to assume that *dhaṃma* stands for *deyadhaṃma*, the space being too limited for the whole word, or that *dhaṃmayavaṇa* was a *yavaṇa* in charge of the dharma-department. In that case *yavaṇa* would be the designation of an official. STEIN has, l. c. p. 347, stressed the fact that a singular *Yavaṇa* in these words frequently occurs in connection with a genitive plural, so that we would naturally translate "the Yavaṇa of" such and such corporation or group.

I am not able to give a satisfactory explanation of the word *Yavaṇa* in these inscriptions. But I do not see how it can, in any way, prove the existence of Indian citizens of Greek *poleis*. And then one of the few traces of the Greeks in India disappears.

In such circumstances it is intelligible that we looked forward to the publication of the Menandar record with great expectations.

Now the inscription has appeared, in P. I. of Vol. XXIV of the *Epigraphia Indica*, edited by the late N. G. MAJUMDAR, whose untimely death means the loss of a very promising scholar. The edition is accompanied by good plates, which makes it easy to control reading and translation.

The inscription is engraved on a damaged steatite casket, and only a small portion of it, on the remaining part of the lid, can be referred to Menander. On the top we read *Minedrasa Maharajasa Kaṭiyasa divasa* 4 4 4 1 1 *praṇa* [*sa*] *meda* .. .. (*thavi*) *tu* 'of the Maharaja Menander, 12th day of Kārttika, endowed with life....was established,' and on the inner face of the lid *praṇasameda*.... *Śakamuṇisa* 'endowed with life.... of Śākyamuni.' It is evident that the establishment of relics of the Buddha is meant, but I do not know what *praṇasameda* really implies.

There is not, in the remaining part of this record, any mention of the year, and it is of no use to make guesses. The chief importance of this portion rests with the fact that we here get a starting point for judging about the palæography of the oldest post-Aśokan Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, which I have already utilized above.

There is another, later, record on the lid: *Vijaya* [*mit*] *ra. pate pradithaviđe* 'the receptacle was put up by Vijayamitra'. MAJUMDAR rightly assumes that it is contemporaneous with the larger inscription, inside the casket, and refers it to sometime in the 1st century B.C. The rather close agreement with the palæography of the Mathurā Lion Capital certainly leads us to think of the middle of the first century B.C., perhaps shortly after the death of Moga, in the very beginning of the Parthian period.

According to MAJUMDAR, a short passage between ll. 1 and 2 of the inside inscription belongs to the same time as the Menander portion : *Viyakamitrasa apracarajasa* 'of Viyamitra, the king with no rival'. MAJUMDAR assumes that Viyakamitra was the real donor, and was a ruling prince under Menander.

So far as I can see this assumption is absolutely impossible. Palæographical reasons are already decisive. The *sa* is just of the same kind as in the inside record, and there is a bottom stroke under the *ja* of *-rajasa*, which recurs in the larger inscription in the same word. Finally the existence of a ruler with the rather ambitious title *apracaraja* under Menander is very unlikely.

We are told that the passage in question, just as the Menander portion, is written with bold and deeply incised strokes, while the letters elsewhere are comparatively small and the strokes in many cases no better than superficial scratches. I shall have something to say about this below.

In the great inscription inside we read that the relic was established by *Vijayamitra apracaraja*, and since the passage just dealt with has been added above the date, I have no doubt that it should be referred to the date, the year mentioned being the regnal year of Viyakamitra, who must consequently be identical with Vijayamitra, for it would be absurd to assume the existence of two contemporaneous kings, Viyakamitra and Vijayamitra, both using the epithet *apracaraja*. The only likely explanation of this state of affairs is that the Viyakamitra passage was added by a different person, who controlled the execution of the engraving and found either that something had been omitted or that there was room enough for an addition, making the date more explicit. Hence the bolder writing.

Phonetically there is not, as every Kharoṣṭhī epigraphist will know, the slightest objection to identifying the two names. The change of intervocatic *-j-* to *y* is too well known to need any references, and as to *-k-* for *-y-* it will be sufficient to mention *sdaka* for *sdaya*, *dhorcka* for *dhoreya* in the Dutreuil de Rhins manuscript.

There is not, accordingly, any reason for assuming the existence of a vassal chief Viyakamitra apracaraja in Bajaur under Menandar. On the other hand the palæography of the Swat inscription of the Meridarkh Theïdora makes it probable that *he* owed allegiance to Menander, as remarked above. Our information points to a Hellenistic system of administration, but there may of course have been local rājas left in power.

The larger inscription, in the casket itself, was probably drawn in ink, and subsequently engraved. We therefore easily underrated how *pimdo* has been misread as *piḍom* and that the leg of *sa* in *sa* [*m*]; *budhasa* has been split up, the lower portion being joined on to the ensuing *b*. The engraver was probably a mason who could not read, and therefore also the engraving had to be checked.

As already stated, the palæography of this record is of the same kind as on the Mathurā Lion Capital. MAJUMDAR has drawn attention to the

frequent use of an apparent *r*-stroke under some consonants, which might, he says, have a phonetic significance. It certainly has, and its use is subjected to quite definite rules.

A close observation shows that it is distinctly different from the ordinary subscript *r*, being added at a sharp angle, while the usual *r* is joined to the latter in a curve. In the *Corpus* I transliterated this 'superfluous' *r* as (*r*); in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from Chinese Turkestan it has been indicated by means of a dash above the consonant: *'ga*, *'ja*, &c. It is perhaps better to follow this latter method, in order to avoid the impression of an *r*-compound.

This bottom stroke is only used with single intervocalic consonants, and it is accordingly of importance for the interpretation. Therefore *at'iat* cannot be *ādṛta*, because *t'* must be an intervocalic *-t-*, and *ta* must begin a new word.

An examination of the inscription shows that the stroke is added below intervocalic *kh*, *g*, *j*, *t*, *d* and *ś*, and once even under *ya*, in *keyi*. The exceptions to this rule are only apparent. *Vijayamitra* is a regnal name, where an older official orthography has been retained. The doublet *Viyakamitra* shows that the actual pronunciation was not the old one. The form *apracaraja* perhaps points to a voiced palatal *ś*, and the *ẏ* in *keẏi*, i. e. *kaścid*, may point in the same direction. In the writer's remark on the base we have *lakhit'e* without the bottom stroke under *kh*, but the absence of the *i*-mātrā with *I* points to carelessness in this passage. With regard to intervocalic *-t-* the only exception to the rule is the word *Bhadaṇavaṭa*, which belongs to a traditional formula. Else the orthography is remarkably consistent, and the parallelism with the Mathurā Lion Capital points to the conclusion that we have to do with a well-developed system. We must therefore be careful in our interpretation of the letters, and we have, e.g., no right to assume that *-d-* represents an old *-t-*. On the whole it cannot be too strongly urged that we must always, in dealing with such records, start from the assumption that the writing is not arbitrary and weigh the evidence with great care before thinking of mistakes. Mistakes there certainly are, but they are less common than is usually assumed.

The great importance of this new record is my excuse for entering into a short discussion of some details where I am convinced that MAJUMDAR's results cannot be accepted. The inscription is not quite easy, and everybody who has had anything to do with Kharoṣṭhī records will know that the first edition of a new epigraph is rarely absolutely right. When I asked the Director General to send me photographs in advance, I had hoped to be able to communicate with MAJUMDAR about the interpretation and offer my suggestions to him. Now I shall have to criticize his reading and interpretation, which is somewhat repugnant to my feelings. On the other hand, I shall be happy to see other scholars criticize my own suggestions. I do not pretend to have solved all difficulties.

With regard to the oldest inscription, there cannot be much doubt about the reading. MAJUMDAR himself states that the name of the *Maharāja* looks

like *Minedrasa*, and so there is nothing to show that the *e*-stroke of *ne* is due to a flaw in the stone, as MAJUMDAR suggests. If we compare the Pali from *Milinda*, *Minedra* (*Minendra*) is exactly what we should expect. The inscription was set up in an Indian country, and the writer was hardly a Greek, but an Indian, to whom it was natural to connect the final part of the name with *indra*.

This old record is too short to justify the inference that, linguistically, it cannot be differentiated from the later inscription, inside the casket. The form *Kaṭiya*, Skt. *Kārttika*, is not in agreement with the common treatment of *-rt-* in later records, and the *-t-* of [*pratiṭha*] *viṭa* or [*pratiṣṭa*] *viṭa* would have been written—with the bottom line mentioned above, i.e. *-ṭ-*, in the great inscription.

Many more objections must be made to MAJUMDAR'S reading of the long record inside the casket. I have already stated that the passage *Viyahamitrasa apracaṛajasa* in the second line cannot, for palæographical reasons, belong to the time of Menander, the middle of the second century B.C., but must be about a century later. Moreover, MAJUMDAR'S explanation of the name as *vīryaka* or *vijjaka-mitra* is rather unlikely. It is true that *-ry-* occasionally, though very rarely, is written *-y-* in Kharoṣṭhī records, but in the royal name we would certainly expect *Viryakamitra*, and *Vijjakamitra* is absolutely excluded, because *-jj-* could not become *-y-*.

According to MAJUMDAR, the beginning of the main epigraph runs: *ime śarina palugabhud(ṛ)ao*. I accept his reading and explanation of *paluga* as corresponding to Pali *palugga*, because the absence of the bottom stroke under *-g-* shows that we have to do with a double *-gg-*. The initial *pa-* for *pra-* and the *l* for *r*, however, point to borrowing from another dialect. The reading *bhud(ṛ)ao*, on the other hand, cannot be accepted. What MAJUMDAR reads as *d(ṛ)a* is not quite distinct, but a comparison with the *d(ṛ)e*, i.e. in my transliteration *d'e* further on in the same line shows that his reading is not right. So far as I can see we must read *ṭ'a*, and *palugabhuṭ'a*, with *-ṭ'-* for *-ṭ-*, is in accordance with the common treatment of intervocalic *-ṭ-* in this record, as we have already seen. The ensuing akṣara cannot be *o*, but is an unmistakable *tha*, and the form *bhud(ṛ)ao*, with *o* in the nominative against the dialect, must be discarded. But then it is necessary to take the following *na* to the preceding akṣaras and to read *palugabhuṭ'athana* 'its place having become damaged.'

Sakare atrita cannot, in any way, be taken to represent *sakāre ādṛta*. The text has *atita* and not *atrita*, and even the latter could not possibly represent *ādṛta*, because *ādr* does not become *tr* and intervocalic *t* must become *ṭ*. It is necessary to read *Sakareaṭ'i* as one word and to take *ta*, which clearly shows the initial form of the consonant, to the following *sa* as *tasa* Skt. *tasya*. *Sakareaṭ'i* is evidently a passive form, apparently from the causative *sakareṭ'i*.

The first sentence accordingly runs: *ime śarira palugabhuṭ'athana sakareaṭ'i* 'this relic, its place having become broken, is caused to be repaired', or,

what is of course possible: 'this relic has become damaged; its place is caused to be repaired.'

Then follows, in MAJUMDAR'S transcript, only taking the final *-ta* of his *atrita* together with the ensuing *sa*: *tasa śariat(r)i kalad(r)ena*. It will be seen from the plate that the last akṣara, *na*, has a distinct *e*-mātrā, and *no* can hardly be anything else than the negative particle. We must accordingly read *tasa śariat'i kalad'e*, and *kalad'e* cannot, by any means, stand for Skt. *kālataḥ*, which would, in the language of this record, give *kalat'e*. The akṣara *d* must represent an intervocalic *-d-*. Now there are several examples in inscriptions of *de* representing *deya*, and I have no doubt that *kalad'e* stands for *kāladeya*, so that we must translate: 'The seasonal offering connected with it is discontinued', and this statement is, as we shall see, further explained in what follows.

MAJUMDAR reads: *na śadhro na piṃḍoyakeyi pitri griṇayat(r)i*. He takes *śadhro* to be *śraddhaḥ* 'venerated' and *piṃḍoyakeyi* to correspond to Skt. *piṇḍodakaiḥ*. I do not know how he has arrived at his translation of *śraddha*. He is certainly right in assuming that *śadhro* stands for *śraddho*, with the well-known transposition of *r*, but the termination *o* shows that we have to do with an accusative, and there can be little doubt that *śadhro* represents Skt. *śrāddham*. That the final *eyi* could possibly be the termination *ehi* of the instrumental plural, cannot be seriously maintained. Moreover, MAJUMDAR has not observed that we have the same bottom line in the *y* of *-keyi* as in *t'*, *d'*, *r*. We have, accordingly, to do with a modified intervocalic *-y-*, and I think that we can safely assume that *keyi* is derived from *keri*, Skt. *kaścid*. We must therefore translate: 'not does anybdoy let the pitras get śrāddha, not piṇḍoda'.

The next sentence has been correctly read as: *tasa ye patre apomua*, but I fail to understand how MAJUMDAR could take *apomua* to represent *apamaketaḥ*, which would have been *apamuta*. *Apomua* is the most difficult word in the whole inscription. The context points to the meaning 'defective, damaged,' and it is possible to explain it in that sense. It can stand for *appomuka*, consisting of *appa* Skt. *alpa-*, and *omuka*, corresponding to Pali and Prakrit *oma*, and to *omaka* in the Niya inscriptions. *Oma*, which has been equated with Skt. *avama*, frequently has the meaning 'deficient', and as to the compound, we may compare Skt. *alpona* 'Slightly defective, not quite complete'. I would therefore translate: 'what is its receptacle, is a little defective [damaged]'.

Then follows the date, where we need only note the locatives in *-aye* (=*-ake*) and the bottom strokes marking a modified pronunciation under intervocalic *kh*, *t* and *ś*. MAJUMDAR'S text and interpretation are excellent. But I am, as already indicated, convinced that the words *Viyakamitrasa apracaraṇasa*, which are in reality inserted between the first and second lines, are meant to be taken with the date: 'in the fifth, 5., year, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Vaiśākha, (during the regin) of Viyakamitra (i.e. Vijayamitra), the king without a rival.'

The final portion of the inscription is quite simple, and I have nothing to add to MAJUMDAR's discussion.

The case is different with the writer's remark on the bottom of the casket. MAJUMDAR reads: *Vispilena aṇaṃkatena likhita* and explains *aṇaṃkatena* as *ñaṇkṛtena*, i.e. *ājñākṛtena* 'who was ordered'. In order to explain the anusvāra of his *aṇaṃkata* he refers us to writings such as *viṃñavayaṃmi* for *vijñāpayāmi* in Central Asian documents, evidently unaware of the fact that this 'superfluous' anusvāra is used before nasals.

I doubt that *ājñākṛta* can possibly mean 'who has been ordered'. But it is unnecessary to discuss this point, because an inspection of the plate clearly shows that the reading is *aṇaṃkayena* and not *aṇaṃkatena*, cf. the *ye* of *vaṣaye paṃcamaye* &c.

It is of little importance that the plate does not show any trace of an *i*- mātrā in *lakhā'e*.

We must accordingly translate: 'written by Viśpila aṇaṃkaya.'

We do not know who this Viśpila was. He was to judge from his name, a Saka or Parthian, but what does the designation *aṇaṃkaya* imply?

I am unable to find any Indian word which can be equated with *aṇaṃkaya*. Nor does it seem possible to compare any Dravidian term, even if we were to abstract from the difficulty in assuming the use of Iranian titles at the early time of our record. Historically it would be easier to think of Greek in the case of a record engraved on a casket originally put up during the rule of a Greek king. And we have already knowledge of the use of a Greek administrative term in North-Western India in early times, viz. *meridarkh*, as mentioned above. And if we think of Greek, the word *anaikaios* immediately presents itself.

This word, it is true, is not known to have formed part of the normal official terminology in Hellenistic times, but such was also the case with the title *meridarkh*. Moreover, the well-known papyrologist Dr. Leiv AMUNDSEN, tells me that *anaikaios* was employed in Hellenistic Greek about the king's 'advisors', 'court', his *philoi* 'friends', and became something of an honorific title.[2] I do not think that it can, in such circumstances, be seriously doubted that our inscription shows that this Greek term, *anaikaios*, was used in the same country when we have found the title *meridarkh*. In other words, we find a new trace of Greek influence in North-Western India, but this time we cannot definitely state, as in the case of *meridarkh*, that it was introduced during the Greek period. It may be due to the Parthians, whose importance as propagators of Greek civilisation has been so well described by Sir John MARSHALL with regard to the Greco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra.[3]

2. Cf. my short note *JRAS* 1939, p. 265.

3. *Annual Report, ASI*, 1930-34, p. 151. I think that the second Kharoṣṭhī inscription published by MAJUMDAR, l. c., enables us to add considerably to the strength of MARSHALL's arguments. But I cannot here discuss that record, because I should have to make use of confidential information about a paper written by a friend, which has not yet been published.

The preceding remarks will have shown that the official communiqué about the discovery of our records will have to be still more modified than has been done in MAJUMDAR'S able edition. It does not give us any date during the reign of King Menander, and we do not know how he dated his writs, in regnal years, or in some era. It does not mention a feudatory, or 'petty dignitary' as the communiqué says, in the time of Menander. There are two inscriptions, one belonging to the time of Menander, the other dated in the fifth year of a King Vijayamitra, who must have lived about a century later. The chief importance of the older record rests with the fact that it gives us a palaeographical starting point for the dating of the oldest post-Aśokan Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. It is nothing new that Menander ruled in Bajaur and that he was favourable to Buddhism. The later inscription is chiefly of interest because it contains the name of a ruler who was formerly only known from some coins, which I have not seen in reproduction, and because it bears witness to the influence exercised by the Hellenistic rulers on the administrative system in North-Western India, which was further applied by their successors, especially by the Parthians.

These results are, in my opinion, important enough to justify a discussion of the record now after it has been made accessible through the efforts of the lamented MAJUMDAR.

It may perhaps be of use to add a new transcript and translation of the two records

I

The old inscription :

....Minedrasa maharajasa Kaṭiasa divasa $\frac{4}{4\ 4}$ 1 1 praṇasameda....

....[prati] [tha (*or* rta)] vida.

....praṇasameda.....śakamuṇisa

'of Minedra (Menander), the mahārāja, the 14 day of Kārttika, a life-endowed.....was established'.

'a life-endowed.....of Śākyamuni.'

II

The younger inscriptions :

a. *On the lid* :

Vijayam[it]ra[pacara]....pate pradiṭhavide

'Vijayamitra..... the receptacle was established'

b. *Inside the casket* :

(1) ime śarira palugabhut'aṭhana sakareat'i Tara śariat'i kalad'e no śadhro na piḍoṃya (pimḍoya) keýi pit'i griṇayat'i (2) Tasa ye patre apomua

Vaṣaye paṃcamaya 4 1 Vaś'akhasa masasa divasa

paṃcaviśaye (*interlinear* : Viyakamitrasa apracaraj'asaṃ)

iyo (*3-4*) prat'ithavit'e Vijayamitrena apracaraj'ena bhaġavatu śakimunisa samsa [ṃ] [bhu] dhasa śarira

'This relic, its place having become damaged, is caused to be repaired. Its periodical offering is discontinued : not does anybody let the pitaras get śrāddha, not piṇḍoda. Its receptacle is a little defective. In the fifth, 5., year, on the twenty-fifth day of month Vaiśākha (during the reign) of Viyakamitra, King without a rival, this relic of the Holy Śākyamuni, the thoroughly enlightened, was established by Vijayamitra, King without a rival.'

ON SOME GENITIVAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN VEDIC PROSE

By

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I. The Genitive expresses the relation in which one thing stands to another.

ŚB 13. 2. 2. 18 *Yathā vai rājño 'rājāno rājakṛtaḥ sūtagrāmaṇya evaṁ vā ete 'śvasya yat paryaṅgyā evam u vā etad dhiraṇyasya yal lokam*, 'In the same relation in which the king-makers who are no kings, viz., the Sūtras and Grāmaṇīs stand to the king, in the same relation the Paryaṅgya-animals stand to the horse, and in the same relation copper stands to gold.' For the origin of this genitive cf. ŚB 14.4. 3. 33 (BĀUp. 1. 5. 3. Mādhy = 22 Kāṇva) *sa yathaiṣāṁ prāṇānāṁ madkyamaḥ prāṇa evam etāsāṁ devatānāṁ vāyuḥ*, 'In the same relation in which the middlemost *prāṇa* stands to these (other) *prāṇas* in the same relation Vāyu stands to these (other divinities'; literally: As is the middlemost *prāṇa* among these (other) *prāṇas*, so is Vāyu among these (other) divinities'. And cf. further ŚB 7. 4. 2. 30; 31 *yad evāsyaite ātmanaḥ*, 'what these two are in relation to the body (of the fire-altar).'

II. The Genitive with the root *bhid* + *ud*.

(*a*) The root *bhid* + *ud* in the sense of 'to be on top' is used intransitively without dependent case RV 10. 45. 10 *uj jātena bhinadad uj janitvaiḥ* 'may he be pre-eminent as compared with him who is born and with those who are to be born' (for the Instrumental 'in comparison with' cf. *Sitzungsber. Bayer. AK. Wiss* 1937, Heft 3, p. 38, 16-21; Caland on PB. 15. 1. 2, note 2); AV. 9. 2. 2 *kāmaṁ stuvod ahaṁ bhideyam* (the AV Paipp. parallel 16. 72. 2, American Oriental Series ix. 77 corrupt *kāmaṁ juṣṭahāṁ udaṁ* [Barret emends to *kāmaṁ juṣṭvā † hāṁ ud ahaṁ*] *bhideyam*); AV. 4. 38. 1; Kauś. 41 13 *udbhindatīṁ saṁjayantīm apratāṁ sādkudevinīm ....tām ika huve*; TB. 2. 4. 7. 3. *nṛṇām aha praṇīr asat, agra udbhindatām asat.*

(*b*) The neuter past participle *udbhinnam* has a genitivus personae in the Mantras AV. 10.5.36 = 16. 9. 9; 16. 18. 1-27; AV Paipp 18. 29. 1 (JAOS 58, p. 609) *jitaṁ asmākam udbhinnam asmākam*; and MS. 4. 4. 6 (57, 12) *udbhinnaṁ rājñaḥ* which is also proposed as emendation of ĀpŚS 18. 19. 5 *audbhidyaṁ rājñaḥ* by Caland. With a genitivus rei it is found PB. 16. 15.3 *kṛtastomo vā eṣa udbhinnaṁ hy eva kṛtasya* (the commentary: *tathā ca kṛtasya tṛtīyārthe ṣaṣṭhī kṛtena hi tena sarvaṁ phalam udbhinnaṁ niṣpannam eva bhavati*), cf. PB. 16. 9. 4 *kṛtastomo vā eṣa, sarvam evaitenāpnoti sarvaṁ jayati, sarvaṁ hi kṛtena jayati.*

As regards the genitivi personæ AV *asmākam* and MS. *rājñaḥ* it is easy to construe them as genitivi agentis which are frequent enough as substitutes for the Instrumental with the past participle (DELBRÜCK, *Ai. Syntax* § 106, p. 153, 10-19). Thus CALAND: 'Der König ist obensaufgekommen' with the note: '*udbhinnam* ist beinahe mit *jitam* gleichwertig (it stands parallel to *jitam* in the AV. passages, quoted above and if. AV. 4. 38. 1 *udbhindantīm* by the side of *sainjayantīm*; RV. 8. 79. 1 = TB. 2. 4. 7. 6, *viśvajid udbhit* also PB. 16. 16. 3 *udbhinnaṁ kṛtasya* parallel to PB. 16. 9. 4 *kṛtena jayati*). The commentary (*tṛtīyārthe ṣaṣṭhī*) and CALAND 'for the *kṛta* has got a-top (of the other *grahas*)' assume the same construction for genitivus rei *kṛtasya* at PB. 16. 16. 3. It should however be noted that this is the only instance of a non-personal noun taking the genitival construction with a past participle.

(c) PB. 16. 16. 2 (LUDWIG, *RV. Translation*, vol. V, p. 252 on RV. 5. 59. 6; CALAND, *PB. Translation*, Introduction iii § 8, b, p. xxviii, 5) *atkaiṣa ekatrikaḥ prajāpater udbhit | etena vai prajāpatir eṣāṁ lokānām udabhinat* (the commentary; *etena khalu yajñena prajāpatiḥ sraṣṭā eṣāṁ pṛthivyādilokānāṁ saṁbandhīni vastūny udabhinat udbhinnavāṁ nirmitavān*), CALAND: 'Now the Ekatrika, Prajāpati's getting a-top. By this (rite) Prajāpati got a-top of these worlds' (with the note: 'Or: broke through them, got the supremacy over them cp. ApŚS 18. 19. 5 *udbhinnaṁ rājñaḥ* with my note on the German translation. The genitive is noteworthy'). The commentator's assumption of an ellipsis and his interpretation of *udabhinat* as 'he fashioned, created' seem clearly out of the question. CALAND's translation is supported by the examples given above under (*a*) and (*b*).[1] The genitival construction of the root *bhid* + *ud* 'to prevail over' would be analogous to the same construction with *śī* (DELBRÜCK, *Ai. Synt.* p. 159, 7-12) and *rāj* + *vi* K. 20. 11 (31, 5) = Kap 31. 13 (161, 8) *tasmād eṣā* (scil. *dakṣiṇā dik*) *diśāṁ virājati*.

III The Genitive of Interest and Concern.

There are instances in which the genitivus personæ refers to a person which, either to its advantage or disadvantage, is involved in, or affected by, the action or the state expressed by the finite verb.

(*a*) TS 7. 1. 3. 1-2 we have parallel to *yasya triṣṭam antaryanti prāṇāṁs tasyāntaryanti; yasya pañcadaśam antaryanti viryaṁ tasyāntaryanti: yasya saptadaśam antaryanti prajāṁ tasyāntaryanti; yasyaikaviṁśam antaryanti pratiṣṭhāṁ tasyāntaryanti; yasya trayastriṁśam antaryanti devāṁs tasyāntaryanti* the sentence *yasya triṇavam antaryanty ṛtūṁś ca tasya makṣatriyāṁ ca virājam antaryanti*. The relation in which the sacrificer stands to the seasons is logically different from that in which he stands to his

1. Cf. also the adjective *udbhid* 'prevailing, overpowering' the sequence of adjectives AV. 5. 20. 11; AV Paipp. 9. 24. 11 (*JAOS*, 42, p. 143) *śatrupāṁ vṛṣā̀d abhimāti-ṣāho gaveṣaṇaḥ saṁsamāsa udbhit* (the AV Paipp. *udbhṛt*; add this to BLOOMFIELD—EDGERTON's *Vedic Variants* ii § 636, p. 298).

prāṇas, to his *vīrya*, to his progeny etc.; consequently the last sentence should be translated: 'Whose Triṇava-stoma they (the priests) omit, for him (= to his disadvantage) they omit the seasons' (not with KEITH: 'his season ... are omitted'). A similar genitivus personae with *ṛtavaḥ* is found at TS. 6. 5. 5. 1 (*Syntax of Cases* i § 3, c. p. 55, 18-24; § 55, Ex. 4. p. 143 and 144, 20-29) *indro marudbhiḥ sāṁsthāyena mādhyaṁdine savane vṛtraṁ aham, ..., tasya vṛtraṁ jaghnuṣa ṛtavo 'muhyan* 'For him (Indra), when he had slain Vṛtra, the seasons became confused' (not with KEITH: 'Of him ....., the seasons were confused'). In the very similar ŚB. 8. 7. 1. 11 *yo vai mriyata ṛtavo ha tasmai vyūhyante* we find, in fact, the dative *tasmai* parallel to the TS. *tasya jaghnuṣaḥ*.

A further example of such a genitive of concern is the resumptive *teṣāṁ* K. 20. 11 (31, 2) = Kap. 31. 13 (161, 5) *devānāṁ vai svargaṁ lokaṁ yatāṁ teṣāṁ diśas samavīyanta*, 'For the gods, when they went to the heavenly world,—for them the quarters collapsed.'[2] In the parallel passages TS. 5. 2. 3. 4; 5. 3. 2; PB. 8. 8. 13 *devānāṁ vai* (TS 5. 2. 3. 4 *teṣāṁ*) *svargaṁ* (PB. *svargaṁ*) *lokaṁ yatāṁ diśaḥ samavīyanta* (PB. *diśo 'vīyanta*) the commentary to PB. interprets *devānāṁ ... yatāṁ* as genitive absolute (*saptamyarthe ṣaṣṭhī, deveṣu svargaṁ yatsu*) and CALAND and KEITH follow him: 'When the Gods went to the world of heaven, the quarters collapsed'; 'As they went to the world of heaven the quarters were confused'; but here also a genitive of concern is possible (*Syntax of cases* i § 3, 1, c, p. 5 and § 55, Ex. 3-4A, p. 143-144).[3]

An interesting juxtaposition of the genitive of concern (*etasya*) and a possessive genitive (*yasya*) is found at TB. 1. 4. 3. 1. which discusses the expiatory rite to be performed when the Agnihotrī-cow lies down (cf. ĀpŚS. 9. 5. 2-3): *ud asthād devy aditir viśvarūpī ... mitrāya ca varuṇāya ca iyaṁ vā agnihotrī, 'yaṁ vā etasya niṣīdati yasyāgnihotrī niṣīdati, tāṁ utthāpayed* (read so): *ud asthād devy aditir iti*, '"Risen up is the goddess Aditi, the many-coloured one, ... for Mitra and Varuṇa." This (goddess Aditi) is (identical with) the Agnihotrī-cow. Whose Agnihotrī-cow lies down, for him (= to his disadvantage) this (goddess Aditi) lies down (German: 'Wessen Agnihotrī-Kuh sich niederlegt, dem legt sich diese Göttin Aditi nieder'). He should make her rise up (with the Mantra): "Risen up is the goddess Aditi"'.

Of the slain Vṛtra we read K. 27. 3 (142, 3-4); Kap. 42. 3 (250, 9);

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2. In all the passages quoted above an idiomatic German rendering requires a dative: TS. *ṛtūṁs tasyāntaryanti*, 'sie lassen ihm die Jahreszeiten aus'; *tasya vṛtraṁ jaghnuṣa ṛtavo 'muhyan*,' 'ihm, als er den V. erschlagen hatte, kamen die Jahreszeiten in Verwirrung'; K.; Kap. *teṣāṁ diśas samavīyanta*, 'Ihnen stürzten die Himmelsgegenden zusammen'.

3. In the parallels JB. 2. 254 *etena vai trīṇyena tryahena devā ūrdhvāṁ svargaṁ lokam āyan, sa eṣāṁ saṁgṛhīta vīvāvīyata* and JB 3. 252 *trivṛtreṇa vai devā ūrdhvāṁ svargaṁ lokam āyan, sa eṣāṁ saṁgṛhīto vīvāvīyata* the *eṣāṁ* is best construed as Genitivus agentis with the past participle (DELBRÜCK, *Al. Syntax*, p. 153, 15-19): 'This (heavenly world), seized by them, collapsed as it were.'

MS. 4. 5. 8 (75, 5) *sa kato 'pūyat* ; TS. 6. 4. 7 1 *so 'pūyat*, but ŚB. 4. 1. 3. 6 *sa eṣām* (scil. *devānām*) *āpūyat*. EGGELING translates : 'He stank in their nostrils' and DELBRÜCK, *Ai. Syntax*, p. 10, 27-28, following him, assumes an ellipsis of a word for 'nose'; EGGELING'S rendering is good idiomatic English, but there is no Vedic passage in which a word for 'nose' is joined with the root *pūy*,[4] nor does the English idiom admit a literal translation into Greek, Latin, German or French. Here again the German 'Er stank ihnen (den Göttern)' closely renders the Sanskrit idiom : 'they (the gods) were affected by his (Vṛtra's) stench.'

NOTE. More doubtful are the following two passages with the root *han* + *apa* : JB. 3. 98 *atho āhus* : *tā evāsya* (scil. *manoḥ*) *prajāḥ sṛṣṭā rakṣāṃsy ajighāṃsann iti, so* (scil. *manuḥ*) *'kāmayatā* : *'pa rakṣāṃsi hanīyeti, sa etat sāmā* (i.e. SV. Jaim. 1. 5. 10 ; 4. 8. 5 ; SV. 1. 54 ; RV. 1. 36. 19) *'paśyat, tenāstuta* : *ni tvām agne....atriyaṃ dahety evāsām* (scil. *prajānām*) *rakṣāṃsy apāhann iti* and PB. 17. 5. 1 *tam* (scil. *indram*) *ādīkā vāg abhyavadat, so 'gnim upādhāvat, sa* (scil. *agniḥ*) *etad agnistotram apaśyat,.... tenainam* (scil. *indram*) *ayājayat, tenāsyāśīlāṃ vācam apāhan*. It is clear that neither *āsāṃ rakṣāṃsy apāhan* (JB.) nor *asyāśīlāṃ vācam apāhan* (PB.) can be translated 'he drove away *their* demons', 'he drove away *his* evil voice (report)'. As there are numerous instances in which a genitive goes parallel to an ablative with verbs of separation, *āsāṃ* and *asya* may be such ablatival genitives : 'He drove the demons away from them', 'he drove the evil voice (report) away from him' (cf. *Sitzungsber. Bayer. Ak. d. Wiss.*, Jahrgang 1935, Heft 12, § 18, p. 32-36). But it is equally possible to regard *āsāṃ* and *asya* as genitives of interest and concern : 'For them he drove away the demons', 'for him he drove away the evil voice (report)', German : 'Ihnen trieb er die Dämonen weg,' 'ihm trieb er die böse Nachrede weg', cf. MS. 4. 1. 13 (18, 3) *udyann evāsmā* (scil. *yajamānāya*, Dative) *āditya rakṣāṃsy apahanti*[5] against K. 31. 10 (13, 1)=Kap. 47. 10 (294, 8) *asā* (Kap. *asāv*) *evāsmād* (scil. *yajamānāt*, Ablative) *āditya udyan purastād rakṣāṃsy apahanti*.

(b) The impersonal verbs *āmayati*, *upatapati* 'feel ill' *santapyate* 'feel hot', and *santuśyati* 'feel pain' take the genitive of the person who experiences these feelings.

1 *āmayati* with genitivus personae is confined to the texts of the Black Yajur Veda and of the Sāma Veda : TS. 2. 1. 1. 3 ; 2. 1. 2. 7 ; 2. 2. 10. 4 ; 2. 3. 11. 1 ; 3. 4. 9. 3 (bis) ; MS. 2. 4. 1 (38, 21) ; PB. 6. 10. 5 ; 7. 5.

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4. Contrast with this the root *gṛh* + *api* 'to close (one's nose)' which is used with (ŚB. 1. 4. 1. 2 ; 2. 2. 10 *apigṛhya nāsike*) and without ŚB. 4. 1. 3 *tasmai hastaṃsaṃdhān nāpigṛhyāha* ; K. 27. 3, p. 142, 6 = Kap. 42. 3, p. 250, 12 *tasmāt tasmān* (scil. *gandhāt*) *nāpigṛhyam* the word 'nostrils'.

5. This is the only instance in Vedic prose where the root *han* + *apa* is accompanied by a dative of advantage, and it is noteworthy that immediately afterwards, p. 18, 4, the ablative is used : *uparisṭād asmāt* (scil. *Yajamānāt*) *tena rakṣāṃsy apahanti*.

12; 8. 1. 12 *Yasya jyog āmayati*; TS. 2. 1. 6. 5 *yasyāmājñātam* ('from a cause unknown') *iva jyog āmayet* and *āmayati* TS. 7. 2. 4. 3; MS. 2. 5. 6 (55, 3); 4. 3. 7 (45, 19) *athaitasya jyog āmayati*; TS. 7. 2. 7. 1; 5; K. 30. 3 (184, 1 and 185, 1)=Kap. 46. 6 (280, 12 and 281, 8) *yasyāmayati*; K. 12. 8 (170, 20); MS. 2. 5. 1 (48, 4); 4. 3. 6 (45, 2) *athaitasyāmayati*; MS. 1. 8. 9 (129, 6; DELBRÜCK, *Ai. Syntax* p. 5, 13 from bottom) *yad vai puruṣasyāmayati*. Also in the Mantra TA. 4. 35. 1=Hg 1. 7. 2 *māha hāsya canāmamat* (the commentary to TA. *iha tasmin deśe kasya cana kasyāpi puruṣasya māmamat rogo mā bhavatu*).

upatapati with genitivus personæ: ŚB. 12. 3. 5. 2 (DELBRÜCK, *Ai. Syntax*, p. 5, 10 from bottom) *yadi dīkṣitasyopatapet*; K. 22. 13 (69, 5) *yathā manyate*: *'ittham me nopatapsyatīti tathā vratayet*,' (when he fasts) he should eat only that much as, in his opinion, will prevent his falling ill'; JB. 1. 151 (CALAND §44, p. 50, 15 from bottom) *putrasya vai tyasyā* (=*mama*, the mother speaks, cf. WACKERNAGEL iii §256, c, β, p. 547, 1 from bottom—548, 20; CALAND, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* vi, part 2, p. 302) *upatapati*, 'My son is ill.'

saṁtapyate with genitivus personæ ŚB. 3. 5. 3. 16 (DELBRÜCK, *Ai. Syntax*, p. 5, 7 from bottom) *yadā vai striyai ca puṁsaś ca saṁtapyate 'tha retaḥ sicyate*.

saṁśucyati with genitivus personæ: ŚB. 6. 44. 20 (DELBRÜCK, *Ai. Syntax*, p. 5, 6 from bottom) *yad upamaṁthasya saṁśucyati*.

2. DELBRÜCK, *Ai Syntax*, p. 5, 37-38 is inclined to explain these genitives by the assumption of an ellipsis: 'Dieser Genitive scheint auf ein einst vorhandenes und dann weggebliebenes Nomen zu deuten.' But the basis for the assumption of such an ellipsis is rather small:

āmayati with the ailing part of the body as subject and genitivus personæ occurs once RV. 10. 86. 23 = AV. 20. 126. 23 *yasyā udaram āmayat* (of a pregnant woman); with the indefinite *kiṁ cana* in the Mantras AV. 5. 57. 3; 10. 5. 23; AV Paipp. 16. 130. 3 (American Oriental Series ix, 124) *mā ca naḥ kiṁ canāmamat*; K. 17. 16 (258, 17); Kap. 27. 6 (118, 2); MS. 2. 9. 9 (127, 7-8) *mā naḥ kiṁ canāmamat* (where the parallel ĀŚS. 3. 14. 3 and ĀpŚS 9. 16. 11 read. . . *cana rirīṣaḥ*); RV. 9. 114.4 *ma canaḥ kiṁ canāmamat*; VS. 16 47; VSK. 17. 8. 1; TS. 4. 5. 10. 1; ŚB. 9. 1. 1. 24 *mo ca naḥ* (TS. *mo eṣāṁ*) *kiṁ canāmamat*; RV. 10. 59. 8-10 *mo ṣu te kiṁ canāmamat*. In the Vedic prose there are three instances, all three with *payaḥ* as subject: K. 11. 5 (150, 17) *payasi bhavati, payo vai payaḥ, payaḥ puruṣaḥ, paya etasyāmayati yasyāmayati, payasaivāsya payas spṛṇoti* (cf. K. 12. 1, p. 162, 20 *payasyā bhavati, payo vai payasyā, payas sajātāḥ, payasaiva payo 'varundhe*); MS. 2. 3. 1 (27, 2) *sarvasaghnīlo vā eṣa ya āmayāvī, varuṇād evainaṁ tena muñcati, payo vai puruṣaḥ, paya etasyāmayati, payasaivāsya payo niṣkṛṇāti*; and MS. 2. 1. 6. (7, 21; DELBRÜCK, *Ai. Syntax*, p. 5, 2 from bottom) *saumārudrīm āmikṣāṁ nirvapet, āmayāvinaṁ yājayet, āgneyo vai pramītaḥ, saumyo jīvann, ubhayata evainaṁ niṣkṛṇāti, payo vai puruṣaḥ, paya etasyāmayati, payasaivāsya payo niṣ-*

kriṇāti. All three passages deal with a rite in which milk is used in order to cure the *payaḥ* i.e. the *rasaḥ* of a sick person; for *payaḥ*=*rasaḥ* cf. TS. 2. 2. 10. 4 *somāraudraṁ carum nirvapej jyogāmayāvī, somaṁ vā etasya raso gachaty agniṁ śarīraṁ yasyāmayati, somād evāsya rasaṁ niṣkrīṇāty agniṁ śarīram*; similarly *payaḥ* = *indriyam* TS. 2. 3. 13. 1-2 (again with an offering of milk) *indro vā etasya! indriyeṇāpakrāmati varuṇa enaṁ varuṇapāśena gṛhṇāti yaḥ pāpmanā gṛhīto bhavati, yaḥ pāpmanā gṛhītaḥ syād etāṁ aindrāvaruṇīṁ payasyāṁ nirvaped, indra evāsminn indriyaṁ dadhāti varuṇa enaṁ varuṇapāśān muñcati, payasyā bhavati, paya evāsmin tayā dadhāti*; cf. also MS. 4. 5. 8 (75, 19) *yan maitrāvaruṇaṁ payasā śrīṇāti devadevatyatvāya, yaṁ śṛtaṁ tena maitraṁ, yat taptaṁ tena vāruṇaṁ; brahma vai mitraḥ kṣatraṁ varuṇo, brahmaṇi ca vā etat kṣatre ca payo dadhāti, tasmād brahma ca kṣatraṁ ca payasvitame*, (76, 3) *yan maitrāvaruṇaṁ payasā śrīṇāti tāsu* (scil. *devatāsu*) *eva payo dadhāti*; TB. 1. 4. 3. 3 (cf. ĀpŚS. 9. 5. 6) *paya evātman gṛheṣu paśuṣu dhatte* which refers to the expiatory Mantra for spilled milk: *yad adya duṣkdaṁ pṛthivīm asaṁsṛkta | yad oṣadhīr apyasarad yad āpaḥ | payo gṛheṣu payo aghniyāsu | payo vatseṣu payo astu tan mayi*, 'Die Milch, die heute an der Erde haften geblieben ist, die zu den Kräutern zu den Wassern hinfloss, die soll in meiner Wohnung, in meinen Kühen, in meinen Kälbern, in mir zum Safte werden' (CALAND); PB. 18. 9. 12 *dhenuḥ pratihartuḥ, paya evāsmin dadhāti*, 'The (the) for the Pratihartṛ-priest is a cow, thus he places *payaḥ* (in the double sense of 'milk' and 'sap, vigour') in him.'

NOTE. The root *śap* + *upa* occurs once, Ch. Up. 3. 16. 7, where the illness is addressed, with the genitivus personae: *kiṁ ma etad upaśapasi yo 'haṁ anena na preṣyāmi*, 'Why dost thou befall me (with personal construction of the verb) who am not going to die of it?'[6] But immediately before, Ch Up. 3. 16. 2; 4; 6 *upaśapati* with *kiṁ cid* as subject is construed with the accusativus personae: *taṁ ced etasmin vayasi kiṁ cid upaśapet*, 'If at this age, anything (= any illness) should befall him.'[7].

3. In view of the surprisingly small number of passages in which the ailing part of the body forms the subject of the verb (above b, 2) it seems to me impossible to assume that where a subject noun is wanting and *āmayati*, *upatapati* etc., are used impersonally this impersonal use should be explained by an ellipsis of a noun (DELBRÜCK, *Ai Syntax*, p. 5, 37-38). It

6. BOEHTINGK emends to *kiṁ maitad upatapasi*, without sufficient reason, it seems to me.

7. An accusativus personae occurs with *ātapati* at *ĀpŚS*. 3. 16. 4 *atha yaṁ na kutaś canātapet* which CALAND renders: 'Wer aber an Keinerlei Krankheit leidet' with the note: ātapati. Ist dieser Ausdruck mit *upatapati* gleichwertig? Rudradatta scheint zu verstehen: "Wer von Krankheit betroffen sich in keiner Weise erwärmen kann". Rudradatta's gloss is: *Yaṁ rogopaśleṣādāyamdriyaṁ kutaś cid api prakārād, uṣṇaṁ vastu nātapet*, 'whom, because his bodily sense has been attacked by an illness, a warm object is not able to warm'. A specific kind of illness (some kind of chill?) seems to be meant, analogous to the defect of articulation and hearing in Āpś 3. 16. 2.

is more probable that the impersonal and the personal construction developed side by side.[8] There must have been many occasions when the speaker was unable to specify the ailing part of the body, but had to be content with giving a general statement of ill-health, as we often say: 'I do not feel well.' But the peculiar architecture of the Indo-European languages lacks a specific form for such a general statement, because every Indo-European verb-form links the tense and person insolubly with the meaning of the verb (cf. Adolf Stöhr, *Algebra der grammatik*, 1898, p. 104 f). For example, the content of a sentence like 'manus manum lavat' requires a verb-form which expresses the action without reference to a tense; nevertheless our language family is here forced to use a present tense and we have here (Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax* i, p. 157) 'nicht einen eigentlich praesentischen gebrauch der Praesens formen, sondern, das können wir ruhig sagen, einen *zeitlosen*'; the term 'timeless present' itself, being a contradictio in adiecto, indicates the linguistic dilemma. The same, mutatis mutandis, is true not only for the meteorological impersonals (*varṣati* 'it rains') but also for the impersonals treated in this paragraph. The Indo-European verb system does not furnish any finite verb-form to express an action or a state without reference to a subject which either acts or suffers. As the speaker has to make the best of the inherited speech material, he is compelled to use a personal form *impersonally*, by eliminating the disturbing personal element (cf. *Archiv f. slavische Philologie*, 1928, p. 315).

The genitivus personae (above, b, 1) may be grouped with the genitives of Interest and Concern: the person denoted by it is affected by and participates in the state expressed by the verb (i.e. the state of ill health).

(c) The genitivus personae with the root *han* + *ni* + *pra*, and + *prati* (Delbrück, *Ai. Syntax*, p. 161. 9-15).

han + *ni*: AV. 12. 3. 44 (Delbrück, *l.c.* 161, 11-12) = AV Paipp. 17, 40. 4 (American Oriental Series ix, p. 196) *brāhmaṇasyāṇihatya*; JB. 2. 135 (Caland § 140, p. 168, 29) *eṣa ha vai bāhuvṛkyāṇi pāpaṃ karoti yo 'nighātasya nihanti*, 'wer einen schlägt, der nicht geschlagen werden darf' (Caland).

han + *pra*: TB. 3. 8. 4. 1 (Delbrück, *l.c.*, 161, 9-10) *śunaś caturakṣasya pra hanti*; ŚB Kāṇva 1. 1. 2. 10 (Caland, ŚBK., Introduction iii § 25, a, p. 67) *eṣāṃ* (the ms. M. *etāṃ*) *prajaghāna*.

han + *prati*: PB. 13. 11. 10 *vidanvāṃ vai bhārgava indrasya pratyahan*, 'Vidanvat, the son of Bhṛgu, struck at Indra'; JB. 3. 159 (Hopkins, *JAOS.* 26, p. 63) *tasya* (scil. *indrasya*) *vidanvāṃ bhārgavaḥ pratyahan*.[9]

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8. This is the view taken by Delbrück, *Ai. Syntax*, p. 4, 1, 21 as regards the meteorological impersonals (*varṣati* : : *devo varṣati*) and by Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax*, i, pp. 115-116. (*δύσεισι* : *ἔνεισιν hο θεός*)

9. Very doubtful is AV 8. 23. (Delbrück, *l.c.*, 161, 13-14) *rāṣṭra bhaṅgurāvataḥ prati sma rakṣaso jahi* for which the parallel RV. 10. 87. 23 reads . . . *prati sma rakṣaso daha* and AV Paipp. 16. 8. 7 (American Oriental Series. IX, p. 10) . . . *sam* (the ms. *mam*) *indra rakṣaso daha*.

NOTE. *han* + *ni* takes the accusative object *paśum* at AB. 2. 11. 6 *tasi* (scil. *paśum*) *yatra nihaniṣyanto bhavanti*, and *han* + *prati* takes the same accusative object at MS. 3. 9. 2 (115, 2) *vajro bhūtvā yajamānasya paśūn pratihanyāt*. Elsewhere these two roots take inanimate object accusatives only: *han* + *ni* AB. 1. 29. 22; 5. 15, 9; TS. 6. 2. 9. 4; 7. 5. 10. 1; MS. 3. 8. 7 (105, 1 and 4); K. 13. 10 (192, 2); ŚB. 3. 5. 1. 1-6; 14. 7. 2. 5 (BĀUp Mādhy. 4. 4. 5 = KāṇvA 4); *han* + *pra* ŚB. 1. 1. 4. 21.

At TS. 2. 6. 10. 2 *tasmād brāhmaṇāya nāpagureta na nihanyāt*. 'he should not revile or strike at a Brāhmaṇa', the root *han* + *ni* is construed with a dativus personae; this is the only instance of the dative with the roots *gur* + *apa* and *han* + *ni*.

(*d*) The genitivus personae with the root *ruj*. TS. 6. 4, 11. 1 *rugvatyarcā bhrātṛvyavato gṛhṇīyād, bhrātṛvyasyaiva ruktvāgraṃ samānānāṃ paryeti* 'With a verse containing the word *rugva*[10] he should draw the cup for one who has a rival; having crushed his rival, he (for whom the cup is so drawn) attains preëminence among his own people.' Contrast the accusativus personae with *ruj* + *pra* PB. 2. 9. 2. *evaṃ pāpmānaṃ bhrātṛvyaṃ prarujati*. The PW. col. 366, 3 from bottom refers to Pāṇ. 2. 3. 54 for the impersonal *rujati* with genitive.

The genetivi personae with *han* + *ni*, + *pra*, + *prati* and with *ruj* may well be classed as genitives of Interest and Concern of the person affected by the verbal action.

IV THE GENITIVUS REI WITH THE CAUSATIVE OF THE ROOT *rup*.

A peculiar genitivus rei (*yajñasya*) depends on the causative of the root *rup* in a Mantra and in a prose passage connected with it.

The Mantra (wanting in BLOOMFIELD'S *Concordance*) is T.B. 3. 7. 5. 6 = ĀpŚS. 3. 1. 2 *na jyāyo* (read thus in TB.) *yavamātrād | āvyādhāt kṛtyatāṃ idam | mā rūrupāma yajñasya | śuddhaṃ viṣṭaṃ idaṃ haviḥ.* | The prose passage is TS. 2. 6. 8. 4: Rudra, excluded from the sacrifice, pierced it with his arrow; the gods, thinking: 'This (i.e. the pierced part of the sacrifice) shall be in order for us (*kalpatāṃ na idam iti*), cut out the pierced part of this sacrifice which had the size of a barley-corn (*tasyāvidhyaṃ nir akṛntan yavena saṃmitam*); therefore the Adhvaryu-priest should cut out of the sacrifice (i.e. the sacrificial cake) a piece of the size of a barley-corn (*tasmād yavamātraṃ avadyet*; if he were to cut out a larger piece (*yaj jyāyo 'vadyed*) *ropayet tad*[11] *yajñasya*.

CALAND translates the Mantra *mā rūrupāma yajñasya* by "wir wollen

10. Refers to the Mantra RV. 3. 31. 6; VS. 33. 39; MS. 4. 6. 4. (83, 10); K. 27. 9 (148, 21); TB. 2. 5. 8. 10; ĀpŚS. 12. 15. 6 *vidat yadi* (MS. *yati*; T.B., ĀpŚS *yati*, cf. *Vedic Variants* ii. § 63, p. 39) *saramā rugṇaṃ* (MS. *saramāruṇaṃ*) *adreḥ* Cf. CALAND, note 1, to Āpśs. 12. 15. 6.

11. KEITH translates: 'he would confuse *that part of* the sacrifice, but the wording of the Mantra clearly shows that *yajñasya* does not depend on *tad* which is the adverb = 'thereby, thus'.

das Opfer in Ordnung bringen' [literally it should be: 'mir wollen das Opfer nicht in Verwirrung bringen'] with the note: 'Dir Übersetzung der Wörter *mā rūrupāma yajñasya* ist unsicher'; his translation of the TS. passage is: 'wenn er ein grösseres ausschnitte, so würde er das Opfer' (den opfer kuchen) in Verwirrung bringen (?)'.

As it stands in clear contrast to TB., ĀpŚS *śuddhaṁ sviṣṭam idaṁ haviḥ* 'sacrificially pure and well offered (be) this offering' and to TS. *kalpatā na idam* the causation of the root *rup* must refer to some disturbance of the sacrifice (KEITH 'confuse'; CALAND 'in Verwirrung bringen.[12] The PW. s. 1 *rup*, caus. 2 (col. 387, 25) renders it by 'abbrechen', 'to break off (from the sacrifice)'; but this assumes for these two passages a meaning different from the usual one.[13]

NOTE. JB. 2. 424 (CALAND § 168, p. 221, 5 from bottom) the ms. and CALAND's text read *ned devān lopayāmahā iti* which CALAND renders: 'damit wir die Götter nicht verwirren mögen.' But the parallel 3. 17 has the correct reading *ned devān lāpayāmahā iti* 'lest we deceive the gods'. Cf. *KZ* 61 (1930), p. 139 f.

12. Cf. ŚB 3. 2. 3. 3; 5 *yajñam amūmuhat*; 3. 2. 3. 1 *yajñam mohayiṣṇ oshāra*; AB. 3. 11. 6 *mohayed yajñam*.

13. To the passages quoted in PW. add: Kap. 39. 1. (213, 1) *so 'rupyat* [= K. 25. 4 (107, 2)]; instead of AV. 4. 6. 3 *nāveimado nārūrupaḥ* the parallel AV Paipp 5. 2. 8. (*JAOS*. 37. 258) has *nāropayo nāmadayaṣ* the Paipp parallels to AV. 4. 7. 3; 5; 6 are AV Paipp. 2. 1. 2; 4; 6 (*JAOS*. 30, 191). AV Paipp. 4. 21. 2 (*JAOS* 35, 74) has *prasūr asy atriṇāte* (read *abhirikṣāte, nat nārupaḥ* (the ms. *na ta rūrupaḥ*).

THE TRUTH ABOUT VIJAYĪNDRA TĪRTHA AND TARAṄGIṆĪ-RĀMĀCĀRYA*

By

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI SARMA

In the Introduction to his edition of the *Nyāyāmṛta, Advaitasiddhi* and their commentaries (Calcutta Sanskrit Series, IX), Mm. Anantakṛṣṇa Śastri has made certain remarks about the famous Mādhva teacher Vijayīndra Tīrtha, his date, his works and his relation to Appayya Dīkṣita and about Rāmācārya the author of the *Nyāyāmṛta-Taraṅgiṇī*. These are mostly prejudiced and inaccurate. In the interests of historical truth I wish to repudiate these remarks of Śyt. Śastri lest his scholarship in matters textual should lend anything like an air of indirect authoritativeness to his remarks on matters of history and chronology and predispose his readers, in a way that it should not do. It has pained me much to note how grossly he has distorted facts and made illogical deductions from them in the most undignified language.

Rebutting the claim of Dr. R. Nagaraja Śarma (in the *Hindu* Madras, dated 9th. July, 34) that the famous Mādhva Teacher Vijayīndra Tīrtha was a close contemporary of the Advaitin scholar Appayya Dīkṣita whom[1] he criticised in several of his works, Mm. Śastri opines (1) that he cannot "find any reason to hold that Vij. criticised A. *during the latter's lifetime*"; (2) that "A was already *old* when Vij began to flourish"; so that he would (3) "like to contend that Vij. criticised A only *after* the latter's demise". [Italics mine].

ii

Appayya was a redoubtable champion of the Advaitic and Śaivite Revivals of XVI century in S. India. In his paper on the Age and Life of Appayya Dīkṣita,[2] Mr. Y. Mahālinga Śastri, a scion of the family of A. writes :—

"Many of the Dīkṣita's works unmistakably prove that he lived in an age of sectarian philosophical controversy and that all his genius and energy were called upon to avert the grave crisis the Advaitic and Śaiva-Viśiṣṭādvaita were subjected thro' the intrumentality of systematic proselytisation (?)

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* This paper was originally sent for publication in the *Mm. Kuppuswami Sastri Commemoration* Volume II, Madras, over two years ago. As there seems to be no near prospect of the publication of this volume, the paper has been withdrawn for publication here.

1. The following abbreviations have been used in the pages that follow. Vij. for Vijayīndra Tīrtha ; A. for Appayya Dīkṣita and R. for Taraṅgiṇī-Rāmācārya.

2. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, 1929.

carried on under state auspices." (p. 150). The same writer adds that "tradition declares that Tātāchārya, the Śrīvaiṣṇava Guru of the Karnataka monarchs of Vijayanagar, was the chief persecutor of A. and that *the Dīkṣita* had a *tough fight* with both *Tātāchārya* and *Mahāchārya* of Sholinghur at the time of the reinstallation of God Govindarāja at Chidambaram, during the time of Aliya Rāmarāya (1542-65) of Vijayanagar." (p. 152-3)

Mādhva tradition has likewise been persistently maintaining that Vij. was a close contemporary and critic of A. and that during his lifetime he had on many occasions tried conclusions with A. and written many works repelling A's attacks on the system of Madhva then and there.

The criticisms of A. were obviously the reactions from the monistic side to the challenges thrown out by the great Vyāsarāya (1478-1539) in such classics as the *Nyāyāmṛta, Candrikā* etc. A's *Madhvamatamukhabhaṅga* was a pointed attack on Madhva's sūtra interpretation (पदार्थिकरणी). His *Upakrama-parākrama* was a plea for the superiority of the Upakrama (initial statement in a textual totality) over the concluding part thereof, in the settlement of the import of the passage as a whole in case of any interpretational difficulty. This was explicitly directed against the views of Madhva and his commentators who in their works had adopted the contrary thesis, on other authorities. The issue has also been argued at some length by Vyāsatīrtha in his *Tarkatāṇḍava*.[1] A's *Śivatattvaviveka* seeks again, to establish the superiority of Śiva in the sphere of religion. This is directed against the beliefs and teaching of the Vaiṣṇava schools of Rāmānuja and Madhva. The Dīkṣita also complains in his works that the canons of the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā have been flagrantly disobeyed and violated by Madhva and his followers in their attempts at attuning the Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa with their philosophical views.[2] To these and many other criticisms of A., Vij. has given suitable replies in such works as (1) the *Madhvādhva-kaṇṭakoddhāra* also called *Madhvatantramukhabhūṣaṇa*; (2) the *Upasaṁhāra-Vijaya*; (3) *Paratattvaprakāśikā* and (4) *Mīmāṁsānayakaumudī*.

iii

Tradition affirms that Vij. was one of the favourite disciples of Vyāsatīrtha and that he was gifted to Surendra Tīrtha of the Vibudhendra Tīrtha Mutt,[3] at the request of Surendra Tīrtha himself, who was an intimate friend and contemporary of Vyāsarāya. This is attested by one of the suḷādis of Purandara Dāsa :

श्रीसुरेन्द्रनु पुत्रभिक्षव बेडे । विजयीन्द्रनु करुणिसि मठवनुद्धरिसिदकारण ।
गुरुव्यासरायरे परमगुरुगळु पुरन्दरविठ्ठलने परदैव कानिरो ॥

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1. यत्तु मीमांसकैकदेशस्य प्राबल्यपुष्टो ×××× तत्तु तर्कताण्डवे निपुणं निराकृतमिति नेहास्माभिः प्रपञ्च्यते ॥ Rāghavendra, *T. P. Bhavodīpa*, Bby. 1902 p. 246b.

2. कपिलकणिदाक्षिला पूर्वमीमांसकमर्यादाव्यवहारस्पर्शैव नीता ॥ (Appayya)

3. He was *not* therefore a Svāmi of the Vyāsarāya Mutt at any time, as Syt. SASTRI appears to assume on p. 6, para 2, line 9, of his Sanskrit introduction.

and by the *Śrīpādarājāṣṭaka*.[1] Vij. himself acknowledges Vyāsatīrtha as his Guru in several of his works :

" गुरुरादौक्तिभिर्न्यायैर्यत्र वक्त्रपराक्रमम् ।
निराहृत्योपसंहारविक्रयोऽयं प्रकाश्यते ॥ "
(*Upasamhāra-Vijaya*, introd.)

" यथान्यानन्दतीर्थीयं भाष्यमेवोपपत्तिमत् ।
नतु भाष्यान्तराणीति वर्णितं[2] मम देशिकैः ॥ 8 ॥
तथाऽधुनिकोक्तदूषणानामलम्नताम् ।
प्रदर्श्य गुरवादोक्तिमहिमात्र प्रकाश्यते ॥ 9 ॥ "
(*Madhvādhvakaṇṭakoddhāra*, introd.)

Vyāsatīrtha is known to have enjoyed the patronage of the Kings of the second and third dynasties of Vijayanagar.[3] There are inscriptions relating to him in 1511, 1513, 1514, 1515, 1527[4] and 1532 A.D. We have the authority of the great Mādhva Psalmist Purandara Dāsa, himself a disciple of Vyāsarāya, that the latter died in Vijambi[5] 1539 A.D. :

विळम्बि वत्सरदलि विजयनगरदलि फाल्गुनबहुळ चतुर्तियलि स्थिरवारदलि

Vij. must have remained for some years with Vyāsarāya to have studied the advanced texts which he seems to have done and to have become his teacher's favourite. At the time of Vyāsatīrtha's demise then, he must have been at least twenty-five years old. This gives us 1514 or thereabout as the probable date of his birth. The *Rāghavendravijaya* of Nārāyana[6] mentions that Rāmarāya of Vijayanagar (1542-65) honoured Vij. with a रत्नाभिषेक. The event may be placed about 1550 when Vij. was about thirty-five. We also know for certain that Vij. was alive in 1577 A.D. when he received the grant of the village of Arivilimangalam from Śevappa Nāyaka of Tanjore and Raṅga I of Vijayanagar.[7] It is clear from the terms of the grant that by 1577 Vij's

1. Quoted in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XII, p. 344.
2. The reference is to the *Tātparya-Candrikā* of Vyāsarāya.
3. See *Vyāsayogicarita* (Campū) of Somanātha Kavi, and Eng. introd. by B. VENKOBA RAU, Bangalore Press, Bangalore, 1926.
4. There cannot possibly be any grant to Vyāsatīrtha by Kṛṣṇadevarāya in 1449 A.D. as claimed by Mm. SASTRI. He must know that the Rāya (whom SASTRI calls " Kṛṣṇarājadeva ! ") came to the throne only in 1509. The fact is that Mr. D. SRINIVASACHAR, in the Skt. introd. to his edn. of *Tarkatāṇḍava* (Mysore O. L.) has given the year of the grant of Gauripura to Vyāsarāya, as ŚAKA 1449 " नवचत्वारिंशदधिक चतुःशतोत्तरैकसहस्रतमे शकाब्दे गौरपुरानिधो ग्रामः व्यास-राजेभ्यो दत्त इति शासने पठ्यन्ति ॥ " p. 3 Mys. O. L. P. series 74 Vol. I. 1932. (which corresponds to 1527 A.D.), and which the Mm. has *mistaken for the* A.D.
5. The line is quoted by KITTEL, in his *Nāgavarmana Chandassu*.
6. Quoted in the *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 253.
7. The Arivilimangalam Plates of Śevappa Nāyaka, ed. by T. A. Gopinātha RAO, *Ep. Ind.* XII. p. 353-4.

reputation as a scholar and as a Defender of the Faith of Madhva against the attacks of the Māyāvādins was already made :

" पदवाक्यप्रमाणज्ञढेमुपीजितवादिने ।
मध्वाचार्यमतोद्यानसञ्चरत्तरवाहिने ॥
सर्वशास्त्रप्रसूनार्थसौरभ्यसरसात्मिने ।
मायावादिमतोच्छेदकोवाहलभरोष्फये ॥
विजयीन्द्रसुतीर्थाय विष्णुपर्यायमूर्तये ॥ "

This must indeed have been so, seeing that Vij. had been a student under Vyāsarāya who died in 1539.

The Mysore Archæological Report for 1917, mentions another grant of four villages by Śevappa Nāyaka, of Tanjore in 1580 A.D. to Vij. disciple of (titles) Surendra Tīrtha. In the course of this grant it is stated that "Śevappa Nāyaka was a great patron of learning. He bestowed several gifts on scholars, śrotriyas and men versed in the Vedas. Like the three sacred fires, (1) *the Lord of the Ascetics : Vijayīndra Tīrtha,* (2) *the leader of the Vaiṣṇavas, proficient in all the Śāstras : Tātācārya* and (3) *the sole emperor of Śivādvaita : Appayya Dīkṣita, used to meet together at his court and establish the doctrines of their respective schools of philosophy*" [Italics mine].

" त्रेताग्नय इव स्पष्टं विजयीन्द्रयतीश्वरः ।
तातार्यो वैष्णवाग्र्यो सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः ॥
शैवाद्वैतैकसाम्राज्यः श्रीमानप्पय्यदीक्षितः ।
यत्सभायां मतं स्वं स्वं स्थापयन्तः स्थितास्त्रयः ॥ "

(Text by the kind permission of the Asst. Director of Archæology, Mysore)

Here is indisputable evidence that Vijayīndra, Tātācārya and Appayya Dīkṣita were all three of them close contemporaries and that the first-mentioned was alive in 1580 A.D. tho' already very old.

iv.

At this stage of our investigation, attention may be drawn to a stone-inscription on one of the walls of the temple of Kālakaṇṭheśvara at Aḍayappālayam, the birth-place and ancestral abode of Appayya Dīkṣita. The temple was built by A. himself and the inscription is dated Śaka 1504 (Chitrabhānu) corresponding to 1582 A.D. Mr. Mahālinga Śāstri after quoting the text of the inscription *in extenso*[1] in his paper on the date of A., (*J.O.R.* Madras, 1929), observes :—

"It is clear from this that the life-work of A. had already been achieved in 1582 and the greatest of his Śaivite and Advaitic treatises had been writ-

1. " स्वस्ति श्री शकाब्दं 1504 क्कु मेल शेल्लानिन्ड चित्रभानुवरुषं, श्रीकण्ठभाष्य ऐन्नुम सिद्धांतङ्गळ् पडिपिक्कु, अद्वैत शिवार्कमणिदीपिकै व्याख्यानमुं पण्णि, कल्पतरुपरिमळं मुदलान नूल् प्रबन्धं पण्णि अप्पय्य दीक्षितरुक्कु मूलि इन्द शिवालयम् ॥" (*Tamil*)

ten and published.[1] He had written his one hundred works,[2] taught hundreds of disciples, revived the Śaiva cult and reinforced Advaitism, achieved fame far and wide, lent light and glory to the ruler who patronised him—in short, done before 1582 A.D., all that we to-day understand to have been his life's great mission." (p. 150).

The remarks apply *mutatis mutandis* to Vijayīndra Tīrtha also, and the two could not have been but close contemporaries. It will be seen from the above that by 1582 A.D. A. had retired from strenuous activity, to his native village. His patron Cinna Bomma, was evidently dead by that time, as conjectured by Mahalinga Sastri. Venkaṭapati who ruled between 1585-1614, was another patron of A. who refers to him both in his *Vidhiraśāyana* and *Kuvalayānanda*. We have seen that A. must have been fairly old in 1582. Mr. Mahalinga Sastri says that he lived for some years after Venkaṭapati's accession and died about 1593 A.D.

As for Vij. we have clear indications that he flourished between 1514-80 and presumably lived for a few years more as is shown by the Mutt lists which place his demise in the cyclic year of *Manmatha* : 1595 A.D. The facts of his life such as that (1) he was a disciple of Vyāsatīrtha who died in 1539 A.D. (2) that he was honoured by Ajaya Rāmarāya (1542-65) ; (3) that he received a grant in 1577 from Sevappa Nāyaka in which the great and timely services rendered by him to the Dvaita-Vedānta are significantly mentioned and (4) that he is again referred to in a subsequent grant of Śevappa Nāyaka, as an eminent contemporry of Appayya in 1580 A.D., *must* and *will* speak for themselves. We may therefore accept *Manmatha* 1595 as the year of his demise, as stated in the Mutt list.

The earliest *verifiable* date in the life of Vij. is 1539 A.D. But this cannot certainly have been the date of his *birth*[3] as it was the year of demise of his teacher Vyāsatīrtha. The latest date in his life that is attested by epigraphic evidence is as we have seen, 1580. His literary and philosophical labours must have been brought to a close practically by about 1577-80. Even at the most modest calculation, he must at least have been sixty-eight years of age, at the time of Appayya's retirement from the polemical arena in or about 1582. In these circumstances, he could not really have been "*a younger contemporary*" merely, of A., as Mm. Anantakṛṣṇa and Y. Mahalinga Sastri would have us believe. As a matter of fact, Vij. seems to have died just two years after A. Considering the dates of their birth, it is the latter that seems to have been the younger of the two. We are thus forced to admit that Vij. (1514-95) was *a very close contemporary* indeed of A. (1520-93).

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1. The epigraph refers by name to the *Śivārkamaṇidīpikā*, *Nyāyarakṣāmaṇi* and *Kalpataru-Parimala* of A.

2. The epigraph refers to the number as one hundred.

3. As has been mistaken by V. A. Ramaswami Sastri in the intro. to his edition of the *Tattvabindu*, A. U. S. S. 3. p. 103.

The contemporaneity, of the two would appear to follow even as a result of certain of Mm. SASTRI's own admissions: (1) that Appayya was a contemporary of Madhusūdana Sarasvati[1] "who may be placed about the middle of the 16th. century" (p. 85) and (2) that Vyāsarāya (the Guru of Vij.) may be assigned between the first quarter of the XV century[2] and the beginning of the XVI" (p. 83) i.e. to C. 1425-1500. As the avowed disciple of Vyāsarāya who flourished according to Mm. SASTRI between C. 1425-1500, Vij. *must* naturally have lived in the middle of the XVI century which is also the date claimed by him for Appayya. How then could he escape the conclusion of the close contemporaneity of the two?

It must be admitted therefore that Vij's replies to Appayya were all written *well* within the lifetime of the Dīkṣita. There is thus nothing more to be said in refutation of the other *wild* remarks of Mm. SASTRI which seem to have been conceived in the worst of taste.

The evidence of inscriptions shows clearly that Vij. criticised A. during the latter's lifetime. The inscription of 1577 makes a distinct reference to the crushing defeats that he inflicted upon the Māyāvādins: मायावादिमतोच्छेद-कोवाहलनरोहणे ॥ It is an established fact that Vij. was in flesh and blood between 1539-80. And no date that has hitherto been suggested for A. is capable of pushing him earlier than and beyond the reach of Vijayīndra Tīrtha! If A. was already old in 1580, so was Vij! No doubt Mm. SASTRI "would *like* to contend" that Vij. criticised A's *Madhva-siddhāntapratiṣṭhāpanāpakṣa-nirākaraṇa* and *Upakramaparākrama*, after the latter's demise. But the facts are not likely to oblige him that way.

It is a *fact* that A. has *not* in turn replied to the criticisms of Vij. The reason may be anything. As for the sapient comments that Mm. SASTRI has indulged in such as that "the arguments contained in Vij's *work*[3] are in most places self-contradictory and can easily be refuted even by an ordinary scholar of average intellect", suffice it to say that it is a game at which two can play. The critic is again conveniently forgetful of history when he writes that "according to *current*[4] tradition nobody *would* dare to raise a voice of protest against the *theories* of A. during his lifetime." [Italics mine]. Reference has already been made to A's protracted controversies with Tātācārya and Mahācārya, not to speak of those with Vij. Mm. SASTRI ought

1. I do not of course agree to this. I consider Madhusūdana to be somewhat later than both Appayya and Vij.

2. This is evidently based upon a misunderstanding of the data furnished by D. SRINIVASACHAR in the introd. to the Mysore O. L. edition of Vyāsarāya's *Tarkatāṇḍava*. Had he read the Skt. introd. *carefully* Mm. SASTRI would have found that Mr. SRINIVASACHAR gives the age of Vyāsarāya correctly, as the XVI century: "विक्रमशकवोडवाशतमाने भारतभूमीतलमङ्कयतीति शासनसम्पादितो निर्णयः ॥" (p. iii).

3. Which particular work, the critic has in view, it is not clear. It seems that the translator and other collaborators to whom Mm. SASTRI says he entrusted the task of putting his ideas into English, have severely let him down in many places in the course of the Introd.

4. What this is, I am unable to make out.

to know that Vij. was a Sannyāsin and had as such no "house" of his own, wherein to "carefully preserve" his criticisms of A. even if he wished to. We need not also trouble ourselves about his pious belief that "Vij. never dared to publish his criticisms of A. during the latter's lifetime". Thanks to the inscription of 1580 we have at least the consolation left that Vij. was not afraid to argue with A. in open assembly at the court of Śevappa. If the works of Vij. have not so far been published by his followers and made available in print, let not Mm. Sastri flatter himself that it is because of any fear of him! That indifference is the main reason would be clear from the fact that these followers have allowed even the non-controversial works of Vij. to perish! I entirely agree with the critic that it is a shame that the followers of Madhva have been so long and so palpably failing in their duty to the memory of Vij.

Meanwhile, if Mm. Sastri himself is inwardly expecting any thanks from the followers of Vij. for his kindness in having published the Tīrtha's com. on the *Nyāyāmṛta*, as he imagines he has done, he is sure to be disappointed. For, the truth is that the com. published by him is *not* by Vij. as will soon be clear. It may also interest him to learn that Vij's rejoinder to A's *Madhvamatavidhvaṃsana* has been published from Dharwar; that his *Upasaṃhāravijaya* is to be taken up shortly, for publication from the same place and that Mss. of his *Paratattvaprakāśika* are still available.

v.

Mm. Sastri has raised an interesting point of the manufacture of "Research Bubbles", of which he has himself turned out a good number within the short compass of his Introduction. I have already pricked some of these and shall prick a few more in the pages that follow.

Commenting on the information supplied to him by the Editor of the T. P. L. that "Surendra Tīrtha was Vij's predecessor and that his successor was Sudhīndra" Syt. Sastri opines that 'this does not conflict with the tradition of his (Vij.) having been a pupil of Vyāsatīrtha' "as Vyāsatīrtha might have had another name: Sudhīndra" (p. 85)! This is confusion worse confounded. He has evidently misunderstood Prof. P. P. S. Sastri to convey that Vij's *predecessor's successor* (not Vij's successor as true history would prove and as anyone with a working knowledge of English would have seen) was Sudhīndra Tīrtha. Seeing then that tradition gave the name of Vij's teacher as Vyāsatīrtha, Mm. Sastri persuaded himself without further ado that this Vyāsatīrtha, and Sudhīndra were evidently one and the same person! Let me therefore enlighten him with the true facts that (1) Vij's Vidyāguru was Vyāsatīrtha and that Surendra Tīrtha was the name of his Āśramaguru. Sudhīndra was the disciple and Pontifical successor of Vij.[1] विजयीन्द्रयतीन्द्रोक्तसुधीन्द्रवरपुत्रकः । श्रीराघवेन्द्रो यतिराट् (*Rāghavendra*

1. Cf. also: "अधिकृत्यास्मदाचार्यान् विजयीन्द्रयतीश्वरान् ।
प्रवृत्तेयमनुप्राप्ता सूक्तिल्लारमञ्जरी ॥"
(Introd. verse in Sudhīndra's *Alaṅkāramañjarī*, T. P. L no. X. 5129-30)

Stotra) and that at no time is Vyāsatīrtha known to have had the *alias* of Sodhīndra. SASTRI's conjectures in this respect are a tragicomedy of errors.

vi.

Vijayīndra not *the Author of the Nyāyāmṛta-kaṇṭakoddhāra*

Mm. SASTRI has for all practical purposes assumed in his Introduction that the commentary on the *Nyāyāmṛta* called *Kaṇṭakoddhāra*, published by him, is by Vij ; debated the question of the date of Vij. on that assumption and has finally pushed him long after Appayya (Madhusūdana Sarasvati, Rāmācārya Balabhadra and Śrīnivāsa Tīrtha—all of whom he is said to quote and criticise). But the assumption is entirely baseless and the conclusion is therefore a veritable Research Bubble (No. 2).

He also speaks (p. 84 line 2.) of an "important" work of Vij.—a *Gūḍārthadīpikā-Yuktimallikā* which he says is a critical study of Madhusūdana's *Gūḍārthadīpikā* : com. on the *Gītā*. This is indeed news to us. Of course, Mādhva tradition knows no such work by Vij. Nor has SASTRI disclosed the source of his information.[1] It is strange that the absurdity of Vij.'s giving so complimentary a title (as *Gūḍārthadīpikā-Yuktimallikā*) to an adverse criticism of a rival's work, should have escaped his wits! *Yuktimallikā* is a metrical work of the great Mādhva scholar Vadiraja Tīrtha ; and *Gūḍhabhāvaprakāśikā* is the name of Vij's gloss on the *Tattvodyota ṭīkā*[2]. Mm. SASTRI should have *either* confounded the two as one work or misconstrued the passage in the Sanskrit introd. of D. SRINIVASACHAR to his edn. of the *Tarkatāṇḍava* (iii) :— एतेषामन्तेवासिनः अनेकेऽप्रतिन्त। तेषु विजयीन्द्रसंयमीन्द्राः[3], गुर्वर्थदीपिकयुक्तिमल्लिकाप्रभृतयनेकग्रन्थकर्तारो वादिराजस्वामिनश्च मुख्यसिद्धाः to identify the *Gurvarthadīpikā* and the *Yuktimallikā* of Vādirāja as a single work and have misread the name *Gurvarthadīpikā* as *Gūḍhārthadīpikā*" and ended by attributing it to Vij.! Mm. SASTRI has himself made no attempt to fix the date of Madhusūdana[4] and until this is done we cannot pronounce Vij. to be later than him *solely* on the authority of the *Nyāmṛta-Kaṇṭakoddhāra* which for aught we know, may not be the work of Vij. at all.

He proceeds : "*If* Vij. is to be really regarded as the direct disciple of Vyāsatīrtha himself (whose date has been given by SASTRI as 1467-1539 in one place and as c. 1425-1500 in another!), A. Nṛsimhāśrama, Madhusūdana, Balabhadra, Taraṅgiṇī-Rāmācārya and Vij. must necessarily have

1. There is no mention of any such com. in the catalogues of the Mysore and Tanjore Oriental Mss. Libraries, nor in AUFRECHT's *Catalogus Catal.*

2. Mys. O. L. C-1888.

3. The editorial comma here would also be seen to be decisive as to the sense intended to be conveyed.

4. Chinna Svami SASTRI (Three Essays) fixes the date of Madhusūdana, if I remember aright, between 1575-1640 ; and Mm. Prof. Kuppuswami SASTRI (Introd. to *Brahmasiddhi*) as 1625-1700. I place him between c. 1555-1615.

to be regarded as mutually contemporary" (p. 84.) As regards the first part of the sentence, there is no 'if' in the case. Evidence of this has already been cited and the correct date of Vyāsarāya also has been shown to be 1478-1539. As for the latter part, there is no valid reason to suppose that Vij. used any of the works of Rāmacārya, Balabhadra or Madhusūdana. As for Nṛsimhāśrama who wrote one of his works in 1547 and another in 1558, he must certainly have been a contemporary (elder) of both Vij. and A. But that by itself has nothing to do with the question of Vij's authorship of the *Nym-Kaṇṭakoddhāra* now published by Mm. Sastri. He himself mentions that according to the information supplied by H. H. Sri Satyadhyāna Tīrtha the present Svami of the Uttarādi Mutt, the *Nym-Kaṇṭakoddhāra* is the work of Ānandabhaṭṭāraka of the Pāṇḍurangi-family. I see no reason why the suggestion could not be accepted. One thing at least is certain that the work cannot be one of Vij's. The reasons are :—

(1) The *Nym-K.* criticises the *Taraṅgiṇī* in several places. The author of the *Taraṅgiṇī* was a disciple of Raghūttama Tīrtha another famous Mādhva Teacher (and a Pontiff of the Uttarādi Mutt) who was a close contemporary of Vij. and whose Pontifical date is 1557-96. The *Taraṅgiṇī* might then have been written sometime *after* Raghūttama—about 1610 A.D. or so, if not later : We have seen that Vij. was not alive till that date and after, to have criticised the work of a disciple of his own co-religionist contemporary.

(2) The genuine works of Vij. have normally certain introductory verses paying respects to his Gurus Surendra Tīrtha and Vyāsarāya. The verse :

श्रीसुरेन्द्रमुनेः पादपद्मे रागस्य पीडनात् ।
रचेः नखदलोपेते सेवे विष्यक्सिशोभिते ॥

which is characteristic of Vij's works, is absent in the *Nym-K.* And it is difficult to believe that Vij. would have ignored his teachers Surendra and Vyāsarāya, in so important a work of his as the *Nym-K.* is claimed to be.

(3) Vij. was an Ascetic. No ascetic would refer to a householder-predecessor of his, however eminent a scholar the latter might have been, as a "CARAṆA" (sic. Pādāḥ). There is a reference on p. 62, of Sastri's edn. of the *Nym-K.* to *Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya* (author of the *Maṇi*) as "CARAṆA" : which shows that the author could not be an Ascetic like Vij. but some householder (like Ānandabhaṭṭāraka).

(4) There is no Pandit-tradition among the Mādhvas of Vij. having criticised the *Advaitasiddhi* and the *Taraṅgiṇī*.

(5) We have quite a different commentary on the *Nym.* by Vij. entitled "Āmoda", of which a Ms is preserved at the T. P. L. It is thus unlikely that Vij. would have thought it fit to write another one on the *Nym.*

(6) Lastly, this *Āmoda* itself has been quoted and criticised on two occasions—as will be shown anon,—in the course of the *Nym-K.* This one

fact is by itself sufficient to discredit the theory of Vij.'s authorship of the *Nym-K.* upheld by Mm. SASTRI. Of this we shall see more.

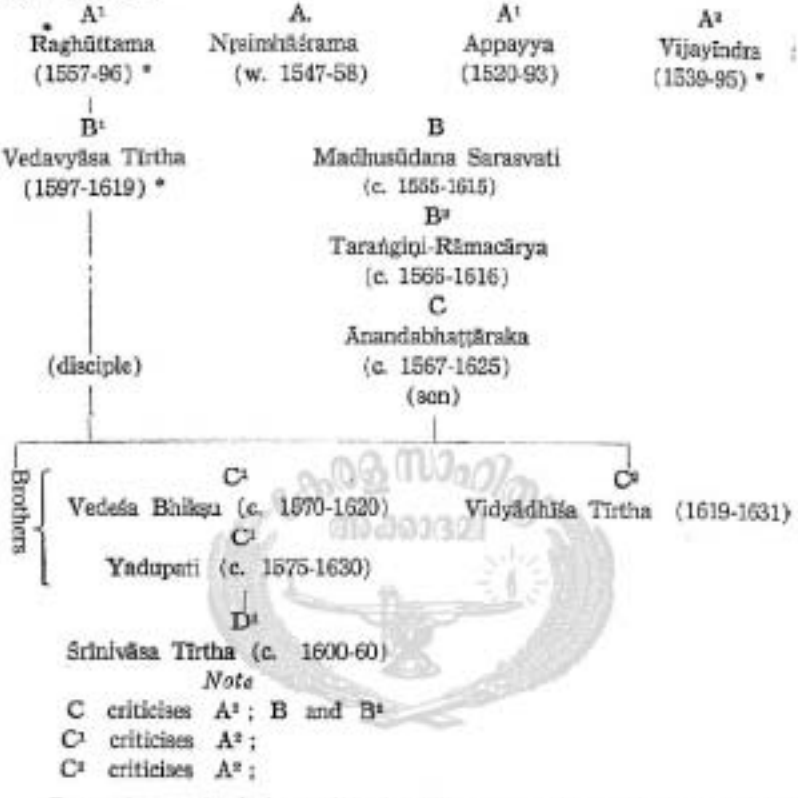
(7) Syt. SASTRI considers that there are refutations also of the com. of Śrīnivāsa Tīrtha, in the *Nym-K.* now published. As a matter of historical fact however, this is impossible, as Śrīnivāsa Tīrtha is later than both Vij. and Ānandabhaṭṭāraka, being a grand-disciple (प्रशिष्य) of Vedeśa Bhikṣu who in his turn (1) was the grand-disciple of Vij's contemporary, Raghūttama Tīrtha and (2) has expressly criticised some of Vij's interpretations. Ānandabhaṭṭāraka's son Vidyādhīśa was a "सतीर्थ" (fellow-disciple) of Śrīnivāsa Tīrtha's grand-preceptor (परमगुरु) Vedeśa under Vedavyāsa Tīrtha (of the Uttarādi Mutt). And like Vedeśa, Vidyādhīśa also has criticised certain of the views of Vij. It would follow from these that Vij. and Ānandabhaṭṭāraka were both very much anterior to Śrīnivāsa Tīrtha and even his Paramaguru-Vedeśa. Śrīnivāsa is *fourth* in the succession of disciples from Vij's contemporary Raghūttama and *second* from Vij's critic Vedeśa. The reference therefore on p. 62, of the *Nym-K.* to an earlier com. on the *Nym* does not seem to be to that of Śrīnivāsa Tīrtha; but to one anterior to him and which he himself had followed rather closely. The agreement between the two sets of passages is also only partial. The latter (Śrīnivāsa Tīrtha's) seems in places to be a condensation of the remarks of the work cited in the *Nym-K* :—

"समूहालम्बनसंशयविषयत्वरूपभिमतेर्विप्रतिपत्तौ धर्मितावच्छेदकत्वं नेत्यर्थः। अननुगतावच्छेदकमन्तरेणैव अननुगतानियतविषया विप्रतिपत्तौ धर्मितावच्छेदिकोच्यते? आद्येऽसंभवः। अननुगतावच्छेदकमन्तरेण तस्याः नियतविषयत्वासंभवात्। द्वितीयेऽपि, किमनुगतो धर्मो ब्रह्मप्रमान्येनेत्यादयुक्तरूपं वा? भिमतिरेव वा? नाद्यः तदनादरणात्। तदादरे वा, स एव विप्रतिपत्तौ धर्मितावच्छेदिकोस्तु। कृतं तदप्रमाधीनग्रहणया भिमतेः धर्मितावच्छेदकावकल्पनया। न द्वितीयः आत्माश्रयादित्याह—'आत्माश्रयादिति' इति व्याख्यानं, तदनादरणीयम्॥ (*Nym-K.*, p. 62.)

अननुगतावच्छेदकमन्तरेण भिमतेर्नियतविषयत्वार्थमवादनुगतावच्छेदकेनानुगता नियतविषय भिमतिरेव विप्रतिपत्तौ धर्मितावच्छेदिकेति वक्तव्यम्। तत्रानुगमको धर्मः किं प्रमान्येनेत्यादयुक्तरूपो वा, भिमतिरेव वा? नाद्यः। उक्तासङ्गत्यिदुक्तत्वेन तदनादरणात्॥ आदरे वा, स एव विप्रतिपत्तौ धर्मितावच्छेदकोऽस्तु। कृतं तदप्रमाधीनग्रहया भिमत्या धर्मितावच्छेदकत्वेन कल्पितया। न द्वितीयः। भिमत्यनुगतीकृता भिमतिः धर्मितावच्छेदिकेत्युक्तौ स्वेनानुगतीकृतस्य स्वस्यैव धर्मितावच्छेदकत्वप्राप्त्या आत्माश्रयस्य, स्पष्टत्वादिति भावेनाह—आत्माश्रयादिति॥ (Śrīnivāsa Tīrtha, p. 12-13 Bombay.) This would make it clear that the author of the *Nym-K.* was not quoting directly from the com. of Śrīnivāsa Tīrtha, but from one to which the latter was himself presumably very much indebted.

SASTRI's assumption of Vij.'s authorship of the *Nym-K.* makes it yet more impossible for Śrīnivāsa Tīrtha to be the author cited by him since the latter is separated from Vij. by a greater interval of time than from Ānandabhaṭṭāraka.

The following table would make the relationship of the parties concerned, very clear :—



Note

C criticises A² ; B and B²
C¹ criticises A² ;
C² criticises A² ;

Dates thus make it impossible for Vij. to have been the author of the *Nym-K.* now published by Mm. Sastri.

Quite apart from these chronological difficulties, there are, as already alluded to, two convincing pieces of internal evidence from the *Nym-K.* itself which prove beyond all doubt that its author cannot be Vijayīndra Tīrtha.

On P. 5, of the com, the author is found to quote and criticise the explanation of an introductory verse of the *Nym* : अनुचक्रुपनात् कपि (सक्लोऽऽ अमो मम) given by one of his predecessors.[1] These comments (so repudiated) are identical with those found in the *Amoda* of Vij. :—

* Indicates the dates of succession to the Pontificate and demise.

1. Often had it seemed possible to me that the com. in question might as well be that of Vij. himself. But the matter could not be verified as the ms. of Vij's com. on the *Nym.* (*Amoda*) deposited in the Tanjore Palace Library (p. 8108) was wanting in the whole of the I Parichcheda. My attention was subsequently drawn to a complete Ms. of the *Amoda* in the Library of the Dvaita Siddhānta Sanskrit College, Udipi. I applied to my friend Mr. M. Ramachandra Rau, Principal of the College, for an extract from the *Amoda* of Vij. on the verse in question,

(1) "ननु, '**अनुक्तकथनात्**' इति कथम् ! ×××××××× 'ज्ञानिनामप्युक्तिवैमुख्यदर्शनात् । ज्ञातस्य सर्वस्योक्तिनियमाभावात् । अस्मदादिष्वपि ज्ञातसुर्वानुक्तैरनुभवसिद्धत्वाच्च 'अनुक्तकथना' दिति यथाश्रुतमेव साधु, **इत्येके** ॥ तन्न मनोरमम् ॥ ××××× तस्मादनुक्तत्वेन प्रतीयमानत्वमेवानुक्तशब्दार्थः ॥ (*Nyāyāmṛta-Kaṇṭakoddhāra*, p. 5)

"न च '**अनुक्तकथनात्**' इत्ययुक्तम् । पूर्वाचार्यैः प्राचीनग्रन्थेषु कथनीयस्य सर्वस्याप्यर्थस्य कथनात् । अन्यथा तत्र तेषामज्ञानप्रतिपादनं पर्यवसितं स्यात्, इति वाच्यम् ॥ ज्ञानिनामप्युक्तिवैमुख्यदर्शनात् । तदभावेऽपि, ज्ञातस्य सर्वस्योक्तिनियमाभावाच्च । अस्मदादिष्वपि ज्ञातसर्वार्थानुक्तैरनुभवसिद्धत्वाच्च । अन्यथा तस्य तदज्ञानप्रतिपादनपरत्वे, 'अज्ञातकथनात् क्वापि' इत्येव ब्रूयात् ॥ तस्मादित्यविवेचितम् ॥ (*Nyāyāmṛta-Amoda* : *Vijayīndra*)

(2) **विप्रतिपत्तौ न विमतिर्धर्मितावच्छेदिका; आत्माश्रयात्** ॥ चच—"विमतिशब्देन विप्रतिपत्तिवाक्यग्रहणे आत्माश्रयः । तच्च्यसंशयग्रहणे त्वन्योन्याश्रयः' इति **व्याख्यानं** तदसत् ॥ (*Nym-Kaṇṭakoddhāra* p. 63)

विप्रतिपत्तौ न विमतिर्धर्मितावच्छेदिका; आत्माश्रयात् ॥ "अत्र विमतिशब्देन विप्रतिपत्तिवाक्यस्य ग्रहणे आत्माश्रयः तच्च्यसंशयग्रहणे त्वन्योन्याश्रय इति वोध्यम्॥ (*Nym-Amoda*)

These extracts speak for themselves and comment is needless. Surely, *Vij. cannot be the author of a commentary* (like the *Kaṇṭakoddhāra*) *that repudiates some of his own explanations in the Amoda* ! The Mm. has therefore been utterly misguided in seeking to father the *Nym-K.* on Vij. with the ulterior object of escaping and overthrowing the well-established fact of his close contemporaneity with Appayya Dīkṣita. But the attempt has been foredoomed to failure.

II. *Taraṅgiṇī-Rāmācārya**

In the same Introduction (p. 88) *Syt.* SASTRI has invented other "Research Bubbles"—to use his own phrase, and spread them round Vyāsa-Rāmācārya, the author of the *Taraṅgiṇī* which is one of the commentaries edited by him.

There is a tradition that Rāmācārya went to Bengal and studied the *Advaitasiddhi* under its author, in the guise of an Advaitin. On the day of the termination of his studies, he presented to his Guru a complete refutation of his work as his Gurudakṣiṇā. This refutation was the *Taraṅgiṇī*. The Guru was naturally very much put out by this unforeseen attack and hastily added a verse protesting against his critic :

इह कुमतिरतत्त्वे तत्त्ववादी वराकः प्रलपति वटकाण्डे खण्डनाभासमुच्चैः ॥
प्रतिवचनमसुष्मै तस्य को वक्तु विद्वान्यहि रुतमनुरौति ग्रामसिंहस्य सिंहः ॥

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which was readily sent. The result was indeed as I had anticipated. The comments on "Anuktakathanāt.." quoted and criticised in the *Nym-K.* are *the same as those found in the Amoda* of Vij.

* R will hereafter denote Rāmacārya. Mm. SASTRI is wrong in stating that he is also called "Rāmatīrtha" (P. 13, line 12. Skt. introd.) He is not. Not *all* writers (श्रीमच्चसम्प्रदाये प्रायेणाचार्याः सर्वेऽपि तीर्थपदेन... p. 13. fn. SASTRI) but *only* Sannyāsins are designated by the term "Tīrtha," by the followers of Madhva. And R was not one.

The story is repeated also by Rājendranāth Ghose in his introd. to his edition of the *Advaitasiddhi* and is quoted by SASTRI.

R. himself gives a few details about his personal history. From these the Mm. could have drawn perfectly valid conclusions if only he had had his prejudices against the Mādhvas in proper check. The facts are that R. was a native of the village of Ambā-(Aficā)-purī on the *Godaveri*. His family name was "VYĀSA" and Gotra that of Upamanyu.[1] His descent was as under :

Mudgala Vyāsa
|
Murāri Vyāsa
|
Viśvanātha Vyāsa
|
Nārāyaṇa Vyāsa — "Vyāsa"-Rāmācārya

As already pointed out R. was a disciple of Raghūttama Tīrtha of the Uttarādi Mutt. This is clear from introductory verse 4, of the *Tarangini* :—

मनोजवित्वां मनसां हि पत्या रघूत्तमार्यं स्वगुरुं नमामि ॥

But mysteriously enough we are told on p. 88 of SASTRI's introd. that "his (R's) preceptor's name is *given* as Raghunātha Tīrtha"! Had he made proper inquiries, Syt. SASTRI would have found that Raghunātha was the name of Raghūttama's grand-preceptor (परमगुरु) on the Pīṭha, who died in 1502 and that the two are different personages.

It is difficult to follow the discovery that R's father could not have been a "born Mādhva." His name Viśvanātha-Vyāsa, gives SASTRI "*ample scope to imagine*" so. [Italics mine]. He explains (i) that no orthodox Mādhva would ever dream of christening his son by an epithet of Śiva.—(ii) So great is his sectarian bias against the Great God. "If this be the case" continues the Mm., "of which there is every chance", it does not sound impossible at all that R. took his lessons from Madhusūdana! Here again, he is banking upon his morbid sectarian imagination. It is clear from these remarks of his that SASTRI knows next to nothing about the theory and practice of Madhva's faith. It is no doubt true that the followers of Madhva prefer Vaiṣṇavite names as a matter of faith and ācāra. But then, there is no religious ban on Śaivite names as such. I can assure SASTRI from my own personal knowledge that there are even to-day many Mādhvas bearing the name of "Subrahmaṇya" which is obviously Śaivite. One of the direct disciples of Madhvācārya himself, was named "Śaṁkarācārya." This Śaṁkarācārya was the brother of Trivikrama Paṇḍitācārya who is well-known to students of Dvaita Literature. And this Śaṁkarācārya himself is the author of a commentary on one of Madhva's works and retained his

1. He cannot therefore have belonged to the Ādya family as claimed by the Editor of the *Mādhvamitram*, *Kumbakonam* (Vol. IV. 1931-2, p. 266) the gotra of the latter being Jāmadagnya.

name. Among the Svāmis of the Uḍipi Mutts, there have been in the past, three "Viśveśa" Tirthas, one "Sureśvara," one "Viśvanātha" (Kāṇūr, 7), two Viśvādhiśvaras and one "Viśveśvara" (a well-known commentator on the *Aitareya-Bhāṣya*).

The name "Mudgala" is quite common among orthodox Mādhvas in the North Kanara districts. Mudgala and Muṭāri may as well suggest that R.'s grandfather and great-grandfather were both Vaiṣṇavas by faith. As for Viśvanātha Vyāsa, I have just shown that such a name—even supposing that it is obdurately Śaivite—is not at all incompatible in a Mādhva. Here again, Śyt. SASTRI has, in his anxiety to damn the Mādhvas, somehow, overlooked one important fact recorded by R. himself that his father Viśvanātha Vyāsa was the author of a commentary on the *Sadācāra Smṛti* of Madhvācārya :—

".....समधायो विश्वनाथा भिधाम् ।
धर्मं व्यलिख पूर्णधीकृतसदाचारस्मृति व्याकृति
व्याजेन प्रणमामि तं पितरमुद्घोषाय शब्दार्थयोः ॥ (Verse 5, *Taraṅgiṇī*)

This is probably because he does not know that Pūrṇa-dhī is an epithet synonymous with Pūrṇaprajña which is another name of Śrī Madhvācārya, and that the *Sadācāra Smṛti* is the name of *one of the thirty-seven works of Madhva!*

If no orthodox Mādhva would dream of christening his son by a name of Śiva, is he at all likely to tolerate it and continue to bear it? Why has not this simple idea occurred to Śyt. SASTRI? If the name "Viśvanātha" was bound to be such an anathema to Mādhva ears and sentiment, why did not R.'s father discard it for a more agreeable one? That he did not choose to oblige Śyt. SASTRI that way is clear indication that the latter is much mistaken in his opinion of the Mādhvas!

As for the alleged sectarian bias of Mādhvas against the "Great God" (Mahādeva?) it is time some body told the world the truth of the matter. It is no doubt true that Madhva believed in the supremacy of Viṣṇu as the highest God of the Hindu Pantheon, and as being identical with the Bahman of the Vedānta. In this he was at one with other Vaiṣṇava Theists like Rāmānuja, Vallabha, and Caitanya. A section of the Advaitins also have leaned to Viṣṇu as the highest approximation to the Saguṇa Brahma of their creed. In any kind of Theism or Monotheism which insists upon a Personal God, a tinge of so-called 'sectarianism' is bound to arise, in an attempt at defining the Supreme and fixing His identity. But there is really no room for hatred of Śiva or of any other Hindu God, in the system of Madhva. Śiva has a place in this system, in the hierarchy of gods; only he is not at the head of it. This is certainly not the place to go into the logical satisfyingness of this doctrine and I am sure Śyt. Sastri also will not expect it. It is however one thing to say that Madhva does not give the highest place to Śiva and quite another to assert that he was a bigot and an inciter of hatred against Śiva and approved of sectarian bias against him. Far from it.

Every tree must be judged by its fruits. The history of Mādhva's faith gives no support to the curious charge made by Śyt. Sastri.[1] Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya, the biographer of Madhva has left us a *Stuti* in praise of Śiva. Vyāsa Tīrtha has left another. Even today a special service is held in the Maṭha of Vyāsarāja Svāmin on the Mahāśivarātri night, when a Liṅga is worshipped. The practice of boycotting Śiva temples obtains only among the followers of Rāmānuja. As the Tamil saying goes, they are advised not even to enter a Śiva temple and take refuge in it, even when an elephant is after them. Madhva himself, in his own days, paid visits to the shrines of Rāmeśvaram and Benares. To the last day of his life he used to hold his classes in the Temple of Ananteśvara at Uḍipi. Vādiraja Svāmin, undertook a grand tour in India and has in his *Tīrtha-prabandha*, left us an account and praises of the various centres of worship in the north and south of India. These include many Śaivite temples and places of pilgrimage. While the followers of Rāmānuja would on no account make pilgrimages to Rāmeśvaram or Benares, or worship in Śiva temples, the followers of Madhva have always kept up an attitude of healthy toleration and catholocity of conduct.

They do willingly worship in Śiva temples, observe many Śaivite feasts as the *Vināyaka Caturthī*. I have even known a few taking service in a Śiva temple which would simply be unthinkable in a Śrī-vaiṣṇava. The famous tomb of Raghūttam Tīrtha at Tirukoilūr (S. Arcot) is even today visited by hundreds of devout Smārtas which unmistakably proves that the ancient Mādhva teachers had set a very high example of good-will and toleration. It may interest Śyt. SASTRI to learn that the famous Vijayīndra Tīrtha, (in spite of his theological and philosophical differences with Appayya Dīkṣita) was a very good personal friend of the latter. The gift of Arivilimangalam which he received from Śevappa was divided by Vijayīndra into 60 shares and distributed among twenty-three Brahmins of different gotras. Among them there undoubtedly were a good many Smārtas, Advaitins. The names of the following few are indeed noteworthy :—

1. Somā Bhaṭṭa son of Appalabhaṭṭa
2. Śaṁkara-nārāyaṇendra son of Vārāṇasī (Kāśī-?) bhaṭṭa
3. Bhāgavatam Venkayya son of Sūryanārāyaṇa Makhī
4. Cakra Śāstri
5. Rāmā Dīkṣita. etc.

I earnestly hope that Śyt. SASTRI would at the earliest opportunity make a statement withdrawing his unfounded and offensive remarks against the Mādhvas and revise his opinion on the date of Vijayīndra Tīrtha and other allied matters.

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1. Similar stuff against the alleged bigotry of the Mādhvas is to be found also in the Sanskrit Introd. to the recently published *Saṁkara-pāda-bhāṣya* of Raghunātha Sastri Parvate. (Ānandāśrama Series, No. 102.) For a more detailed treatment of this vexed question see my paper on the Saura Purāṇa (Annals B. O. R. I., Poona, Vol. XIII. Part 1.)

THE STORY OF ŚĀNTĀ IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

By

M. P. L. SASTRY

The story of Śāntā, wife of the great sage Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, appears for the first time in the Rāmāyaṇa. Sumantra tells the story of Śāntā to King Daśaratha in connection with the sacrifice that was about to be performed by Daśaratha for begetting children. Sumantra says that he heard the story from Sanatkumāra who predicted that Daśaratha would beget children by performing a sacrifice with the help of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga. It is in this connection that the story of Śāntā is mentioned in detail.

Rōmapāda king of the Aṅgās was the father[1] of Śāntā and a great friend[2] of Daśaratha. King Daśaratha goes to Rōmapāda with his queens and ministers (सांतःपुरः सहामात्यः प्रययौ) and requests him to send his daughter Śāntā with Ṛṣyaśṛṅga to Ayōdhyā to attend the sacrifice. The following is the request made by Daśaratha

शांता तव सुता राजन् सहभर्त्रा विशांपते।
मदीयं नगरं यातु कार्यं हि महदद्भुतम्॥ 11 Sarga. Bālakāṇḍa

This Rōmapāda, king of the Aṅgās was said to be a friend and a relative of Daśaratha. This we see in the passage.

सख्यं संबंधकं चैव तदा तं प्रत्यपूजयत्। (Bāla 11–18)

The सम्बन्ध, however is not indicated, still the story is clear. We have no doubt that Śāntā is the daughter of Rōmapāda who married her to Ṛṣyaśṛṅga and king Daśaratha who was a great friend and a relative of Rōmapāda brought them to Ayōdhyā to be present at the sacrifice he was about to perform.

The story is mentioned in the Harivaṃśa where the author in giving

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1. एतस्मिन्नेव काले तु रोमपादः प्रतापवान्।
अंगेषु प्रथितो राजा भविष्यति न संशयः॥
आनाय्य च महीपालः कृत्यार्थं सुसंस्कृताम्।
प्रयच्छ कन्यां शांतां वै विधिना सुसमाहितः॥ 9th Sarga, Bālakāṇḍa.

. . . . . .

अंतःपुरं प्रवेश्यास्मै कन्यां दत्वा यथाविधि।
शांतां शांतेन मनसा राजा हर्षमवाप सः॥ 10th Sarga, Bālakāṇḍa

2. अंगेश्वरं महाभागं रोमपादं सुसंस्कृतम्।
वयस्यं राजसिंहस्य समानय यशस्विनम्॥ (Bālakāṇḍa 13-25)

the genealogy of the Aṅga kings mentions Śāntā as the daughter of Rōmapāda (alias Daśaratha)

The following is the reference we find in it.

अंगपुत्रो महानासीद् राजेन्द्रो दधिवाहनः ।
दधिवाहनपुत्रस्तु राजा दधिरथोऽभवत् ॥
पुत्रो दधिरथस्यासीच्छन्तुल्यपराक्रमः ।
विद्वान् धर्मरथो नाम तस्य चित्ररथस्सुतः ॥
तेन चित्ररथेनाथ तदा विष्णुपदे गिरौ ।
यज्ञसा सहचक्रेण सोमः पीतो महात्मना ॥
अथ चित्ररथस्यापि पुत्रो दशरथोऽभवत् ।
(रो) लोमपाद इति ख्यातः तस्य शांता सुताभवत् ॥

अंग (31 Canto. *Harivaṃśa*)
|
दधिवाहन
|
दधिरथ
|
धर्मरथ
|
चित्ररथ
|
दशरथ (Rōmapāda)
|
शान्ता (daughter).

It is at this point that the basis for confusion in the minds of future writers and commentators is introduced by calling the Aṅga king as Daśaratha, who was also known as Rōmapāda.

The story of śāntā appears in a changed form in the *Uttararāmacarita* of Bhavabhūti.

In the prelude of the drama we find that the mothers of Rāma had left for the hermitage of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga the son-in-law of the family ; along with the sage Vasiṣṭha. The following conversation will reveal the relationship of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga with the people of the Ikṣvāku line and we see that śāntā is considered as the daughter of King Daśaratha of Ayōdhyā.

नटः— अन्यच्च

वसिष्ठाधिष्ठिता देव्यो गता रामस्य मातरः ।
अरुंधतीं पुरस्कृत्य यज्ञे जामातुराश्रमम् ॥

सू— वैदेहिकोऽस्मीति पृच्छामः कः पुनर्जामाता ।

नटः— कन्यां दशरथो राजा शांतां नाम व्यजीजनत् ।
अपत्यकृतिकां राज्ञे रोमपादाय तां ददौ ॥

विभंडकसुतस्तां ऋष्यशृंग उपयेमे । तेन द्वादशवर्षं सत्रमारब्धं ।

This mistake of the author in calling Śāntā as the daughter of Daśaratha of the solar race though definitely said otherwise in two authoritative works such as the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Harivaṁśa* is made worse by the commentator who explains

"कन्यां व्यजोजनत् अजनयत्। तां शांतां रोमपादाय तन्नाम्ने अपत्यकृतिः व्यापारः यस्याः तथाविधां तेषां द्विभावे तिकिप्। कन्यां ददौ। इत्युक्तं फलत्रार्थमिति प्रतीतेस्तद्वारायाय अपत्यकृतिकां इति। ददौ दत्तवान्। तेन ऋष्यशृंगेण सत्रं आरब्धम्।"

The above explanation that Śāntā was given away in adoption to Rōmapāda by king Daśaratha either due to the love of friendship or the intimate relationship between them seems rather improbable for one thing that Daśaratha himself was childless and in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and elsewhere he is always spoken of as a man grieving for children. In face of this it is absurd to suggest as the author does and the commentator agrees that Daśaratha had a daughter Śāntā whom he gave away to Rōmapāda. Nor can this change be said to have been introduced to get some dramatic effect, for in the drama no such useful effect can be discovered.

In the *Campūrāmāyaṇa* a work of the 11th century A.D. the story of Śāntā is again mentioned.

अथारिमर्दनत्वत्वया इष्टमानमागते पुत्रार्थम् ऋतुमध्यमेव विधातुं मंत्रिभिः सह मंत्रयमाणे दशरथे सुमंत्रः ब्रह्मदमना महर्षेः अंगदेशसंगतावग्रहनिग्रहशौंडस्य विभांडकसूनो रवश्य ऋष्यशृंगस्य प्रसादात् प्रभवो भविता कुमाराणामिति सनत्कुमारोदितं पुरावृत्तमस्मै कथयामास।

सोऽपि सुमंत्रवचनात् शांताधिः **शांता कुटुंबिनं संबंधिनं** मुनिमानीय वसिष्ठाधिष्ठं अश्वमेधाध्वरं सरयूरोधसि विधातुं तत्र पुत्रीवामेहि पित्रिवत् कर्तुमारभत।

Ṛṣyaśṛṅga is referred to here as शांता कुटुंबि and संबंधि.

From the above passages it is not clear who exactly Śāntā is, whether she is the daughter of Rōmapāda or king Daśaratha, as mentioned in the drama *Uttararāmacarita*. The only reference from which we can infer that Śāntā may have been the daughter of Rōmapāda is the reference to Ṛṣyaśṛṅga as अंगदेश संगतावग्रह निग्रह शौंड but we are not sure that the inference be quite justifiable. In fact the story in the *Campūrāmāyaṇa* is in such a condensed form that a good deal of knowledge on the part of the readers is assumed and where a difficulty arises no light can be derived from the text.

However what is left vague and unexplained by the author has been ingeniously explained by the commentator in the following way.

शांताकुटुंबिनं शांता नाम अंगदेशाधीश्वरस्य पुत्री रोमपादनाम्नः तनया। तया कुटुंबिनं कुटुंबवंतं। शांताजानिं इत्यर्थः। अवग्रहनिवारणानंतरं पारितोषिकतया निजपुत्रिकाया दत्तत्वादिति भावः। अत एव संबंधिनं। बंधुं। रोमपादस्य दशरथस्य च सौहार्दसंबंधसोदरभावस्य च विद्यमानत्वात् इति भावः।

No doubt the commentator is aware of the fact that Śāntā was the daughter of Rōmapāda as narrated in the *Vālmīkirāmāyaṇa*. He finds it difficult to explain the word संबंधिन and therefore begins to build up his own theory by saying that it was a friendly relationship that existed between

Rōmapāda and Daśaratha and therefore Śāntā was considered as the daughter of Daśaratha. But in the *Rāmāyaṇa* from which evidently help has been derived in explaining this passage we find that Rōmapāda was both a friend and a relative of Daśaratha. When Daśaratha arrived at the court of the Aṅga king to meet Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, Rōmapāda explained to Ṛṣyaśṛṅga the friendship and the relationship that existed between himself and the Ikṣvāku king according to Vālmīki.

The reference here is to the statement

रोमपादेन चाख्यातं ऋषिपुत्राय धीमते ।
सख्यं संबंधकं चैव तदा तं ऋष्यपूजयत् ॥ *Bālakāṇḍa*

Sarga 11. stanza 17-18.

The commentator of the *Cāmpūrāmāyaṇa* has taken undue liberties and tried to explain a thing which is neither explained in the text on which he is commenting nor in the Rāmāyaṇa the source of both the text and the commentary. This kind of confusion is continued in the later works like the *Ānandarāmāyaṇa* and the *Adbhutrāmāyaṇa*.

However, Rāmavarma the commentator of *Adbhutrāmāyaṇa* seems to have been at pains to explain the confusion by explaining the word शान्ता भर्तारं appearing in the stanza "शांता भर्तारमानीय ऋष्यशृंगं सपोषणं"। as "शांता लोमपाद दशरथस्य अंगपते रेतहशरथमित्रस्य कन्या सनेन राज्ञा ततो लब्धा स्वदुहितृत्वेन कल्पतेत्याख्यायिका।"

According to this, Śāntā is the daughter of Rōmapāda otherwise known as Daśaratha who was a friend of the like name of the Ikṣvāku race and was adopted by him later on. This theory though a conjecture seems to be a reasonable one for one could believe that Daśaratha who was childless had adopted the daughter of Rōmapāda Daśaratha who was his good friend for bringing her up as his daughter.

This commentator seems to have been aware of the confusion on the point and is the only one who has tried at least to explain it. Others were no doubt aware of the confusion but in trying to be ingenious and clever they made it worse and confounded.

One more instance of confusion we get is from the commentary on the Rāmāyaṇa, itself. The commentator who belongs to the 16th century who was perhaps aware of the texts such as the *Harivaṁśa*, *Uttararāmacarita* and the *Campūrāmāyaṇa* commits a great blunder in commenting upon the stanza सांतः पुरः सहाभार्यः प्रथयौ यत्र स द्विजः ॥ (*Bāla* XI. 14).

The word सांतः पुरः is explained as दुहितुः शांतायाः दर्शनोत्सुकत्वेन अंतःपुरस्य आगमनम् ।

Thus tradition has spoiled the original story and even to this day the average man is still confused on the point whether Śāntā is the daughter of Daśaratha or Rōmapāda.

THE IMMEDIATE EFFECTS OF THE MÁRATHÁ ATTACK ON THE ENGLISH TRADING INTERESTS AT SURAT (1664-1669)

By

J. C. DE, Colombo

With praiseworthy precision and lightninglike agility Maráthá horsemen under their able leader Śiváji pounced on Surat, one of the richest depositories of merchandise in Mughul India, plundered the city of its opulence, destroyed at least temporarily the morale of the local Mughul administration, spread panic among the inhabitants, and terrified the European factors, inspite of their courageous defence of their property. The English President's letter of 26th November, 1664, for example says, "Wee are dayly in feare of Sevagees comeing againe, and soe have (been) ever since he was heere.[1]" The Dutch unlike the English had, even during the raid itself, sent a very apologetic reply to Śiváji's demand for money, and "if....a little broadcloth or spices would be acceptable," they said, "we should be pleased to make him a present of some."[2]

The English factory stood out boldly against the almost empty threats of Śiváji who had neither the time nor the inclination of taking resolutely to its siege. The game of facing and overcoming the determined English gunners behind well planned defences was not worth the candle to him. But it is a mistake to suppose that English trading interests escaped scot-free from the raid.

"Mr. Anthony Smith comeing from Swally, was met with and carryed to Sevagee....who tooke," say the English President and Council on 28th January, 1664,[3] "300 rupees ransome of him, and sent him the next day to menace us." "Sevagy," says the letter to Fort St. George of 16th February,[4] "asked his quality and condition who assured him that hee was a common man....tooke 300 rupees and sett him free sending him to us upon his peroul."

"(Siváji) had," says the record kept on board the Loyal Merchant, "Mr. Anthony Smith, prisoner, whom after 3 dales hee released for 350 (*sic*) rupees, haveing certifyed him that hee would cutt of his head."[5] "Wee also learnt," says the Dutch Dairy,[6] "that Anthony Smidth had been captured

1. *Factory Records, Surat*, Vol. 86, 137.
2. *The Diary in Hague Transcripts*, (I. Off.) Series I vol. XXVII, No. 713. I have followed here the translation by Foster in I. A. LI.
3. *O. C.* Vol. 28, 3019; *F. R. Surat*, Vol. 86, 4.
4. *F R. Surat*, 86, 52.
5. *Orme Mss.*, No. 263.
6. Referred to above.

by the marauders and carried to Sivagie, but had had the good fortune to be taken for a menial servant....and so released for a ransom."

Śivájí is also said to have taken "a horse out of our stable and (made) fences of our goods that lay before the custome house and also sufferred them to bee plundered."[7]

Again, when "a party of foote" (was) "caused" "to sally forth the house and fight them," "wee had three men slightly wounded."[8] "Our people," says another document, (came) of againe with one wounded deeply in the shoulder and another shott in the legg with an arrow."

The Maráthá expedition also interfered with the normal transaction of routine business. The landing of ships, for example, that of the Surat Frigate, was stopped, and it was not till the 19th of March that this ship left port.[9]

"You (had)," say the Company's President and Council, "then (at the time of the raid) in cash in your warehouses upwards of 100,000 rupees, all your elephants teeth, all your broad cloth....a cargo of 40,000 royalls from Bantom, virmiliam, perpetuanaes, and a great many other goods..... that wee cannot compute your house to be lesse worth to you then foure-score thousand pounds sterling, besides your President and Council which were intended dead corps, knoweing hee would value us at more then wee and our families are worth." But inspite of every effort made by the factors, "your losse will amount to nearest one thousand pounds, in mercoolas that lay before the custome house to bee sent downe, and lead that was intended to be weighed out to the King." The Company's officers "advised" the imperial government of all their losses "and required satisfaction."

Cooke's letter to which I shall refer again later on, however says, "It is generally reported the Company received no loss at all, only three bales of course cloth that was wanting on (the) Castle Green which afterwards was found and only wanted some odd pieces that might import at most about 200 rupees." Cooke however wanted to minimise the loss deliberately, for certain reasons. "This unhappy disaster," says the record on board the Loyal Merchant,[10] "did obstruct all our businesse, wee being forced to lay aside all buisnesse, haveing spared most part of our men." The ships had sent marines to aid the defence of the factory or shore.

This Anthony Smith, an employee of the Company seems to have been a disreputable character. He is said to have taken advantage of his acquaintance with Śivájí during the raid, and formed plans for betraying "your house, estates and servantts up to him; and this is avowch'd by him that was appointed to write the letter which was intended to be sent the rebell."

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7. President's (and Council's) letter of 28th January, 1664.
8. President's and Council's letter referred to above.
9. *Eng. Factories* 1661-64, p. 317.
10. "A voyage begun in the good ship the Loyall Merchant by me, Nicholas Nillett, commander by God's grace bound for Surratt in East India, beginning the seventh of April, Anno Domnini, 1663" (*Orme Mss.* No. 263)

He was "warn'd....home to answer to you" "for these and other misdemeanours."[11]

Among the indirect effects are to be numbered the general dislocation of trade and the difficuty of obtaining credit facilities. "Money is not now procurable," says an English record of 1665[12], "at interest here, as in former times; for since Sevages robery of this towne those eminent merchants who were wont to furnish the Companyes occations are disabled, and would rather take up moneys to supply their owne; they are generally so disjoynted in their credits and estates a that they will not trust one the others."

No wonder. The immense booty that Śivâjî carried away from Surat is referred to in many contemporary documents. "The town is utterly ruin'd," says the President's letter (of 28th January, 1664) "and very little left either of riches or habitation." "Hee entered the towne" says the letter to Fort St. George (of 16th February), "with fire and sword, hath rob'd and plundered Virgy Vorah, Hodjee Zaide Beague those great and eminent merchants, of the great part of theire riches, with many more, though inconsiderable to them, yet of great estate and fortunes, all lying in gold, silver and jewels, dugg all their houses and, when they had possesst themselves of all, fired them theire houses downe to the ground; all but Hodgee Zaid Beagues our neighbour." According to Anthony Smith, "(one) could not (but) guess, by money heaped up in tow great heaps before Sevagee his tent, than that hee had plundered 20 to 25 lacks of rupees." On one morning "there was brought in near upon 300 porters, laden each with 2 bags of rupees, and some hee guessed to be gold; that they brought in 28 sere of large pearle, with many other jewells, great diamonds, rubies and emeralds." "An incredable quantety of money they found at the house of" "Verge Vora"[13] who was a merchant-prince of the age, having commercial relationships with the English for a number of years and held in great respect by them. "L'-Escaliot"[14] says that at this time he was "the reputed richest merchant in the wourld" with an "estate....esteemed to bee 80 lack of rupees." True to Indian mercantile tradition, he possessed an inordinate desire to save money for sake of the saving. "The two notable Banian traders" ("twee vermaerde Benjaense coopluyden") "Hagieslaesbeek en Wiergenora," as the Dutch Register calls them, refused to spend a few hundred rupees and procure guards who could fight and save their property worth a good few millions from plunder. "Half the town," says the Dutch, "lay on the ground in ashes. With the exception of the Lodge and the English quarters, and also of the new Sara, which is the mansion occupied by some Turkish and Armenian merchants, there were not ten houses left which survived the disaster."

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11. *F. R. Surat*, Vol 86, 194; *O. C.* Vol. 29, 3058.
12. *E. F.* 1665-7, p. 19.
13. Vraja Vorâ, or as Sir JADUNATH SARKAR puts it, "Baharji Borah" (SARKAR: *Shivaji*, p. 103).
14. *Sloane Mss.*, No. 1961.

"Two or three Banian merchants lost" says Valentyn[15] "several millions and the damage in general was fully reckoned at 30 millions."

Again, "a very uncouth, rash, and irregular attempt committed by His Majesties Governour of Boenbaym," was connected with Śivāji's expedition. This according to the English President and Council, was a matter of the gravest concern. "(It) strikes at the utter obstruction of your trade, the losse of all your priviledges, and the great dishonour of the King, the Honourable Company, and the nation." Sir Abraham Shipman is said to have "sent His Majesties pinke Chesanutt" to pull his own chestnuts out of a financial fire. He had "laden (it) with goods for Bantam consign'd to Mr. Humphery Cook, his then secretary, for disposall." "In December, 1663, he return'd from Bantam, laden with some deare bought spices, China roots etc., which were landed privately in Surat and delivered into a Baniars hands for sale." Shortly afterwards, "the famous rebell Sevagy supriz'd the towne, and in the gentrall destruction he made, this Baniars house was burnt" containing Shipman's and Cook's merchandise, "amounting, as falsely pretended, to ruppes, 8,615. Shipman apply'd himself to" (the) "Kings ministers for redresse." In April, Shipman died, "leaving the government and iland" of Bombay "to the aforesaid" Cooke "from whom we have received such continuall trouble in his dayly importunities for money to raise souldiers, build forts, and know not what other designes, that we have been weary of answering his letters."

Cooke now took the law in his own hands and prompted by the seventeenth century privateering tendency, captured "a jounck belonging to this Governour and some merchants of Surat." What made the indignity more unbearable to the Mughal authorities lay in the fact that the ship carried a safe conduct from the Company. "Cook" defended this "soe rude and piraticall an entertainment" by "pretending what he did was to repaire and recover the losse which His Majesty the King of England received at Surat in Sevagys robbery, which he affirms the Mughul ought to make good." He threatened "neither to part with ship nor goods" "unless the Governor doth send him down 10,000 rupees and upwards, for the full import of his losse with interest." The Governor of Surat sent for the English President to answer for this "soe unparallell's a piece of piracy (as we may call it)."

Fortunately for the President, he was ill with gout, "for otherwise he has been certainly imprison'd." His representative "Gerald Aungier" was sent with disavowal and apologies. But the Governor "storme(d) at this answer, giving the Company and the President very abusive language, calling us pirates and thieves" and swore to have "satisfaction to a pice out of the Companies estate before any of our goods (were) laden." "(He) presently embargue(d) all your goods and command(ed) his Customer not to chopp any until further order." "The whole towne," bewailed the Company's

15. *Dagh Register* gehouden int Casteel Batavia etc. p. 197 etc.; in *oud en Nieuw Oost—Indien*.

servants, "cry shame on us, and we ly under soe great a scandall and reproach that none of your servants can stirr out about your business without publique affronts putt on us." The Dutch not to be behindhand with their intrigues, "working or this advantage," "possessed the Governor with such prejudiciall" thoughts of us that "the Company was according to the President, "in danger to loose all" "priviledges and freedom of trade, if some speedy course be not taken to repaire our lost reputation; to effect which, the president ben(t) privately to the Governor" urging among other things that "hee and the Companies servants did the towne" "services" "in Sevagys surprize." But the Mughul officer would not listen to reason. Unless Cooke released the ship and merchandise, "the Companies estate" would answer for the audacious coup. The Company's servants wrote to Cook begging him return the property. But it was for a moment doubtful, if Cooke would comply with their request. Representation they thought, and better be made to the King of England to gain their ends. Cooke had also, it appears, demanded compensation for his losses from the Company's servants who were granted certain customs concessions as a reward for their bravery during the raid. Cooke argued that the money thus obtained did "not belong neither to you nor the Company, but to the English that sustained the loss which was only Sir Abraham Shipman and my selfe."[16]

On the first of March[17] the Company's employees had pointed out to Cooke that his conduct was indefensible. The customs remission was "a nationall good, by which we make noe private advantage." Cooke ultimately released the Mughul ship, and from a letter dated the 4th of April[18] we know that it reached Surat safely. Cooke professed that he had received an assurance from the Governor regarding compensation for "the losse." Cooke is also accused by the factors of having urged the Mughul authorities to exort "the said summe of 8,616 rupees with its interest from the time that Sevagy fired and robb'd the towne." In addition to this, Cooke's action deprived the Company's servants temporarily of their privilege to grant passes, because these were thought now to be of little use, in some quarters.

If these were some of the immediate adverse effects on the Company's trading interests produced directly or indirectly by the Marāthā raid on Surat, in 1664, there were some consequences of that raid which proved immensely beneficial to the growth of the Company's power and prestige. "The noblemen of the army who came to our reliefe," rendered the English "great thankes for the service wee did the King and the country." "Whereupon" Oxenden is said to have "laid" the "pistoll (he held) in his hand" "before the (Mughul) Chief" "sayinv with that hee did now lay down his armes, leaving the future care and protection of the citty to them." Of course, the sober historian shall admit that the English had directly done

16. *F. R. Sur.* 86, 282; *O. C.* Vol. 29, 3157; *F. R. Sur, Vol.* 104, 292; *O. C.* Vol. 29, 3152.
17. *F. R. Sur.*, 86. 278; *O. C.* 29. 3154.
18. *F. R. Sur.*, 86, 291; *O. C.* 29, 3157.

little for the safety of the "the Citty" beyond what they had to accomplish for defending their own property. But the example they, the Dutch and probably a few others set, must have been heartening to the Mughul commander and Emperor.

Moreover they had incidentally proved that their guns were excellent, and their military dispositions formidable. One may add that their ability to dare and do, and dare again, which went a great way towards the establishment of their political power in the future, is vaguely discernible on this occasion.

On that memorable day of his being thanked by the Mughul captain, Oxenden had not also forgotten to claim what he most desired, not territorial power, but commercial concession. "Wee were merchants," he pleaded, "who expected favour from the King in our trade." The sword that was offerred to him, he declined. But he must have felt happy when the Mughul said that "hee did not doubt but that the King, when hee should be advised of the service wee did him, would gratifie us to our content." Not allowing the opportunity to go unprofitably by, the merchant in the English President "hinted to him (the Mughul officer)....expectations to have the customes remitted you as a signall of the King's grace and favour."[19]

The newly appointed Governor of Surat, according to the letter of 26th November, 1664,[20] was very kind to the English. He is said to have been "wonne by your Presidents late services done to the King and him (by his ship "Royal Welcome"). He has also written to the Emperor for further favours and immunities." "You have this whole years customes, both out and in, granted you free." In addition, "all your Europe goods and moneys were transported in your boats directly to your house, without comeing neare the custome house." Such a treatment was considered to be a great honour.

A letter also reached them from "court" "which they heere call Husbull Huckum" (Hasb-ul-hukm) "wherein you have granted you the halfe of your customes for ever." The remission really come to ½%, i.e. a reduction from 2½% to 2%. "Of the 2½%, said the "Kings" firmán, "which you pay to the Kings custome house he hath given you ½% free."

We are also told on 2nd January, 1665[21] that the Governour beg(an) to abate of his kindnesse." Again, when the English came to know that the Emperor had reduced the duties from 2½% to 2% only, and not to 1½%, as they understood him to have done, they made various efforts to enlarge the concession. But they were not successful. Later on, according to Streynsham Master[22] "the King....demanded the ½% againe.... that was taken off for service done at Sevagees first plundering (Surat) and turned out all the writers for letting it pass free soe long."

On 31st March, 1665 a letter sent overland to the Company complains

19. President's and Council's letter of 28th January, 1664.
20. *F. R. Sur.*, 86, 137.
21. *F. R. Sur.*, 86, 155.
22. *Diary of Streynsham Master.*

of the parsimoniousness of the Directors, and says that if some money were spent, larger customs concessions might be obtained.[23] The Company however in their letter which was brought by the African to India on 4th September,[24] expressed gratitude for the concessions already obtained.

On the 1st January, 1656[25] the President and Council pointed out that the remmission of one "yeares customes" meant a saving of Rs. 25,000. They were still trying to "hav(e) the halfe of our whole customes remited us." The President added that he had bribed various officers and nobels for achieving his end, and he "doth not totally despair he shall loose all his pains and charges."

That the offering of such gratuities was an essential condition precedent to the grant of any concession is related in a letter to the Bengal factors, about a week later in date. "Bare solicitations," it urges, "seldom have successe at court."

The Dutch in the meanwhile began to "vie high with mony, bribing all that may stand them in any stead."[26] At last, the customs dues on Dutch goods at Surat were reduced "from 3½% to 2%." The Company's servans pleaded that no individious distinctions should be drawn between the Dutch and themselves. The Emperor agreed to levy a duty of only 2% on their goods (both imports and exports), and grant them other concessions by his farmán of the 11th Muharram in the tenth year of his reign.[27]

It is not at all difficult for the student to find out references to the cardinal importance of, a definition of, and reduction in, customs duties to be paid to the Mughul, at Surat, in contemporary documents.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Dutch, for example, "approached to the gates of your Majesty's court, expecting at the feet of your Majesty's throne," "whose brightness is like that of the sun, and reaches to the skies," "to offer their just complaints against the officers of Your Majesty at Suratte, who have been extremely troublesome to them, in exacting from them illegal duties of their goods bought at Agra and Ahmedabath and thence brought to Surate." In the "Treaty" with the Mughul, which followed, the XIII clause laid down "that the customs of the merchandizes imported, shall (as formerly) be satisfied with merchandizes each in its kind."[28]

The Court Book and other documents of the period contain numerous references, we may further note, to the requests made by and on behalf of the employees of the Company in India, regarding rewards for services rendered in course of the Maráthá raid.[29]

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23. *F. R. S.*, 86, 194; *O.C.* 29, 3058.
24. The Company's Letter Books, Vol. 3, 471.
25. *F. R. S.* 86, 227; *O. C.* 29, 3144.
26. *F. R. S.*, 104, 362; *O. C.* 29, 3168. 27. 25th June, 1667.
28. "Baldaeus." "An exact description of the Coasts of Malbar and Coramandel in the East Indies" (in CHURCHILL).
29. *e.g.* Vol. XXIV, p. 856; p. 888; Vol. XXV, p. 289; Vol. XXVI, p. 54; pp. 221, 230, 328, etc.

NOTES OF THE MONTH

The *Annual Report of the Department of Archæology in Travancore for 1937-38* shows steady progress in the work of this department under the Directorship of Mr. R. V. PODUVAL. Seventeen inscriptions from South Travancore were collected and deciphered by the Department during the year under report. Among the works of art discovered we note a rock-cut relievo at Vilinjam belonging to the 8th Century A.D. and a Jain image at Chitharal of the 9th Century A.D. Of lesser importance are the four mural paintings of the early 18th Century found on the walls of the Garbhagṛha of the Viṣṇu temple at Aranmula as also the mural paintings of the middle or later 18th Century A.D. discovered at the temples at Panayanmarkavu near Mannar. The excavation work at Padmanabhapuram and Vilinjam brought to light foundations of old structures, stone-tubes, grinding stones, a stone cot, a big Chamber Hall, an old tank with a maṇḍapam and old brick-masonry walls etc. At Vilinjam were excavated a sculptured stone with a Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription, one Dvārapāla image in stone and two temples dedicated to Śiva and Gaṇeśa. The excavation at Shencottah brought forth three burial urns. The valuable work done by the Director, Mr. PODUVAL, as local secretary of the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference during the year under review is too well-known to need mention here. The list of Inscriptions in the Inscription Gallery of the Department shows two inscriptions belonging to the 8th century A.D., three inscriptions belonging to the 11th century, four inscriptions belonging to the 12th century and so on. The Roman Catholic Church inscription (Cape Comorin) mentioned in this list belongs to the 15th century A.D. The Department published during the year Vol. VIII of the Travancore Archæological Series. The topographical list of inscriptions in the State will be published by the Department before long.

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We have pleasure in printing below an invitation for liberal donations and contributions towards a Commemoration Volume in honour of Professor K. V. Rangaswamy AIYANGAR to be presented to him on his 60th birth day.

"At a meeting of pupils, friends and admirers of Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami AIYANGAR held on the 5th November at No. 2, Cathedral Road, it was resolved to celebrate the Shashtiabdapurti of the distinguished Professor by presenting him with commemoration volume of essays on History and Economics on the occasion in February 1940 and to present his portrait to the University of Madras with which he has been connected for a number of years in different capacities as a member of the Syndicate, Senate, Boards of Studies and as the special lecturer under different endowments. The estimated cost of the celebrations is Rs. 3000/-.

The committee appeals to the numerous students, friends and admirers of Professor K. V. Rangaswami AIYANGAR to contribute liberally and make the celebrations a success. Donors are requested to send their contributions to Mr. T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI, 2, Cathedral Road, Cathedral, Madras.

P. J. THOMAS,
T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI,
Secretaries & Treasurers."

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE REIGN OF CANDRAGUPTA II VIKRAMĀDITYA

By

JAGAN NATH, Lahore.

It is commonly held by many writers on ancient Indian history that Candragupta II peacefully succeeded to an empire which had been thoroughly consolidated by two of his predecessors. This general belief has been very beautifully expressed by Dr. S. Krishnaswami AIYANGAR in the following words :—

"There seems to have been no opposition of any kind to his accession and the succession therefore was a peaceful one. Such a succession gives us the indication that the empire built at such great pains and organised by two of his predecessors had got into a sufficiently settled condition to be handed on as a peaceful possession. Candragupta's work therefore was not that of the warrior statesman, but was one of a peaceful administrator. All the frontiers appear to have remained without disturbance of any kind except along the south-west where he had to carry on a war, the only war of his reign."[1]

Recently, there has come to light evidence, both literary and epigraphic which necessitates a revision of the old views. It appears now, that neither the accession was undisputed, nor the frontiers were immune from disturbances. Candragupta's was an uphill fight for retaining the sovereign position which had been jeopardised soon after the death of Samudragupta.

Let us first take up the question of his succession. In the inscriptions of the Imperial Guptas known so far, Candragupta II is mentioned as the immediate successor of Samudragupta. But as remarked by the late Dr. K. P. JAYASWAL, "the inscriptions do not seek to give either a complete genealogy or a complete list of successions" but only indicate a particular line of descent. Much emphasis has also been laid on the expression *pādā-nudhyātaḥ*,[2] as indicative of Candragupta's nomination to the throne by his father Samudragupta.[3] But the expression is merely a formal statement indicative of respect, and used with reference to fathers by the sons, by the feudatories for their overlords etc. It is not a proof of chronological order of succession. This is clear from the Nālandā clay seals of Kumāragupta II. Here we find that Puragupta is called as (Kumāragupta)-*pādānudhyātaḥ*, and yet it is certain that the immediate successor of Kumāragupta I was Skanda-

1. *Studies in Gupta History* p. 48.
2. Lit. 'favoured by the feet of.'
3. *Cf.* the recent opinion of Prof. Dr. Sten KONOW "That there was a Gupta emperor of that name is not, I think likely, since Samudragupta himself seems to have made Candragupta his successor," *JBORS*. 1937, p. 446.

gupta and not Puragupta. This is made abundantly clear by the known dates of Skandagupta which run in continuation of those of Kumārgupta I.

The existence of an elder brother of Candragupta II is now more than a possibility. As a result of the recent researches of a number of scholars it has been established that the immediate successor of Samudragupta was not Candragupta II but a king named Rāmagupta.[4] Rāmagupta's rule was very short. His defeat at the hands of an enemy, whose identity we shall discuss below, not only seems to have made him unpopular with the people, but also resulted in an estrangement with his queen Dhruvadevī who became throughly disgusted[5] at the imbecile behaviour of her husband who had purchased peace by agreeing to surrender the queen to the enemy. On the other hand the queen was deeply grateful to the young prince Candragupta, who had hazarded his life to save the queen and the honour of the house. It is no wonder that in these circumstances she unconsciously began to cherish feelings of love for this youth of undaunted courage. Such a situation must have led to harem-intrigues, culminating in the deposition and murder of Rāmagupta. Candragupta now got the throne and Dhruvadevī became his chief queen. These are not mere surmises, but actual happenings the memory of which had survived upto Śaka year 793 or 871 A.D. and have been twice alluded to in the following verses from the inscriptions of Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings :

(a) सामर्थ्ये सति निन्दिता प्रविहिता नैवाग्रजे क्रूरता
बन्धुस्त्रीगमनादिभिः कुचरितैरावर्जितं भावतः।
शौचाशौचपराङ्मुखं न च निजा पैशाच्यमङ्गीकृतं
त्यागेनात्मसदृशैव भुवने यः साहसाङ्कोऽभवत् ॥[6]

'Who did not commit reprehensible atrocity against his elder brother and did not incur ignominy by misdeeds like intercourse with the wife of a kinsman, nor through fear did resort to demoniac course with an utter disregard for

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4. For details see; (*a*) A. S. ALTEKAR, 'A new Gupta King' *JBORS* Vol. XIV, 1928, pp. 223-53, and Vol. XV p. 134; (*b*) D. R. BHANDARKAR, 'New light on Gupta History,' *Mālavīya Commemoration Volume* pp. 189-211 (*c*) K. P. JAYASWAL, 'Candragupta II and his predecessor' *JBORS* Vol. XVIII, pp. 17-36 (*d*) V. V. MIRASHI 'Further light on Rāmagupta,' *IA* 1933 pp. 201-205.

5. Vide the following verse from *Devīcāndraguptam* :—

रम्यां चारतिकारिणीं च करुणां शोकेन नीतां दशां
तत्कालोपगतेन राहुशिरसा गुप्तेव चान्द्री कला।
पत्युः क्लीबजनोचितेन चरितेनानेन पुंसः सतो
ऊनाकोपविषादभीत्यरतिभिः क्षोत्रीकृता ताम्यते ॥

'Having been reduced, by grief to a piteous condition charming, (yet) creative of spiritlessness, (and so) resembling a digit of the moon eclipsed (but concealed) by the head of Rāhu, (she), on account of this imbecile course adopted at that time, by (her) husband, in spite of his being a man, is distressed, being overwhelmed by shame, anger, despair, fear and spiritlessness.'

6. Cambay Plates of Govinda IV, *E.I. VII*, p. 38, *ll.* 26, 27 and Sangli plates, ed FLEET, *IA. XII* p. 260 *ll.* 23-25.

purity or defilement, (but) who became (known) as Sāhasāṅka in this world (only) on account of liberality and unequalled courage.'

(b) हत्वा भ्रातरमेव राज्यमहरद् देवीं च दीनस्ततो
सद्यं कोटिमलेखयन् किल कलौ दाता स गुप्तान्वयः।
येनात्मा त्रिदशेश्वरप्रतिनिधिः स्वराज्यमस्तकृद् बाह्यार्थैः का कथा
ह्रीस्तस्योन्नतिराधुवृद्ध तिलको दातेति कीर्त्यामपि॥[7]

"That donor in the Kali Age, who was of the Gupta lineage having killed his brother, we are told seized (his) kingdom and queen (and) thereafter the wretch caused her to write down one lac one crore. But he who gave away more than once his own kingdom, insignificant (to him) saying: 'Of what account are the external objects was bashful even when the fame (had spread) that the ornament of the exalted Rāṣṭrakūṭas was the (real) donor."

These verses show that a Gupta king who bore the title of Sāhasāṅka and was famous for his great charity had cruelly treated i.e. murdered his elder brother and taken possession of the latter's kingdom and wife. Amongst the kings of the Gupta dynasty Candragupta II is reputed to have been a liberal donor. On his silver coins we find the legend Vikramāṅka.[8] The name of Candragupta's chief queen as given in the inscriptions is Dhruvadevī. From the extant fragments of the play *Devīcāndraguptam* we find that Dhruvadevī was the wife of Rāmagupta. That shows that Candragupta had seized the wife of Rāmagupta. The statement with regard to demoniac conduct is also applicable to Candragupta II,[9] as it is clear from the following passage of *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* that he undertook to propitiate a Vetāla for the accomplishment of his object:

"यथा देवीचान्द्रगुप्ते शकपतिना परं कृच्छ्रमापादिते रामगुप्तस्कन्धावारमनुविधित्सुरुपायान्तरागोचरे निशि वेतालसाधनमभ्यवसन् कुमार चन्द्रगुप्त आत्रेयेण विदूषकेणोक्तः।"

'as in the play Devīcāndragupta, prince Candragupta, desiring to rescue (lit. to show kindness to) Rāmagupta's camp, which had been reduced to a sad plight by the Śaka lord, and undertaking in the absence of any other method of retaliation, to win over a vampire, at night was addressed by Ātreya-the Vidūṣaka'.

All these facts lead to the identification of the Gupta King mentioned in the two verses quoted above with Candragupta II, Vikramāditya, and prove that he had murdered his elder brother and usurped the throne. No motive can be attributed to the composer of these verses for distorting facts.

He has stated the facts as known to him perhaps from the play Devīcandraguptam.[10] In view of these happenings the accession of Candragupta II cannot be called as peaceful.

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7. *E.I.* Vol. XVIII, p. 248. 8. ALLAN, *CCGD* p. CXIV.
9. This has already been pointed out by Prof. V. V. MIRASHI.
10. Dr. H. RAYCHAUDHURI has doubts regarding the reliability of the statements of this play. He points out that historical accuracy has not been adhered

Next let us examine the proposition that Candragupta's main task was not that of a warrior but of a peaceful administrator.

In the Udayagiri Cave inscription[11] of Candragupta II's minister Vīrasena Śāba, there is a very significant statement. Vīrasena is stated to have come there in company of the king whose aim was the conquest of the whole world.[12]

The expression कृत्स्नपृथ्वीजय has so far been taken as a reference to the military campaign against the Śaka Satraps of Ujjain and Surāṣṭra. But it is pertinent to ask if the conquest of two provinces only could have been described by a contemporary writer as the conquest of the whole world. *Kṛtsnapṛthvijaya* is undoubtedly synonymous with *digvijaya*, and implies a military undertaking of a far greater magnitude. Now it may be objected that there were no causes for much arduous campaigning. The bulk of the Indian territory had already been subjugated by Samudragupta, and the frontiers of the Gupta Empire pushed to the utmost limits in the North, South and East. Only in the west Śaka principalities had been left out and these were annexed by Candragupta II. In view of the accepted notions about Candragupta II it is no doubt difficult to imagine that there was a general recrudescence of disturbances in different parts of the empire; but this is at best an *argumentum ex-impossibili*. Samudragupta no doubt, had by his diplomatic ingenuity and military strength, succeeded in winning the voluntary friendship of some and the forced obedience of others, but the weakness shown by his successor Rāmagupta must have given a different turn to that situation. The surrender of Rāmagupta dealt a staggering blow to the prestige of the Guptas, and proved an indirect incitement for the reticent vassals to rebel.

In order to understand the situation it is necessary to examine the genesis of the trouble in which Rāmagupta was involved. According to the statements of Bāṇa in the Harṣacarita, of Bhoja in the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, and of the rhetoricians Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra in the Nāṭyadarpaṇa, it was a Śaka

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to in the play Mudrārākṣa by the same author. (*Political History of Ancient India*, p. 465 n. 1). But we must remember that the event dramatised in the Mudrārākṣasa had taken place about a thousand years before the author's time and he had to depend on traditional accounts entirely. After such a great lapse of time it was but natural that discrepancies should arise; but the case is different in *Devīchandragupta*. In the 6th century—the period to which Viśākhadatta belongs—the facts relating to Gupta history must have been known with a greater degree of precision.

11. D. N. Mookherji refers this inscription to the reign of Candragupta I (*J. I. H.* December 1938). However that is not correct. The Minister Vīrasena calls himself as अन्वयप्राप्तसाचिव्यः who had obtained ministership by heredity. That means that his father was also a minister. Vīrasena was the minister for peace and war. The name of the Minister of Samudragupta in charge of peace and war is Harisena and his father's name is Dhruvabhūti. So that Harisena cannot be a successor of Vīrasena; and must be a predecessor. Vīrasena in all probability was a son of Harisena and thus he would be a minister of Candragupta II and not that of Candragupta I.

12. कृत्स्नपृथ्वीजयाकेंन राज्ञैवेह सहागतः। *cii.* Vol. III. p. 35.

overlord who had compelled Rāmagupta to surrender on these humiliating terms. However according to the verse quoted by Rājaśekhara[13] in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* he was the lord of Khaśas.

Regarding the identity of this powerful adversary different opinions have been expressed. Dr. A. S. ALTEKAR identified him with the Śaka Satrap of Western Malava and Surāṣṭra.[14] The same opinion has been recently expressed by Dr. Sten KONOW.[15] Dr. K. P. JAYASWAL and Prof. V. V. MIRASHI have regarded him as a Kuṣāṇa ruler of the Punjab and Kabul.[16] The evidence of the verse from the Kāvyamīmāṃsā has thus either been ignored altogether, or accepted with modifications. I think it is worth while to examine the various identifications.

In the opinion of Dr. Sten KONOW the trouble arose because a Śaka lord asked for the hand of a Gupta princess. In support of this statement he quotes the following passage from the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta :—

दैवपुत्रषाहिषाहानुषाहिशकमुरुण्डैः सैंहलकादिभिश्च सर्वद्वीपवासिभिरात्मनिवेदनकन्योपायन-दानगरुत्मदङ्कस्वविषयभुक्तिशासनयाचनाद्युपायसेवाकृतबाहुवीर्यप्रसरधरणिबन्धस्य ।[17]

and remarks, "The *ātmanivedana* 'presentation of one's self' i.e. attendance in person could hardly be expected from the Kuṣāṇa King of Kings, but only from the minor chiefs the *daivaputraṣāhi*. What the overlord could do and apparently did was to offer a princess (Kanyopāyana)....For the Śakamuruṇḍas then we should have the *Kanyādāna* which must I think be different from *Kanyopāyana*. I cannot see any other way of bringing out this difference than by taking the whole from *ātmanivedana* to *dāna* as a *dvandva* forming a *tatpuruṣa* with the ensuing *yācanā*: requests of (1) (permission) to present themselves in person, (2) to be allowed to offer a bride; (3) for the bestowal of a bride and (4) for sealed grants for the enjoyment of territories belonging to them (including religious establishments in India ").[18]

Although it is not necessary that we should have one form of *sevā* (service) rendered by one group of rulers, but even conceding that, it is impossible to agree with the suggestion that the Śakas asked for the hands of the Gupta princesses. The author of the inscription wants to glorify his patron by describing the various methods adopted by the foreign monarchs to fan

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13. दत्त्वा ध्रुवदेवीं शकाधिपतये देवी ध्रुवस्वामिनीं
यस्मात् खण्डितसाहसो निवृत्ते श्रीरामगुप्तो नृपः ।
तस्मिन्नेव हिमालये गुरुगुहाकोष्ठकान्तिक्षरे
गौरव्ये तव कार्तिकेयनगरश्रीर्गण्यैः कीर्तयः ॥

श्रीगुप्त is a scribal error for रामगुप्त.

14. *JBORS*, 1928 pp. 249-53. 15. *JBORS*, 1937, pp. 449 and 450.
16. *JBORS*, 1932, p. 29, and *IA*, 1933 p. 205.
17. CII. III p. 8. 18. *JBORS*, 1937 p. 449.

the vanity of Samudragupta. But, the asking for the hand of his daughter certainly does not fall in this category. At least no Indian poet could have regarded it as a compliment to this supreme king.[19]

The compound may be better explained as कन्याश्च उपायनानि च । तद्दानं कन्योपायनत्वानम् । 'the giving of daughters and presents.' Moreover in the case of Rāmagupta, it was not the hand of a daughter (कन्या) that was asked for by the Śaka lord, but his demand was for the surrender of a Gupta queen (देवी). So that the evidence of the Allahabad inscription is not relevant. Dr. ALTEKAR had proposed the identification only tentatively, for want of a better claimant. He admits that there is no conclusive evidence to prove that the "Western Kṣatrapa king had grown so powerful as to compel the surrender of the Gupta queen.[20]

As regards the identification with a Kuṣāṇa ruler of the Punjab, it is doubtful how far we are justified to assume that śaka does not denote only the Śakas but also the allied tribes of Turuṣkas and Kuṣāṇas. Moreover the place where Rāmagupta was besieged, was situated, according to the verse quoted by Rājaśekhara, in the Himalayas in the neighbourhood of Kārtikeyanagara. Dr. D. R. BHANDARKAR has identified this Kārttikeyanagara with Kārttikeyapura mentioned in the Pandukeśvar copper plate grant[21] of Lalita śūradeva, and two Taleśvara[22] copper plates of Dyutivarman of about the sixth century.[23] In all probability this Kārttikeyapura is the same as Kartṛpura mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription as a frontier tributary state. This Kārttikeyapura has been identified with the modern village of Baijnath in the Almora District. There is no evidence that the Kuṣāṇas ever ruled in this part of India, and hence the enemy of Rāmagupta does not appear to have been a Kuṣāṇa ruler.

However we may note the objection raised against this identification of Kārttikeyanagara by Prof. V. V. MIRASHI who thinks that *Kārttikeyanagara* is not to be taken as one word but to be split up as *Kārttikeya*, and *nagare*, the latter being connected with the following expression श्लोकार्धेन । He further says that as the verse has been quoted as an instance of a *muktaka*, it must contain the name of a king, as the verses of this type do. He regards Kārttikeya as another name of King Mahīpāla of Kanauj. However the rule or even a convention does not exist that stanzas of Muktaka type must invariably contain the name of a King. According to the definition of Muktaka

19. Of course in the Talagunda inscription (of Kakusthavarman) we find that the giving away of daughters in marriage to another king is also an item of praise. But in that case the monarch to whom the daughter was given was an Imperial Gupta ruler. The Kadambas who were petty rulers, evidently took pride in being connected with a paramount power. But here the foreigners are represented as paying tributes. They are not superiors.

20. *JBORS.* 1928 p. 252.

21. *I.A.* XXV, p. 178. f.

22. *E.I.* XIII, pp. 116 and 119.

23. See *Mālavia Comm. Vol.* p. 194.

as given by Daṇḍin, it is 'a solitary stanza complete in sense and requiring no help of context for its interpretation.' There are numerous instances of such eulogies of king's fame, in single verses, without any mention of the ruler's name.[24] It may also be pointed out that Mahīpāla's conquest of the Himalaya region is not a fact admitted by all historians, as the evidence relating to it is very vague. Further, if Kārttikeya is separated from *nagara*, the sense of the line will be impaired. The king's fame was sung in the very Himalayas where Rāmagupta suffered an ignominous defeat. How far then it is proper to say that the fame was sung by groups of urban women only? The Himalayas are not noted for many cities! If the statement was a general one, it would have been more proper if the poet had mentioned the conventional Kinnaris and *kirāta* women, instead of 'urban women.' Hence the only reasonable interpretation is that the incident had taken place in the vicinity of Kārttikeyanagara, in the Himalayas. This Kārttikeyanagara we have proposed above, to identify with Kartṛpura, which included the modern district of Almora and some adjoining territory. This is exactly the region occupied by the Khaśa tribe. The mention of the Himalayas and the Khaśa overlord is a real statement of facts and not an imaginary detail filled in by the poet, as Prof. ALTEKAR seems to take it. He further remarks, " The real discrepancy therefore consists in the fact that whereas the enemy of the Guptas is represented as a Śaka king by Viśākhadatta, Bāṇa and Śaṅkarārya he figures as a Khaśa ruler in the verse before us. Unfortunately we do not know who the author of this verse was, when he flourished and whether he had any reliable historic tradition to rely upon. We therefore would be hardly justified in rejecting the unanimous testimony of Viśākhadatta, Śaṅkarārya, and Bāṇa in his favour."[25] However it is worth while to examine how much weight can be attached to this '*unanimous*' evidence, in preference to the verse of the Kāvyamīmāṃsā. This much is certain that the verse quoted by Rājaśekhara is at least earlier than the tenth century A.D. Now Śaṅkarārya belongs to the seventeenth century. As for Viśākhadatta, the fragments of the play *Devīchadragupta* discovered so far, do not contain any indication that the enemy of Rāmagupta was a Śaka overlord. It is only in the prefatory remarks of Bhoja and Rāmacandra Guṇacandra who quote the play that we find mention of the Śaka overlord. But both these authors are later than Rājaśekhara—Bhoja belongs to the eleventh century, Rāmacandra Guṇacandra belong to the twelfth. Thus the so-called unanimous evidence is itself much later than the verse under discussion, with the possible exception of Bāṇa. It is difficult to decide whether Bāṇa has erred or the author of this verse. While it may be argued that Bāṇa was a great scholar and a careful writer, we have also to keep in mind that Rājaśekhara too was a highly learned author. He quotes this verse as an instance of *vṛttetivṛtta* 'a description of actual historical happenings.' That shows that

24. E.g. see *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra*, pp. 140-44.
25. *JBORS*. 1928 p. 243.

Rājaśekhara who appears to be a keen student of geography and history, regarded the statements contained in the verse as true facts.

In view of the fact that we do not know the exact date of this verse, but only the lowest limit, is it not possible that it may be earlier even than Bāṇa? In any case there is no reason to regard it as less reliable, than the account of Bāṇa. The above discussion disposes of the doubts regarding the identity of Rāmagupta's enemy with a ruler of the Khaśa people. The reason of a war in this quarter is not far to seek. We know that the state of Kartṛpura had accepted the overlordship of Samudragupta and paid tribute to the Gupta Emperor. A dispute between the paramount power and its feudatories can arise any moment. While the Gupta emperor was confident of his military strength, the Khaśa's also relying on their natural defences of the mountain fastnesses, might have taken up a defiant attitude. Thus it led to a war in which the Khaśas, placed as they were in an advantageous position, pressed very hard on the Gupta army of invasion. Prof. ALTEKAR has doubts, if the Khaśas were so powerful in the fourth century as to be able to defeat the Gupta army.[26] However it has to be noted that even at present this mountainous country produces the finest soldiers. It is no wonder that sheltered in their highlands where campaigning for an invader is no easy job, they proved invincible for Rāmagupta, even as the Nepalese did in the beginning, for the British armies during the reign of Marquess of Hastings, in the war of 1814-16.

Rāmagupta finding himself in a helpless situation had no alternative but to make an abject surrender. Although the humiliation of the surrender of the queen was averted by the dashing courage of prince Candragupta the incident gave a severe blow to the prestige of the Guptas and had its repurcussions in various parts of the empire. The strained relations between Rāmagupta and his younger brother after this incident, were an additional cause that contributed towards lowering the prestige of the Guptas. They must have led to a relaxation of the control over the feudatory states. The Khaśa rebellion acted like a signal for other vassal States, and the kingdoms of the south and the frontier states of Samataṭa and Ḍavāka also went into revolt. However Candragupta proved equal to the emergency that had arisen. After his succession he marched out in person against the rebels and restored order. These military achievements of Candragupta were duly recorded, but in a manner that has stood in the way of the proper recognition of the facts. The Mehrauli Iron Pillar inscription records that King Candra defeated a confederacy of foes in the Vaṅga country, performed mighty deeds of valour in the south and enjoyed for a long time sovereign power that was the creation of his own arm. HOERNLE[27] and V. A. SMITH[28] proposed to identify king Candra with Candragupta II Vikramāditya, but the identification seemed to be unsatisfactory on account of the following reasons. It is stated

26. *JBORS.* 1928, p. 243.
27. *I.A.* XXI, p. 44. 28. *JRAS.* 1897, pp. 1 ff.

in the inscription that Candra's sovereign power was the creation of his own arms, while Candragupta II inherited the empire built by his father and grandfather. Secondly the exploits in the Deccan suggested the name of Samudragupta rather than that of Candragupta and thirdly the inscription did not contain any reference to the conquest of Mālava and Surāṣṭra. These objections have not been answered so far, although the identification has been recently upheld by eminent writers.[29] It is now possible to answer these objections. Of course Candragupta I and Samudragupta had built an extensive empire, but the trouble had commenced after Samudragupta's death and due to the weakness of Rāmagupta, there was a crop of rebellions; and the empire was on the verge of collapsing. It was a virtual reconquest that Candragupta had to carry out after his accession to the throne.[30] Thus the statement *svabhujārjita* with reference to Candragupta II's sovereignty is perfectly justified. The war in the Deccan also seems to have been necessitated by the insubordination of the vassal rulers in that region. As already stated the infection of Khaśa insurrection had spread very rapidly.

As regards the Śaka war it took place rather late in Candragupta's reign. He came to the throne in or before 380 A.D.[31] The earliest specimens of the coins of the western fabric bear the date 90 [G. S.] or 409 A.D. As the latest date on the coins of the Kṣatraps is 310 Śaka or 388 A.D. the annexation of Mālava to the Gupta empire has to be placed between 388 and 409 A.D. The Udayagiri Cave inscription mentioning the *digvijaya* is not dated. Hence it is not possible to assign a definitely earlier date to the Śaka war.[32] The Mehrauli Iron pillar inscription is no longer held to be posthumous.[33] It seems to have been put up immediately after the victories over the rebels; and thus the omission of the Śaka war is quite natural.

Hence, after the death of Samudragupta the sequence of events appears to be as follows.

Rāmagupta ascended the throne. He was soon involved in a dispute with the vassal state of Kartṛpura. He led an expeditionary force which was defeated and his camp was beseiged. He stooped to purchase peace by surrendering his queen. This ignominy was averted by prince Candragupta's stratagem. The incident was followed by palace intrigues as a result of which Rāmagupta was murdered and Candragupta II came to the throne, and

29. Cf. K. P. Jayaswal, *JBORS.* 1932 pp. 31-33; and Ganga Prasada Mehta, 'Candragupta Vikramāditya' (in Hindi) pp. 53-58.

30. A parallel is afforded by the Mughal history. Babar had founded the Mughal Empire. Humayun lost and regained it. But after Humayun's death there were so many rebellions that Akbar had to wage wars in all quarters and thus he is called the real founder of Mughal power in India.

31. The earliest known date is 61 in the Mathura Pillar inscription *E.I.* XXI.

32. It has been assumed that the event can be placed between 388 and 401 A.D. But the inscription of the Sanakānika chief dated 82, does not say anything about the wars. It might have been put up earlier or later.

33. Cf. D. R. Bhandarkar, *I.C.* Vol. III p. 511 and Dasharatha Sharma *J.I.H.* 1937 p. 13 f. and *I.C.* Vol. V pp. 206 ff.

married his late brother's wife and made her the chief queen. But the infection of rebellion had spread. The success of the Khaśas and the family feuds of the Guptas had encouraged other vassals to make a bid for independence. There were rebellions in various parts. In Vaṅga[34] a confederacy had been formed to fight Gupta-imperialism. The vassal states of Samataṭa, Davāka and perhaps Kāmarūpa had united to give battle.

The princes of the Deccan followed suit but the attempts of the rebels were foiled by the swift action of Candragupta. In order to celebrate these victories and to express his gratitude to the tutelary deity Viṣṇu, Candragupta ordered the setting up of this magnificent iron pillar. It seems impossible that the pillar could have been manufactured in India in any other age than that of the Imperial Guptas. These military achievements justified the assumption of the titles Vikramādiya and Vikramāṅka, and it was not mere vanity that had actuated the emperor to assume these proud epithets.

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34. Vaṅga is not mentioned as a Vassal State in the Allahabad pillar inscription. But as Samataṭa and Vaṅga are more or less synonymous it may be safely assumed that the war was with the vassal states. Samataṭa is the country situated between streams of the Ganges in South Bengal. This very region has been called as Vaṅga by Kālidasa cf.

वङ्गानुत्खाय तरसा नेता नौसाधनोद्यतान्। निचखान जयस्तम्भान् गङ्गास्रोतान्तरेषु सः॥

R. IV. 36.

EXPANSION OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA AND ABROAD

By

BIMALA CHURN LAW

1. *In India.*

During the Buddha's life-time his religion had not spread much beyond the confines of the modern provinces of Bihar and the United Provinces. Even up till the middle of the 3rd century B.C., it remained confined to the Middle Country of the Buddhists and the regions of Ujjeṇī and Mathurā.[1] It needed the practical idealism and proselytising zeal of an Emperor like Asoka backed by the entire machinery of Maurya administration for raising the religion of the Master to the status of an All-India faith and pushing it yet further beyond the limits of his vast empire. His claim of Dhamma-vijaya was not after all an empty-boast.[2] Asoka since his aggressive Kalinga war devoted himself, heart and soul to the the task of propagating the law of the Master within the four corners of his realm as well as outside. His *Dharma-Mahāmātras* were constantly kept busy in seeing that everywhere in the realm the law of the Dharma was observed and that the individuals of the realm were following the ethical implications of the doctrine as he understood it. It was this monarch who gave to the religion a national as well as an international character. If we are to believe his inscriptions and later authorities like Hiuen Tsang, he spread the doctrine as far as Northern Bengal in the east, Nepal and Kashmir in the north, Gandhāra and Kāmboja in the north-west, Surāshtra in the west and Tāmraparṇi (Ceylon) in the south. He also claims to have sent his religious missionaries to distant foreign countries like Egypt and Syria in the West and if tradition is to be believed, to Burma in the East.[3] It is difficult to say to what extent the Western Powers and peoples accepted the doctrine, but it is not improbable that some sort of impression was made in view of the fact that a century or two later we find in various places of Afghanistan flourishing centres of Buddhism and about the beginning of the Christian Era we find Buddhism making its influence felt not only in Afghanistan but in ancient Iran in the deserts of the Central Asia as well.

Among the great figures in the missionary activities of Asoka, the names of Mahendra and Saṅghamitrā are well-known. They took upon themselves the work of propagating the faith in Ceylon and Majjhantika-thera became an apostle of Gandhāra and Kashmir. Mahādeva, according to southern tradition, propagated the faith in Mysore ; while according to northern tradi-

1. N. DUTT, *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism*, pp. 82 foll.; KERN, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 116 ff.

2. OTTO STEIN on the significance of Asoka's Dhammavijaya, *Indian Culture*, IV, p. 299.

3. See on this point D. R. BHANDARKAR's *Asoka*, 2nd Ed., pp. 159 ff.

tion his field of activity was in Kashmir. The Sinhalese tradition mentions Rakkhita, Mahā-Rakkhita, Yavana-Dhamma-Rakkhita and Mahā-Dhamma-Rakkhita as well as Soṇa-Uttara, the last one is said to have propagated the faith in the land of Suvaṇṇabhūmi.[4]

In the three centuries between the death of Asoka and the reign of Kaniṣka, Buddhism steadily established itself almost everywhere in the north in spite of direct and indirect opposition by individuals or dynasties of kings; the Sungas, for example, were not favourably disposed towards Buddhism. Tārānātha tells us that Pushyamitra, the Brāhmaṇa king, who evidently is identical with Pushyamitra the Suṅga destroyed many monasteries from Madhyadeśa to Jālandhara and killed several monks. The Divyāvadāna would have us believe that Pushyamitra wanted to abolish the law of the Buddha by destroying the famous Cock-monastery at Pāṭaliputra and killing monks in the country round Sāgala.[5] Another tradition records three persecutions of the faith between the times of Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga, but Buddhism withstood all these persecutions and even carried its messages in the four corners of the huge continent. It may have suffered some vicissitudes in the Madhyadeśa in the times of the Suṅgas, but it flourished well in North-western India in the domain of the Bactrian Greeks; some of their chiefs and kings came to have Buddhist leanings and at least one of them King Milinda (Menander) became actually converted to the religion by the Thera Nāgasena. He came to be known to Buddhist tradition as Milinda whose name is preserved permanently in the Pali treatise named Milinda-Pañha. The Graeco-Buddhist school of art which flourished in Gandhāra region also shows unmistakable evidence of the spread of Buddhism and full knowledge and understanding of the religion in the north-western provinces of India between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D. The innumerable stūpas and monasteries were founded, and masons and sculptors were kept busy in working out numberless establishments of the Buddhists and carving out numerous reliefs portraying the life of the Master and other anecdotes from the Jātakas. They show that not only these Graeco-Bactrians contributed at least partially to the origin of the Buddha image but also largely expanded the boundaries of Buddhist iconography.[6] Even in the Madhyadeśa between 100 B.C. and 100 A.D., the religion flourished to such an extent that large Buddhist establishments at Bārhut and Sāñchi were built up with the patronage of the nobility and the merchant class of the people. Numerous donations of pious believers are recorded in the inscriptions, and innumerable sculptured reliefs that we meet with on the railings of Bārhut and Sāñchi establishments show that Buddhology came to be a subject that was widely known among the people. It was during this period also that dissensions were gradually making themselves felt within the Buddhist Saṅgha. The number of sects were gradually on the

4. *Samanta-Pāsādikā*, Vol. I, pp. 66 ff.; Mahāvaṁsa, Ch. XII, KERN, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 117.

5. See on this point, *JPTS.*, 1895, pp. 57 ff.

6. *Les Origines De L'ecole Du Gandhāra*, pp. 674 ff.

increase and even before Kaniṣka the division of the Church into 18 sects came to resume their definite shape. "It is moreover probable that the ideas and tendencies which led to the development of Mahāyānism in the second century of the Christian Era were solely gaining ground already before the Council in the reign of Kaniṣka".

Kaniṣka introduced a new epoch in the history of Buddhism and came to play a role only next in importance to that played by Aśoka and gave a very great impetus to the religion by establishing monasteries, patronising the church, and organising the Fourth Buddhist Council at Jālandhar. At his court lived the celebrated Buddhist erudites, Aśvaghosha and Nāgārjuna. Kaniṣka, according to Hiuen-tsang, was anxious to make an end of the dissensions in the Church, and hence he convened the General Council, and if we are to believe the Tibetan tradition, he brought to a successful termination the dissensions that had been raging in the Saṅgha by bringing together 18 contending sects. But it would seem that the Council was not able to prevent the rise of new aspirations. Mahāyānism, which was in an incipient state, began to thrive under Nāgārjuna and Aśvaghosha.

So when Fa-Hien in the 5th century visited India, he saw four philosophical schools of Buddhism, those of the Sautrāntikas, the Vaibhāshikas, the Yogācāras and the Mādhyamikas. The first two were Hīnayānists, while the latter two supported the tendencies of Mahāyāna.[7]

In Fa-Hien's time both the schools were maintaining an even balance; thus at Mathurā he noticed both Hīnayāna and Mahāyana establishments and scholars. Also, at Pāṭaliputra there were two monasteries, one Hīnayanist and another Mahāyanist. The celebrated Chinese traveller visited Nālandā, but does not state that he saw any university there. He found Buddhism very flourishing in Udyāna, Punjab, Mathurā and everywhere throughout the Prācyadeśa. At Śrāvastī, Sārnāth, Pāṭaliputra and similar other places, numerous inscriptions dating from Kaniṣka and ranging over a period of more than two centuries, together with innumerable sculptures and ruins of Buddhist establishments, show that the faith prospered to a very great extent. Archæological sources, together with literary accounts those, for example, in the Rājatarangiṇī, prove that the religion was in a flourishing condition in Kabul, Kashmir and north-western India. The epigraphic evidence, together with sculptural and architectural remains from Karli, Nasik, Amaraoti, Jagayyapeta, Goli, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and other places proves, beyond doubt, that the faith had many fervent devotees in Western and Southern India. The Ikṣhvākus, one of the successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Eastern Deccan, were great patrons of Buddhism.[8] The celebrated Buddhaghosa and his teacher who are connected with the Pallava-Cola country are said to have flourished in the 4th century A.D. This region in South India seems to have in the 4th and 5th centuries played an important part in the expansion of

7. I-tsing's *Record of the Buddhist Religion*, translated by Takakusu, p. 15; cf BEAL, *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, Introd., p. xliv.

8. VOGEL, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, pp. 1 ff. Vol. XXI, pp. 61 ff.

Buddhism in Burma and Malaya. If palæographic evidence is to be believed, the Pali Buddhism of Lower Burma was introduced from this very region[9].

Buddhist scholasticism had its palmy days in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. In the 7th century A.D. when Hiuen-Tsang visited India, the most important centre of Buddhist learning was at Nālandā containing as it did, hundreds of erudite scholars and thousands of eager students. The great patron of the faith in the 7th century was the celebrated Harshavardhana. According to Hiuen-Tsang, Buddhism was in a very flourishing condition throughout the entire region from Taxila and further west to Puṇḍravardhana and Samataṭa in the east, and from Kashmir and Nepal to the Coḷa country in the South. Brahmanism and Jainism with their various sects were flourishing side by side with Buddhism, influencing and being influenced by contending sects and religions. In Kashmir and in the south, the church was still powerful, though Saivism was increasing.

Roughly, from about the 8th century A.D. Tantricism began to make itself felt and it came gradually to influence Brahmanism as well as Buddhism. The germs of Tantricism may be traced even in the early scriptures of Buddhism. During the reign of the Pālas, Tantricism came deeply to influence the Mahayana school of Buddhism. Śrāvakism or Hinayanism was more or less driven from the mainland of India and had taken shelter in Ceylon. Within the Mahāyana church, Tantricism steadily played a great part and established the Yogacarins and developed schools that came later on to be known as Kālacakrayāna, Mantrayāna, Sahajayāna and Vajrayāna. With these schools are associated the celebrated Buddhist scholastic establishments at Vikramaśilā, Uḍḍiyāna and Odantapuri. The kings of the Pala dynasty proved to be great patrons of the faith. The Senas who followed the Palas in the dominion over eastern India belonged to Brahmanism, but were not hostile to the faith. Buddhism was on its decline and the final blow was dealt partly by Brahmanism which was fast gaining its lost ground, and greatly by the Muslim conquest under Bakhtiyar and his son. The monasteries of Odantapuri and Vikramaśilā were destroyed and hundreds of monks were killed and thousands fled to neighbouring countries with their manuscripts and sacred relics of the religion to Nepal, Tibet, Burma and Kāmboja. Some also went to other provinces of India, to Orissa and South India. Buddhist emigrants from Magadha founded scholastic establishments on a modest scale in Kaliṅga and Konkan, where Buddhism remained in a flourishing condition for some time to come. In Kashmir, Buddhism persisted till about the middle of the 14th century A.D., when Islam became predominant there. In Orissa, it persisted till about the middle of the 16th century. Within the four boundaries of India it is only in Nepal and Tibet that Buddhism persists till to-day, though in a profoundly modified form. Nepal is the storehouse of mediæval Buddhist literature, both sacred and profane, and the country has innumerable stūpas and other sanctuaries. Tibet till to-day is

9. Blagden, *E.I.*, Vol. XII, pp. 127-32; Finot, *I.A.*, XX.

wholly Buddhistic, but the Tibetans know nothing about the original form of Buddhism and their religion is almost akin to Tantricism.[10]

II. *Outside India.*

In his Rock Edict XIII, Asoka declares that the "conquest of the law of piety....has been won by His Sacred Majesty....among all his neighbours as far as six hundred leagues, where the King of Greeks named Antiochus dwells, and to the north of that Antiochus (where dwell) the four kings severally Turamayo (Ptolemy), Antikinī (Antigonus), Maka (Magas) and Alikasudaro (Alexander)....likewise in the south, the Colas and the Pāṇḍyas as far as Tambapaṇṇi.... Even where the envoys of His Sacred Majesty do not penetrate, those people, too, hearing His Sacred Majesty's ordinance based upon the Law of Piety and his instruction in that Law, practise and will practise that law."[11]

Thus so far as recorded history goes, Asoka, for all practical purposes, became the pioneer of the great movement of Buddhist expansion outside India. The work that Asoka began was kept on by a continuous band of missionaries, members of royal blood and nobility, traders and adventurers and colonists, some prompted by the noblest of ideals, some acting as carriers and others, profoundly learned, interpreting the faith they professed.

The extract quoted above from Rock Edict XIII shows that Asoka's first and more important drive towards the expansion of the religion was more to the north, west and south than towards the east. Even the account of Asoka's missionary efforts as given in the Sinhalese chronicles, the Dīpavaṁsa and the Mahāvaṁsa, does not fail to mention the Yona country where the celebrated missionary Mahārakkhita helped to propagate Buddhism. Outside India, the three regions that received the faith through the proselytising efforts of Asoka were according to the Asoka's Edicts and the Sinhalese chronicles, Western Asia, Ceylon and Burma. Buddhism in Western Asia had not a very long lease of life owing to the fact that Western Asia continued for centuries to be a battle-ground of conflicting races and peoples as also to the growing tide of Zoroastrianism.

III. *Western Asia.*

The epigraphic mention of the mission of Asoka to the Yona countries referred to above, as well as the accounts on the same in the Dīpavaṁsa and the Mahāvaṁsa have long been treated with undeserved cynicism. Prof. Rhys DAVIDS used to regard them as mere "Royal Rhodomontade", and he was of opinion that "no emissaries had been actually sent" to these countries at all.[12] But GEIGER[13] and R. K. MOOKERJEE[14] have fully proved the trust-

10. For a general study of the history of Buddhist expansion in India, see DUTT, N.—*Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and Buddhist Schools*; KERN, H.—*Manual of Indian Buddhism*; THOMAS, E. J.—*The Life of Buddha as Legend and History*; WATTERS, Th.—*On Yuan Chwang*, 2 vols.; TAKAKUSU, J.—I-tsing: *Records of the Buddhist Religion*; LEGGE—*Travels of Fā-Hien*.

11. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Ed. by HULTZSCH, Vol. I.

12. *Buddhist India*, p. 298.

worthiness of the accounts as contained in the Sinhalese chronicles and have further proved that the Asokan inscriptions and the Sinhalese chronicles corroborate each other and some items in the accounts are confirmed by external sources as well. Even Sir Flanders Petri thinks from evidences of Indian figures found at Memphis, that in the Ptolemaic period Buddhism and Buddhist festivals had already reached Egypt.

The most important information as regards Buddhism in ancient Iran and the adjoining countries is furnished by Hiuen-Tsang. The great Chinese pilgrim did not probably visit Persia (Po-la-see), but he was aware of the fact that Lan-Kie (ka) -lo, a country subject to Persia, contained more than one hundred Saṅghārāmas and more than 6000 monks who used to study both the vehicles, the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna.

At least one evidence of a Parthian prince having become a Buddhist Śramaṇa before A.D. 148 is preserved in Bunyiu Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka, App. II, no. 4. From a painting of a four-armed figure of Bodhisattva in the guise of a Persian with black beard and whiskers with a vajra in his left hand and found at Dandān-Uiliq in Turkistan (SMITH, *Hist. of Fine Arts in India & Ceylon*, p. 310), Prof. H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI thinks that "such figures are undoubtedly the products of a type of Buddhism which must have developed in Iran." The same scholar also points out the surprising similarity between certain Jataka stories and some of the stories in the Arabian Nights.[13]

The celebrated Arabic scholar, Alberuni, writing in the eleventh century, says, "In former times Khuāsān, Persis, Irak, Mosul, the country up to the frontiers of Syria were Buddhistic, but then Zarathustra went forth from Adharbaijān and preached Magism in Balkh. His doctrine came into favour with king Gushtasp and his son Isfendiyad spread the new faith both in east and west.... The succeeding kings made their religion the obligatory state-religion for Persis and Irak. In consequence the Buddhists were banished from those countries, and had to emigrate to the countries east of Balkh.... Then came Islam." Prof. RAYCHAUDHURI points out the incorrectness of the above account in certain particulars. He correctly argues that 'the prevalence of the religion of Śakyamuni in parts of Western Asia in a period considerably anterior to Alberuni and its suppression by Zoroastrianism and Islam may well be based upon fact. The antagonism of Buddhism to the fire-cult is hinted at in the Bhūridatta Jātaka'.[14] It has even been suggested by ELIOT (*Hinduism and Buddhism*, III, p. 450) that Zoroastrian scriptures allude to disputes with the Buddhists.

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13. *Mahāvaṁsa*, English Tr., Introd., p. xix.
14. *Asoka*, p. 77; V. A. SMITH, *Early History of India*, 3rd Ed. p. 188.
15. *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Ed., pp. 521-2.
16. RAYCHAUDHURI, H. C.—*Political History of Ancient India* (4th Ed.), p. 520; SACHAU, E.—*Alberuni's India*, Vol. I; BEAL, S.—*Records of the Western World*, II; RAYCHAUDHURI, H. C.—"*Buddhism in Western Asia*" in *Buddhistic Studies* (Ed. by B. C. LAW), pp. 636 ff.

IV. *Afghanistan.*

Buddhist expansion in the regions now included in Afghanistan owes its initiative to the missionary activities of Asoka. In his inscriptions he claims to have sent his *Dharma-mahāmātras* amongst the Gandhāras, the Yavanas and the Kambojas. The Sinhalese chronicles which supplement the Asokan inscriptions in this respect show that the Thera Majjhantika was instrumental in preaching Buddhism in Kashmir and Gandhāra. But one cannot be certain if the missionary efforts of Asoka and of the Buddhist Sangha were further extended to the line of the Hindukush.

The Indo-Scythian and Kushan periods saw Buddhism penetrating into the highlands to the west of the Indus as well as Central and Eastern Asia, and it was only natural that the regions now included in Afghanistan played their role as one of the most important intermediaries in the diffusion of Buddhist religion and culture, for geographically this region was the meeting ground of Eastern and Western cultures from very early times. Instances of this remarkable cultural blend can be seen on the coins of Scytho-Parthian and Kushan kings and no less in the productions of the Græco-Buddhist school of Art. The first and the most important representative of the Yuen-chih tribe to fall under the spell of Buddhism was Kaniṣka who distinguished himself as much by his patronage extended to Buddhist scholars like Vasumitra, Aśvaghoṣa and Nāgārjuna as by his munificence in the construction of Buddhist monuments. Repeated French Archæological missions have unearthed from various sites in the Afghan country many ruins of Buddhist stūpas that have yielded a large number of inscriptions on relic caskets and earthen jars preserving the names of pious donors of Buddhist foundations, not a few of whom were by nationality Scythians, Greeks and Bactrians and men of other non-Indian nationalities. One of the most important discoveries is the well-known Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts of the *Dhammapada*[17] and another of a canonial citation in a Kharoṣṭhī inscription from the Kurram valley.[18] All these prove that Buddhist canonical literature perhaps of the Sarvāstivādin school was well-known in these regions.

But the most important evidence of the expansion of Buddhism of the tableland to the west of the Indus is the ruins of Buddhist monuments unearthed by the repeated efforts of the French Archæological missions in the plains of Jalalabad, at Hadda five miles south of Jalalabad, in the valley of Kapiśa, and other places in Afghanistan. In all these places ruins of stūpas and monasteries lie scattered in extraordinary profusion. At Hadda numbers of ruined monuments contain fine sculptures of the Gandhāra school. Remains of Buddhist city have been traced on the cite of three vast Amphitheatres in the Kohisthan of Kabul. The ruins of the famous monastery built by the Chinese hostages of Kaniṣka and other monasteries and stūpas mentioned by Hiuen Tsang have been discovered in the valley of Kapiśa. Abul Fazal writ-

17. SENART'S *Prakrit Dhammapada* by BARUA & MITRA.
18. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, New Series, Vol. II, p. 155.

ing towards the end of the 17th century estimated the number of rock-cut caves at 12000 and drew an admiring estimate of these wonderful monuments.

In the 4th century A.D., when Fa-Hien visited India, Buddhism was in a flourishing condition in Gandhāra which had a large number of Buddhist establishments. But in the latter part of the 5th and early part of the 6th centuries, the religion suffered a great catastrophe owing to the persecution of the Huns who had no respect for Buddhism. The well-known Chinese pilgrim Sung-Yun (1st quarter of the 6th century) draws a vivid picture of the destructive fury of the Huns in Gandhara and of lack of faith in the religion that prevailed in Bamian, Shen-si (Kafiristhan) and other places. The beginning of the 7th century A.D. saw the Turks, according to the evidence of Hiuen Tsang, in possession of the entire tract of country from the Karakorum to Persia and from the defile of the iron gates to the Hindukush. Buddhism found in these Turks a world champion of its cause. Shi-hu-Kagan, one of the most important chiefs of the Turks gave a warm welcome to the Buddhist monk Prabhākaramitra and his companions on their way to China in 626 A.D. and 4 years later to Hiuen Tsang. Hiuen Tsang and his brothers in faith who followed him bear eloquent testimony to the flourishing condition of Buddhism in these regions. Balkh boasted of having been a great centre of Buddhist learning and contained hundred monasteries including the Nava-Vihāra and 3000 monks. Bamian contained a large number of Buddhist monasteries with several thousand monks of the Lokottaravadin School and the King of Bamian in the time of Harshavardhana was a devout Buddhist. So also was the King of Kapisha who boasted of more than 100 monasteries and 6000 brethren, chiefly Mahāyanists. Lampaka had more than ten monasteries tenanted mostly by Mahāyana monks.[19] Even the Turkish King of the country round Hupian was a jealous follower of Buddha.

I-tsing who visited India towards the last quarter of the 7th century A.D. furnishes us with the biographical accounts of over forty missionaries.[20] From this we learn that a native of the Kang country (Samarkand) came to India in the 7th century and made a pilgrimage to the *Mahābodhi*. The people of Tokharistan built at a certain place in Eastern India a temple for the accommodation of pilgrims from their own country. At *Mahābodhi* a temple of the country of Kapisha was built to accommodate pilgrims from the North. There was also another establishment at Mahābodhi built by certain merchants of the Jaguḍa country for the convenience of pilgrims from that country. All these go to show that Buddhists of Western and North-Western regions maintained more or less direct relations with Eastern India, at least in about 6th and 7th centuries.[21]

19. WATTERS, *Yuan Chwang*, I, pp. 181 ff.

20. BEAL, *The Life of Hiuen Tsang*, Intro., pp. xxvii, foll.

21. For a general study of Buddhist expansion of Afghanistan, see GHOSAL, U. N.—*India and Afghanistan*, Greater India Society Bulletin; ELIOT, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III.

V. *Central Asia.*[22]

Central Asia roughly covers the region that is popularly known as the Chinese Turkestan. It covers an area of 1500 miles from East to West. Most of this huge area is barren tract and sites for human habitation are very limited, the greater part being filled up by the Talamakan and the Lop deserts. But it was this barren tract which was the meeting place for centuries of the currents and cross-currents of various sculptures, religions, languages, trades and conquests, uniting the West-Asiatic countries with the far-east on the one hand and India on the other. Various lines of communication through the Oxus valley comprising the ancient Sogdiana and Bactria and joining the Tarim Basin served as highways of cultural and commercial relations.

The chief of the Oases in this barren tract were Kashgar in the west : Kucha, Karashahr, Turfan and Hami lying successively to the North-east and Yarkand, Khotan and Miran to the South-east. The earliest introduction of Buddhism is said to have taken place in Kashgar in about the 2nd century A.D. But little is heard of this region until Fa-Hien visited it in 400 A.D. Fà-Hien refers to the quinquennial religious ceremonies held by the King, to relics of the Buddha and to a monastery containing about a thousand monks, all students of the Hīnayāna. But the most interesting account of Kashgar as to the prevalence of Buddhism is left by Hiuen Tsang which he visited on his way back home. The inhabitants of this region were all sincere Buddhists and there were many monks of the Sarvāstivādin School. On his return journey he also visited Yarkand and Khotan. He gives a detailed description of the differences in character, languages, scripts and customs of the people. Buddhism was a flourishing religion everywhere : there were numerous monasteries and hundreds of monks, who were mostly followers of the Sarvāstivāda School. But in Yarkand and Khotan there were also followers of Mahāyāna. The scripts were mostly Indian, but the language of Yarkand and Kashgar differed from that of Khotan. In Tokhāra, roughly equivalent to Badakshan, the traces of Buddhism were seen by the pilgrim, so also in Samarkand, where there were two disused monasteries.

Between Kashgar and Turfan lay the town of Kucha, which was a flourishing city already in the 2nd century B.C. Kucha lives in the history of Buddhism as the place that nurtured the celebrated Buddhist monk Kumārajīva, who was taken captive by Fu-Chien, king of the Tsin dynasty in 383 A.D. and went to China along with the king to become a pillar of the faith in that country. In his youth he was a student in Kipin who on his return to Kucha was converted to Mahāyānism and subsequently distinguished himself in China as a translator of important Buddhist works. That Kucha became a centre of Mahāyānism is also attested by the monk Dharmagupta who in about 584 A.D. passed through Kucha. Hiuen Tsang who visited the

22. For a general study of Buddhist expansion in Central Asia, see ELIOT—*Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III ; CHAKRAVARTI—*India and Central Asia*, Greater India Society Bulletin ; STEIN—*Serindia ; Ruins of Desert Cathay ; Innermost Asia; Ancient Khotan.*

place in about 630 A.D. saw Buddhism in a flourishing condition in the city. He refers to the many monasteries and the large images of the Buddha, to religious processions and ceremonies and says that the monks who numbered more than 5000, all followed the Sarvāstivāda and the "Gradual teaching". The monks were strict "according to their rights" and the monasteries were centres of learning. Even in the time of Wu-Kung who visited the city in 788 A.D. Buddhism was still flourishing.

The most important Buddhist settlement was the oasis of Turfan that contains the ruins of several cities belonging perhaps to different periods. Extensive literary and archæological remains have been unearthed from the ruins of Turfan. Buddhist manuscripts in Sanskrit, Chinese and various Iranian and Turkish idioms have come to light. Already in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. we find chieftains of the region acting as patrons of Buddhist literature and religion which in the later centuries came to flourish along with Manichæism and Nestorianism. In the 9th century A.D. there was a massacre of Buddhist priests. Even in 1420 the people of Turfan were Buddhists.

Fa-Hien who visited Khotan in 400 A.D. states that there were some tens of thousands of monks mostly followers of the Mahāyāna and the homes of the people were each provided with a small stūpa before the door. He himself stopped in a monastery which had 3000 monks and mentions a new magnificent establishment called the king's new monastery.

Buddhism in Khotan lived side by side with Zoroastrianism. In 644 A.D., Hiuen Tsang visited Khotan on his return journey. Khotan maintained diplomatic relations with China.

Sir Aurel STEIN investigated two sites near about the lake Lob-nor which must have been once flourishing Buddhist establishments. They have yielded a large number of Tibetan documents and five specimens of Gandhāra arts and Prakrit manuscripts written in Kharoṣṭī characters. He also discovered the remains of a big library at Tun-Huang datable apparently in the Tang period and containing some Sanskrit Buddhist literature and numerous manuscripts, Sogdian, Turkish and Tibetan.

Explorations of the different sites in Central Asia began as early as the last quarter of the 19th century and have been continued by Russian, German, French and British-Indian Archæological missions. The repeated hard toils and untiring energies of these explorers and their associates have furnished the students of early Oriental civilisation with rich materials interesting from every point of view. Numberless manuscripts have been discovered, written in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Sogdian, Manacchian, Turkish, Vigir, Tibetan, Chinese and the forgotten languages of Khotanese and Tochanian as well as in scripts which have not yet been deciphered. Numberless specimens of arts, pictorial and plastic, mostly Buddhistic have been recovered and thousands of other articles of archæological and ethnological importance have been unearthed. They marked Central Asia as the meeting ground of Hellenistic, Indian, Persian and Chinese currents of civilisation in which Buddhism played a

dominant role. It is now well-known that China received her Buddhist art not directly from India but from Chinese Turkestan and Khotan. From China the same form of art passed to Japan through Korea. Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts, originals of which are lost in India have been found in Central Asia, either in the original or in Chinese, Tibetan, Tochavian or Khotanese. The deserts of Central Asia have also yielded documents written in scripts unknown in India. They are as follows : the Kharoṣṭhī manuscript of the Prakrit Dharmapada, the Śāriputra-prakaraṇa and the Saundarananda-Kāvya of Aśvaghoṣa,[23] the manuscript of the Sanskrit Udānavarga,[24] those of the Bhikshu and Bhikshunī Prātimoksha of the Sarvāstivādins and similar other Buddhist documents.

VI. *China*

That China (cinaraṭṭha) was known to the early Buddhists is evident from the Apadāna, a Pāli canonical work. (Apadāna, p. 2). Tradition has it that Buddhism was introduced into China by the missionaries of Aśoka in about 218 B.C. Another tradition ascribes the introduction of the religion to the end of the 2nd century B.C. But more substantial and trustworthy story of the introduction of the religion is to be found in another set of traditions which ascribe to King Ming-Ti of the Han dynasty the credit of having sent two ambassadors in search of the followers of the Buddha. The two ambassadors are said to have returned to the Chinese capital with two Indian monks, Kāshyapa Mātaṅga and Dharmaratna who translated the first Buddhist texts into Chinese. But even before the days of the arrival of these two monks (68 A.D.) Buddhism had already found its hold in China. For it was towards the close of the first century B.C. (2 B.C.) that the Buddhist text was brought from the Indo-Scythian court by a Chinese ambassador named Tsiang-King. Besides, in the middle of the 1st century A.D. we hear of the existence of Buddhist monks and laymen in the court of a prince in the Imperial family ruling in the valley of Yuan-tsi-Kiang. The earliest epigraphic evidence of the Chinese Theras' visit to India is furnished by one of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions that date from the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. (*EI.*, Vol. XX, p. 22).

A knowledge of the different routes that linked up India with China is essential for the understanding of the story of Buddhist expansion into the country. Equally important is the knowledge of the peoples and places that lay along these routes and as such played an important part in the transmission of the religion from India to China. There were at least two

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23. First edited by Mm. H. P. Shastri and later edited by E. H. Johnstone and translated into Bengali for the first time by B. C. Law and later translated into English by E. H. Johnstone.

24. There are two recensions of the *Udānavarga*, the manuscripts of which have been found out in Eastern Turkisthan in several fragments and a full and critical edition of it prepared by Dr. N. P. Chakravarty. This text has been translated from the Tibetan Bkagyhur with notes and extracts from the commentary of Prajñāvarman by W. W. Rockhill, London, 1833.

principal routes through Eastern Turkestan. These routes parted from Touen-Hoang in the province of Kan-Son on passing through the gate of Yu-men-Koan towards North-west and the other through Yang-Kcan directly westward. Touen-Hoang already an important centre of Buddhism in the 3nd century A.D. with its numerous temples, caves and monasteries played an important part in the diffusion of Buddhist culture into China.

In the 7th century, Hiuen Tsang followed the northern route on his way to India, but on his return journey he followed the Southern route.

Another route of communication existed from very early times through Assam and Upper Burma, though the difficulty of the route did not encourage travellers and adventurers very much, and it was thus resorted to only by the barbarians of the South western province of China.

Lastly, a third land-route of communication between China and India was opened in the beginning of the 7th century A.D. through Tibet. The First Buddhist pilgrim who seems to have travelled to China by this route was a famous monk of Nālandā, named *Prabhākaramitra*. Towards the end of the 10th century, a Chinese monk, named Ki-Ye, also seems to have followed this route on his way back to China. Regular relation between China and Tibet was maintained along the self same route in the 13th century.

The sea-route was also equally important. We have historical evidence of the existence of a sea-route along the South-eastern Coast lines in the Indian Ocean through further- India and Insul-India, when the Hindu settlers reached the country of Indo-China. According to Chinese records, the kingdom of Founan was Hinduised by a Brahmin, named Kuṇḍinya in the first century A.D. The Indian colony of Champā is unanimously placed in the 2nd century A.D. It was this sea-route that was followed by the celebrated Chinese pilgims Fa-Hien and I-tsing, the Indian prince of Kashmir Guṇavarman, in the 5th century. Since the time of the great T'ang Dynasty the commercial and cultural relation of China with India lay along this sea-route.

The most important peoples and places that played significant rôles along the route through Central Asia were the Yueh-Chis, the Indo-Scythians, the Parthians, the Sogdians, the Kuchcans and the Khotanese. Tibet also played a very important part as an intermediary of the transmission of Buddhism to China, but the more significant rôles were played by countries that lay along the sea-route, namely, Kambodia, Champā, Java and Sumatra.

The Indo-Scythians probably played the most important part towards the foundation of Buddhism in China. It was towards the end of the 1st century B.C. that China received the first Buddhist text from a Yue-chi prince and it was probably the first direct knowledge of Buddhism that China received. The Scythian conquest of North-western India and the foundation of an empire extending from the Punjab to the valley of the Oxus greatly helped the infiltration of the Buddhist religion and literature in Khotan in

the South, and Kucha and other kingdoms in the North. According to Chinese tradition, the first Indian missionaries, *Kāśyapa Mātanga* and *Dharmaratna* who went to China in 68 A.D. were found in the country of the Indo-Scythians. They carried with them Buddhist texts which were but brief expositions of the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism. From this time onwards Buddhist missionaries, mostly Indo-Scythians by nationality, continued to pour into China. Lokachema, a learned Buddhist monk came to Ho-nang-fu in 147 A.D. and translated some of the most important texts of the Mahāyāna Canon into Chinese. Towards the end of the same century and till the middle of the next, one of his disciples, also an Indo-Scythian, named Tche-Kien, translated over 100 Buddhist texts, a large number of which are still extant. In the 3rd century, the most important Indo-Scythian scholar was *Dharmarakṣha*, who knew not less than 36 different languages and had a direct knowledge of Buddhism. He translated more than 200 Sanskrit texts into Chinese, of which 90 still exist. He also organised a translation school where the Chinese, Indo-Scythians and Indians worked in close collaboration for the propagation of Buddhism in China.

After the Indo-Scythians came the Parthians who continued the work of their predecessors. Ngan-che-kao or Lokottama the Parthian, Scion of a Royal family and a Buddhist monk, translated into Chinese more than a hundred Buddhist texts, of which 55 are still extant and founded a school of translators. Another Parthian named Nagan-Hiuan, formerly a merchant and royal officer, also translated some important Buddhist texts.

After the Parthians, the mission of the spread of Buddhism passed on to the Sogdians. Numerous traces of Sogdian translations of Buddhist texts have been discovered in Central Asia. For several hundreds of years the Sogdian monks lived in the Buddhist monasteries of China along with their Chinese brethren. Among the great Sogdian personalities, who have left their stamp on Chinese Buddhist Canon, we hear of such names as that of Kang-Sing-Honei.

From the end of the 4th century A.D. Kucha takes a leading part in the interpretation of Indian Buddhism to the Chinese and the most celebrated name we meet with in this connection is that of *Kumārajīva* who was brought to China by general Li-Kning. Kumārajīva was the first to introduce Mahāyāna into China and translated some of the most important treatises of Mahāyāna, namely the *Sutrālaṁkāra Śāstra* of *Aśvaghosha*, the *Daśabhūmivibhāṣa Śāstra* of Nāgārjuna, the *Śatašāstra* of Vasubandhu, the *Satyasiddhi Śāstra* of Harivarman and the *Brahmapāla Sūtra* a Mahayāna Vinaya work. Altogether 98 works are attributed to him. Besides Kumārajīva, we hear of a host of Kuchean monks who contributed much to the work of translation.

Khotan also played an important rôle in the diffusion of Buddhism into China. The region came into direct contact with China as early as the 2nd century B.C., but it was not till the middle of the 3rd century A.D. that we hear of Sino-Khotan collaboration in the work of Buddhist expansion. In

the year 259 A.D. a Chinese monk, named Tchou-She-hing, came to Khotan for the study of Buddhism. He compiled a catalogue of Buddhist texts translated into Chinese and sent a collection of sacred texts to China through his disciple Fou-Jin-Tan. In 291 A.D. another Khotanese monk, named Won-Lo-Tcho, went to China and translated the famous Mahāyāna text *Panchabiṁśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. In the beginning of the 5th century A.D. a Chinese prince came to Khotan and studied Mahāyāna under an Indian teacher, named *Buddhasena*. Khotan became in the 5th century such an important centre of Mahāyānism that *Dharmakshema* an Indian monk, came from Kashmir to Khotan to study Mahāyāna there. Later he went to China and undertook the translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* into Chinese.

Tibet did not come to play an important part in the history of Buddhism until the middle of the 7th century A.D., when the reigning king Srong-tsan-gam-Po married two princesses, one Chinese and another Nepalese who introduced Buddhism into Tibet. Through these queens Buddhism found a hold in the country. Srong invited *Padmasambhaba* of Udyāna (Uḍḍiyāna?) and also the celebrated scholar *Śāntarakshita* to Tibet. Padmasambhaba became the founder of Lamaism in Tibet. The monastery of Sam-ye became a famous centre of Buddhist learning, where monks from different parts of India assembled and translated Sanskrit Buddhist texts into Tibetan. The 9th and 10th centuries saw a decline, but the religion was again revived in the 11th century. It was at this time that the famous *Dipaṁkara Śrijñāna* appeared in Tibet and with him began a glorious chapter of Buddhism in Tibet. After the disintegration of Buddhism in India following the Muslim conquest of Bengal and Bihar, Indian Buddhist monks and scholars fled to Tibet and Nepal along with the treasures of learning and religion, and from the 12th century onwards, these two countries became the centres and repositories of Indian Buddhism. From there they began to enrich and influence the religion in China and Central Asia till the advent of the Mongolian power in the 13th century.

With the accession of Kublai Khan to power in 1259 A.D. Buddhism got a fillip in different parts of Asia. In China, it was already on the decline owing to the persecution of the Taoists. After various vicissitudes of fortune and measures of disputations with the Taoists in religious conferences, Buddhism found its position established with Kublai Khan as head of the Buddhist Church and Tibetan monks began to take lead in the Buddhist activities in China and Mongolia. Under his patronage many Buddhist texts were translated into Chinese among which was the *Mūla Sarvāstivāda Karmavāchā*. It was also under his patronage that a comparative catalogue of the Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist Canon was compiled by a committee composed of Tibetan, Chinese and Indian monks. It was in this period also that several editions of the Chinese Tripiṭaka were prepared and some popular Buddhist texts in Chinese were translated into Tibetan.

Fū-nan or ancient Cambodia also played its part in the work of trans-

mission of Buddhism to China. In the 5th century A.D. the Cambodian king *Kaundinya Jayavarman* is said to have sent an Indian monk *Nāgasena* to the Chinese Court. Shortly after two other monks of Fū-nan, named *Mandrasena* and *Sanghabharat*, went to China and translated a number of Buddhist texts into Chinese.

Champā, however, was not destined to play the same important part, though we know that when this country was invaded by the Chinese general, the then reigning king was thoroughly defeated and the Chinese returned with a rich booty amongst which there were 1350 Buddhist works, all written in Cham alphabet.

From the 7th century, at least for about 600 years, the empire of Śrivijaya (Java and Sumatra) was a great centre of Buddhist learning and activity. The country was visited by several Buddhist celebrities, by I-Tsing in the 7th century, Vajrabodhi in the 8th, Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna in the 11th, and Chao Ju kua in the 13th.

Buddhism was introduced into China as early as the end of the 1st century B.C. But the most glorious period in the history of Chinese Buddhism was that of the great T'ang dynasty (618-907 A.D.). It was in this period that a number of Indian scholars went to China and worked in collaboration with their Chinese brethren. It was also in this period that Chinese Buddhist monks like Hiuen Tsang, I-Tsing, Wu-k'ung, Song-Yun, to name only the most well-known, came to India to know Indian Buddhism directly. A large number of translations were made from Buddhist literature into Chinese and Buddhist schools were founded in numbers by Chinese teachers who were inspired by the different systems of Buddhist philosophy. Buddhism also had a great influence on the secular life of the Chinese and it was through Buddhism that India gave to China her ideas, models and designs in art, literature and language. But after the 10th century the pure form of Buddhism of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna schools became almost extinct and came gradually to be over-shadowed by Tantricism, and later on by Lamaism.

The Chinese Tripiṭaka is a monument of Sino Indian collaboration. It preserves the complete Canon of eight different schools of Buddhism and also some Brahmanical texts and works on lexicography and Buddhist monuments of China, and magnificent Buddhist sculptures and paintings.[25]

(To be continued)

25. For a general study of Buddhist expansion in China, see Bagchi—*India and China*, Greater India Society Bulletin; Eliot—*Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III; Nanjio—*Catalogue of Chinese Tripitaka*; J. Edkins—*Chinese Buddhism*.

SOCIETY IN MAURYAN INDIA

By

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It is superfluous to apprise anyone that the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya is a work of great historical value and that on various subjects it yields much information that is of the highest importance. It is the work of a man who is renowned 'not only as a King-maker, but also for being the greatest Indian exponent of the art of Government, the duties of Kings, ministers, and officials, and the methods of diplomacy.' Valuable as the work is seen to be to the student of politics, its inestimable service to the student of history cannot be passed over. It equips him with a knowledge of the customs and manners of the people in Mauryan India with that fullness and accuracy that can hardly be rivalled by any other work on the same subject. A knowledge of the society in Mauryan India is important for more than one reason. Firstly, it is a type of society to revive which, at least in part, it has been the unconscious effort of the many social reformers of the present day. Secondly, the society depicted in the *Arthaśāstra* is diametrically opposed to that portrayed in the Smṛtis of Manu, Yājñavalkya and others. It is the aim of the present article to point out this difference by adequate and sufficient quotations from the works mentioned above.

The social customs unnoticed in the Smṛtis but peculiar to the *Arthaśāstra* are divorce, re-marriage of women who have either lost their husbands or have been long-deserted by them, marriage of grown-up girls by self-choice, marriage of a Śūdra wife by a Brahmin besides his other three wives chosen from the three upper classes, flesh-eating and drinking of liquor among Brahmins, and the embracing of the military profession by the Brahmins.

Several conditions are mentioned in the Smṛtis[1] when a man can divorce his existing wife and re-marry, but the same opportunity and privilege is never given to a woman. According to Manu, 'a wife, who drinks any spiritual liquors, who acts immorally, who shows hatred to her lord, who is incurably diseased, who is mischievous, who wastes his property, may at all times be superseded by another wife'.[2] Manu also mentions[3] certain conditions when a man can desert his wife for a short time. But none of these Smṛtikāras allow any of these privileges to a woman. In their opinion, it is the greatest and most imperative duty of a woman to be entirely obedient to her husband[4] and to be faithful to his bed whether he is alive or dead.[5] But

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1. *Manu-smṛti*—IX. 80; *Yājñavalkya* I. 73 and *Parāśara Smṛti* (Bombay Sanskrit Series)—Vol. I Part II. pp. 112-15.
2. *Manu smṛti*—loc. cit.
3. *Op. Cit.* IX. 77-78.
4. *Ibid.* V. 148; *Yājñavalkya* I. 77.
5. *Manu* V. 151, 154. *Yājñavalkya* I. 75.

Kauṭilya seems to recognise that as a human being, woman has an equal status with man. He mentions certain conditions when even a woman can divorce her husband. A woman who hates her husband cannot divorce him against his will;[1] nor is the man allowed by Kauṭilya to divorce his wife against her will.[2] But where there is mutual enmity, there Kautilya is prepared to grant a divorce.[3] A woman is allowed by Kauṭilya to abandon her husband if he is 'either of bad character or is long gone abroad or has become a traitor to his king or is likely to endanger the life of his wife or has fallen from his caste or has lost virility.'[4] If Kauṭilya upheld the principle of divorce, it does not mean that he hated the principles of co-operation, sacrifice of interests and reconciliation in married life. All that we are to understand here is that, as a broad-minded legislator and as an impartial judge, he could not tolerate the unjust tyranny of one sex over the other. That this is so, it is quite evident when Kauṭilya refuses[5] to grant a divorce in the case of the first four kinds of marriages mentioned by him (viz., Brāhma, Prājāpatya, Ārṣa and Daiva) and when either the husband or wife is unwilling.[6]

The Smṛtikāras make no provision for the re-marriage of women. According to Manu, it is a crime for a widow even to mention the name of another man.[7] When such is the case, how much more criminal would the Smṛtikāras consider it, if a widow thought of marrying? They would surely be horrified beyond all limits. As for a woman neglected by her husband, it would be a crime for her to think of marrying some other man. She is asked to wait for some years,[8] the number of years varying according to the duty on account of which the husband went abroad. If even after the lapse of the allotted period, the husband did not return, the woman was asked only *to follow her husband*,[9] not to think of marrying some body else. In the opinion of the Smṛtikāras it is a punishable crime, if a woman should neglect her husband whatever be the defect in him.[10]

While the Smṛtikāras would consider it a heinous crime on the part of man to remain single after his first wife is dead,[11] they were at the same time dead against a woman marrying again. Nor do they give any opportunity[12] for a woman to remarry. In a marriage, there must be somebody to give

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1. Amokṣyā bhartuṛakāmasya dviṣatī bhāryā; *Arthaśāstra* III. 3.
2. Bhāryāyāśca bhartā-*loc cit.*
3. *loc. cit.*—'parasparadveṣānmokṣaḥ'
4. Nīcatvam paradeśam vā prasthito rājakilbiṣī |
prāṇābhihantā patitastyājyaḥ klibopi vā patiḥ | *Op. Cit.* III 2.
5. Amokṣo dharmasaṁvādānāṁ *op. cit.* III. 3.
6. *Supra.*
7. *Manu* V. 157.
8. *Ibid.* IX. 76.
9. *Loc. cit.*
10. *Op. cit.* IX. 78.
11. *Yājñavalkya* I. 89.
12. *Manu* V. 162; IX. 65 et. seq. cf also *Parāśara* p. 90. Vol. I p. II (Bombay Sanskrit series) where he says that re-marriage of women is a subject of later ages (Yugāntara-viṣaya).

the bride,[1] and she can choose herself[2] only when all her relatives are dead, and she still remains unmarried. If the woman, whose husband is dead, had relatives, they would not allow her to marry, and she could not remarry by herself on pain of getting the denomination of a Svairiṇī.[3] Moreover, it is the express injunction of the Smṛtikāras[4] that one must marry a girl whom no body else had before (Ananyapūrvikā). Consequently, a woman who had lost her husband could expect no decent man to marry her. There was prevalent, however, the custom[5] (niyoga) of appointing the younger brother of the husband to beget a son on his brother's widow. But even there, that person (the younger brother) would be termed an adulterer, if he attempted to approach the woman even after she conceived.

On the other hand, the woman who remained chaste to the bed of her deceased husband was glorified and promised fame on earth, and heaven after death.[6] She was even advised to commit Satī.[7]

It would be but to misrepresent Kauṭilya if one were to say that he allowed women to re-marry without imposing any restrictions on them. All that can be said to the credit of Kauṭilya, is that he accorded sanction to ancient customs which allow the re-marriage of women who either lost their husbands or were deserted by their husbands for an indefinite period of time. This the Smṛtikāras were never constrained to allow. According to them the widow had either to remain chaste to her dead husband or commit *Satī* and the long-deserted wife had only to go in quest of her husband after remaining chaste and faithful to him for the prescribed number of years.[8] Under no circumstances, could a widow or a long-deserted wife ever think of marriage.

Kauṭilya was not so severe upon women. Nor was he too lenient. If he made a number of laws for the remarriage of women, he also put a good number of limitations on all those laws.

Women whose husbands had gone on a sojourn were required to wait for a reasonable period of time prescribed by the law. The number of such years varied according to the caste of the woman.[9] Distinction was also made between women who had borne children and those who had not,[10] between women who were provided with maintenance and those who were unprovided.[11] Certain provisions are made for the remarriage of a young wife[12] (Kumārī) who is wedded in accordance with the first four kinds of

1. I. 63 *Yājñavalkya*.
2. *Ibid* I. 64.
3. *Op. cit.* I. 67.
4. *Ibid.* I. 52 ; cp. also *Manu* V. 163.
5. *Ibid.* I. 68 et. seq.
6. *Op. cit.* I. 75. *Manu* V. 160.
7. *Yājñavalkya* I. 86.
8. See supra. p. 711.
9. *Arthaśāstra* III. 4.
10. *Loc. cit.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*

marriage (Dharmavivāhāt) and whose husband is gone abroad. She is required to wait for period of time, varying from 3 months to one year according as the husband, is either heard of or unheard of, has his name publicly announced or not so announced, and has paid the Śulka in full or only in part. Then she is required to take the permission of judges (Dharmasthairvisṛṣṭā). In the opinion of Kauṭilya, neglect of intercourse with the wife after her monthly ablution is a violation of one's duty[1] (*Tīrthoparodho hi dharmavadha iti Kauṭilyaḥ*). Opportunities are also given[2] for women to remarry if their husbands have long gone abroad (Dīrghapravāsinaḥ) or have become ascetics or have been dead. A difference is maintained in the time for which these women have to wait. If they have no children they are required to wait for the period of seven months, but if they have borne children they are required to wait for a period of one year. After the lapse of the prescribed period, a woman belonging to any of the three classes mentioned above (viz., a widow or one deserted for ever by her husband) may marry the younger brother of her husband. If her dead husband has a number of brothers, she is asked to marry him among them, who is next in age to her former husband, or who is virtuous and capable of protecting her or who is the youngest and unmarried. If her husband has no brothers, she is asked to marry one who, either belongs to the same *gotra* as her husband or is a relative. If there are a number of such persons, preference must always be given to the nearer relative of her lost husband. A violation of this rule in remarrying is considered an offence similar in nature to an elopement and both the man and woman are punishable.[3]

As regards adult-marriages of girls, there does not seem to be any serious difference between the views of the Smṛtikāras and Kauṭilya.[4] Like Kauṭilya[5] they too do not consider it guilty[6] for a damsel to choose for herself a bridegroom of equal rank, provided three years have elapsed since she attained a marriageable age. The Smṛtikāras, who would give supreme authority to the father in giving his daughter in marriage,[7] say that in this case the bridegroom need give no Śulka to his father-in-law who has lost all authority over his daughter because he detained her at a time when she might have been a parent.[8] The damsel, who thus elects for herself a husband of her own choice, is not allowed to carry with her the ornaments given to her either by her

1. *Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya*—III. 4. p. 159—Ed. Dr. R. SHAMASASTRY.
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. *Op. cit.* III. 4. p. 159 Ed. Dr. R. SHAMASASTRY.
4. *Yājñavalkya* does not seem to agree with Manu and others, for he says that a damsel can choose only when no body lives who can give her in marriage (Bombay edn. p. 18.)
5. *Arthaśāstra* IV. 12 ; p. 231 Ed. Dr. SHAMASASTRY.
6. *Manu* IX. 90-91 ; *Baudhāyanasmṛti* IV. 1. 14 ; *Parāśara* Vol. I, p. II Bombay Edn. p. 80.
7. *Yājñavalkya* I. 64 ; *Manu* III. 27-30, 35 ; *Nāradasmṛti* XII. 20-21 quoted by Parāśara p. 79 et. seq.
8. *Manu* IX. 93.

parents or brothers.[1] The Smṛtikāras consider it a theft[2], if a damsel should carry away with her any ornaments, under these conditions, from her paternal home.

So far both Kauṭilya and the Smṛtikāras agree; the latter however seem to differ from the former in their attitude towards this kind of marriage. To the Smṛtikāras, the adult marriage is an anamoly, an exception to the general rule. It cannot claim an equal status with the other kinds[3] of marriage whose value is extolled in measureless terms.[4] It must be accepted that the Smṛtikāras, the saintly law-givers they were, could not give adult marriage an equal spiritual status with the other kinds of marriage where the girl is required to be only eight years old[5] and immature. Parāśara says that the signs of immaturity in a girl are that she does not feel coy before men and does not try either to avoid observation or to conceal parts of her body.[6] Vasiṣṭha, a Smṛtikāra says[7] that 'a father, fearing that his daughter may become mature, must give her away when she is 9 years old (Nagnikā); if the daughter should become mature (before she is married) the blame goes to the father'. Marriage in India, is always considered to be a sacred institution. Besides its being an instrument for the continuance of the race, the orthodox kind of marriage is considered to have a higher spiritual significance by means of which the ancestors of both races are blessed.[8] Giving a daughter in marriage is considered to be an instrument to bring bliss on the father of the girl. The bliss that the father of the girl gets varies according to the age of the girl. By giving a girl who is eight years old (*gaurī*) a man attains Heaven, Vaikuṇṭha by giving one aged nine (*Rohiṇī*) and Brahmaloka by giving one aged ten (*Kanyā*), and if he gives in marriage one who is above this age (*Rajasvalā*) a man falls into Hell.[9]

The Smṛtikāras who were particular about this spiritual value of marriage, naturally looked upon adult-marriage of a maiden by self-choice as baser in value, as a mere concession to human weakness. It is no wonder, for according to the Smṛtikāras,[10] the best kinds of marriage are the child-marriages; of these the four, (Brāhma, Daiva, Prājāpatya and Ārṣa) are considered the best. The remaining four are lower in value and of them the last two are condemnable.

1. *Ibid* IX, 92. cp. *Yājñavalkya* II. 287.
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. Brāhma etc.,
4. *Manu* III. 36-40.
5. *Manu* IX. 94.
6. *Parāśara* p. 79—Yāvanna lajjayāṅgāni kanyā puruṣasannidhau |
   Yonyādīnyavagūheta tāvad bhavati kanyakā ||
7. Quoted by *Parāśara* p. 78.
8. *Manu* III. 36-40.
9. Gaurīm dadan nākapṛṣṭham vaikuṇṭam rohinīm dadan ||
   Kanyāṃ dadan Brahmalokam rauravam tu rajasvalām ||
10. Aṣṭavarṣā bhavet gaurī navavarṣā tu rohinī |
    Daśavarṣā bhavet Kanyā ata ūrdhvam rajasvalā ||
    Saṅkṣarta Smṛti I. 66. quoted in *Parāśara* p. 79.

But a state-legislator and preserver of the moral law like Kauṭilya, could not make much difference between the various kinds of marriage. It was enough to him if marriage served as an instrument to prevent evil. The little distinction he makes in the various kinds of marriage is only so far as the approvers of the marriages are concerned. While Kauṭilya would consider it necessary to have the approval of the father in the case of the first four ancestral kinds of marriage (Brāhma, Prājāpatya, Daiva and Āṛṣa), he would feel that in the case of the remaining kinds of marriage the consent of both the father and the mother is necessary.[1] But if one asked him which kind of marriage he would approve of, Kauṭilya would only say that any kind of marriage is approvable provided it pleases all those that are concerned in it (*Sarveṣām prītyārōpaṇam apratiṣiddham*[2]). It follows, therefore, that if the adult marriage of a girl did not displease any of her kith and kin, Kauṭilya could find no fault in it and would give it an equal status with any other recognised kind of marriage.

In the opinion of the Smṛtikāras,[3] it is hateful that a Brahmin should marry a śūdra wife. A Brahmin is allowed to marry a Kṣatriya girl and a Vaiśya girl besides one belonging to his own caste, a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya girl also besides one belonging to his community, and a Vaiśya, only a girl of his own community.[4] The Vaiśya cannot marry a girl belonging to any of the castes higher to him. Nor is any member of any of these three castes allowed to marry a girl from the Śūdra caste.[5] In all religious functions, it is only the wife, belonging to the man's own caste, that shall prove serviceable to him. Thus the real wife of a Brahmin shall be a girl from his own community, of a Kṣatriya, a girl from his caste, and of a Vaiśya a girl belonging to his own caste. It is only lust that can make each of them need more wives,[6] and then a Brahmin is allowed 2 or 3 more wives, a Kṣatriya, 1 or 2 more wives and a Vaiśya, one more wife. It follows, therefore, that the Smṛtikāras feel like granting a concession to human weakness if they should allow a man to marry out of his caste. And we have seen that even in granting this concession they make a great distinction between the śūdra community and the other three upper-classes.

Kauṭilya does not make such a great difference between the three upper-classes and the śūdra. In their eagerness to condemn the marriage of a

1. *Arthaśāstra*, Ed. Dr. Shamasastry III. 2. p. 152 (3rd Edn.)
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. *Yājñavalkya*, I. 56; *Manu* III, 14.
4. Tisro varṇānupūrveṇa dve tathaikā yathākramam |
   Brāhmaṇa-kṣatriya-viśām bhāryā svā śūdrajanmanaḥ |
   Yājñavalkya I. 57; see also *Vasiṣṭha Smṛti* I. 24-25 and *Pārāśara Gṛhya-sūtra* I. 4. 8-11;
5. *Manu*, though allowing, points out the evils that will result if any member of the higher castes marries a śūdra girl—cf. *Manu*. III. 14-19.
6. *Manu* III. 12. cp. *Parāśara* Vol. I. Part II. p. 94 (Bombay Sanskrit series.) where he says :—
   'Dharmārthakāmāḍau savarṇāmudvā paścād virahsavaś cet tadā teṣām avarāḥ hinavarṇāḥ imāḥ kṣatriyādyāḥ krameṇa bhāryāḥ smṛtāḥ'

man of any of the three upper-classes with a Śūdra woman, the Smṛtikāras said that a son begotten on a Śūdra woman by a member of the upper-classes would only be a Śūdra in caste. Manu, in one place,[1] goes to the extent of saying that such a son is even as a corpse, though alive and that he is thence called in law a living corpse. But so far as Kauṭilya is concerned, we find him nowhere make any such great distinction between the three upper classes and the Śūdra. We have no evidence to say that he considers the son begotten by a Brahmin on a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya woman superior to the son begotten by the same Brahmin on a Śūdra woman. All the distinction he makes is only so far as the division of inheritance is concerned.[2] If a Brahmin has begotten sons in all the four castes, the son of his Brahmin wife shall take four shares, the son of his Kṣatriya wife three shares, the son of his Vaiśya wife two shares and the son of his Śūdra wife one share only.

According to Manu,[3] a son begotten by a member of the upper classes on a Śūdra woman has no right to claim a share in his paternal property, if his actual father did not legally marry his mother. Such a son is called a *Pāraśava*.[4] And while the Smṛtikāras condemn him in measureless terms and allow him no share in his paternal property save what his actual father might give him,[5] Kauṭilya[6] grants such a son a third share in his paternal property.

There is not much direct evidence to prove that Brahmins in Mauryan India partook[7] of liquor and meat. But from statements made by Kauṭilya in some contexts, it is inferable that the custom of eating meat and drinking liquor was current among the Brahmins in Mauryan times. Kauṭilya enumerates a number of reasons[8] for not selling liquor in large quantities but only

1. Yam Brāhmaṇastu Śūdrāyām Kāmād utpādayet sutam |
Sa pāraśyanneva śavas tasmātpāraśavaḥ smṛtaḥ ||—*Manu* IX. 178.

Elevation to and degradation from caste was prevalent during the time when plural marriages were current. During the time of the Smṛtikāras, plural marriages were undervalued, and elevation and degradation in caste, referred to in earlier Sūtra writings, was misinterpreted. See *Gautama* IV. 16-28, and *Āpastamba* I. 1. 1. 3-6; I. 1. 2. 5.

It is at this time that the episode of Viśvāmitra's elevation to Brahmin caste after the performance of his long and austere penance, seems to have found a place in the purāṇas.

2. *Arthaśāstra* III. p. 6 cp. Manu IX. 149-155 where he allows a similar distribution of property. But there, according to Manu, the son of a member of the upper-classes begotten on a woman of the Śūdra community, is entitled to his prescribed share (i.e., a tenth part of the property) *only if he is virtuous.*

3. *Manu* IX. 155.

4. *Supra.*

5. *Manu* loc. cit.

6. *Arthaśāstra* III. 6.

7. The undertaking of the slaughter of beasts on a large scale for the supply of flesh to the people including even the brahmins, and the custom of having state-owned drinking-saloons to supply liquor to people of all castes and the appointing of superintendents to both the slaughter-house and the drinking-saloon may, however, be taken as sufficient evidences. See *Arthaśāstra* II. 25, 26.

8. *Ibid.* II. 25.

in such small quantities as one-fourth or half-a-kuḍumba, one kuḍumba, half-a-prastha, or one prastha. In the course of his enumeration, one of the reasons that Kauṭilya mentions for not selling liquor in larger quantities than those prescribed, is that Āryas may otherwise violate their decency and virtuous character (*maryādātikramabhayādāryāṇām*).[1] If Kauṭilya should consider it an immoral act on the part of brahmins (Ārya) to partake of an amount of liquor more than the quantity prescribed, it is possible to infer that it would not be considered indecent and vile if a brahmin partook of the prescribed quantity of liquor.

In Kauṭilya's time, there was prevalent the custom of having preserves in forests and any poacher was severely punished.[2] In inflicting punishment a distinction was made between an ordinary person and a house-holder ; while the former was to be punished with the highest amercement, the latter was to be punished with the middlemost amercement.[3] As the caste of these tress-passing house-holders is not specified, it is possible to infer that there were brahmin house-holders also who poached on state-preserves in the forests.

Prescribing different kinds of punishments for violating justice, Kauṭilya feels that it would be a capital crime to induce a Brahmin to partake of whatever food or drink that is prohibited and hence the highest amercement is meted out to the offender (*brāhmaṇam apeyam abhakṣyam vā saṃgrāhṣayata uttamo daṇḍaḥ*[4]). From this we have to infer that there were certain kinds of food and drink which Brahmins could take and that it would not be considered a crime to induce Brahmins to partake of these.

In the Smṛtis, there seems to be no allowance for brahmins to drink liquor. Liquor-drinking seems to be definitely prohibited, for Yājñavalkya, in one place,[5] says that one must not dine in the house of one who lives by selling liquor (Surājīvaḥ). A brahmacārin is prohibited from drinking liquor or partaking of meat.[6] But house-holders (Gṛhasthāḥ) are allowed certain kinds of meat.[7]

The embracing of the military profession by brahmins was more commonly prevalent in Mauryan times than in medieval. It is true that we have names of brahmin military commanders like Droṇa in the epics, and of brahmin ministers-of-state like Kauṭilya and Sāyaṇa, the famous commentator of the Vedas. But still the existence of an army divided into regiments in accordance with the caste of the soldiers was also a custom in Mauryan India. In the Mauryan army,[8] there was the brahmin regiment, the Kṣatriya regi-

1. *Loc. cit.*
2. *Arthaśāstra* II. 26.
3. *Loc. cit.*—'Kuṭumbināṁ abhayavanaparigraheṣu madhyamam.'
4. *Op. cit.* IV. 13.
5. .....Chaṇḍāla-surājīva-śvopapativeśmanām.....eṣāmannam na bhoktavyam....*Yājñavalkya* I. 164 et. seq.
6. *Ibid.* I. 33.
7. *Ibid.* I. 170-78.
8. *Ibid* IX. 2.

ment, the Vaiśya regiment and the regiment consisting of soldiers of the Śūdra community. Kauṭilya raises the question :—'which of these regiments should be considered imprimis'? The early teachers of polity consider[2] the brahmin regiment to be most supreme, inasmuch as it is the bravest of the various regiments. But Kauṭilya does not agree with them. He knew that Brahmins are liable to be more easily won over by enemies by prostration than the others. He, therefore, places no confidence in the Brahmin soldiers and only undervalues them.[3]

In the Smṛtis of Manu and Yājñavalkya, we find no mention of the embracing of the military profession by the priestly class. The sole duty of the Brahmin house-holder consists in his performance of rites enjoined by Śruti and Smṛti. The Brahmins, says Yājñavalkya,[4] must approach kings only for welfare and safety, not for taking up service.

Servitude, according to the Smṛtikāras, is forbidden to Brahmins. It is the profession only of the Śūdra. As for a Brahmin, his profession is essentially priestly in character. Manu allows Brahmins to take up arms on certain occasions,[5] but on all those occasions a Brahmin can wield a weapon only in the defensive; it may be either to defend himself against an adversary or to save a woman or a priest from an enemy. On no occasion can a brahmin wield a weapon in offence except it be in a war which is waged for a just cause.[6] These are the only occasions when a brahmin can take up arms. Apart from this, it is difficult to find a context in the Smṛtis where enrolment in the army is mentioned as an alternative profession of the priestly Brahmin community.

We, therefore, see that the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya on the one hand, and the Smṛtis of Manu and Yājñavalkya on the other, represent two types of society which differ from each other to a considerable extent.[6] While divorce was an impossibility to followers of the Smṛtis, the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya makes allowances for it. While remarriage of men was a common affair, the Smṛtikāras do not give the same privilege to women, and this Kauṭilya does allow. What appeared immoral to the religious-minded Smṛtikāras appears just and reasonable to legislators like Kauṭilya. It is this differ-

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1. 'Brāhmaṇa kṣatriya-vaiśya-śūdra-sainyānām tejahprādhānyāt pūrvam pūrvam śreyaḥ sannāhayitum'. *Op. cit.* p. 345.
2. *Loc. cit.*
3. 'Upeyādīśvaram caiva yogakṣemārthasiddhaye.'—*Yājñavalkya* I. 100. Commenting on this Vijñāneśvara says 'Upeyādityanena sevām pratiṣedhayati; Veṭaragrahaṇenājñākaraṇam sevā, tasyāḥ śvavṛttitvena niṣedhāt.'—p. 29 (Venkateswara Press edition.)
4. *Manu* VIII. 348 et. seq.
5. 'Dakṣiṇārthāñca samgare'—*Manu* VIII. 349 i.e., a Brahmin may wield a weapon to get back the Dakṣiṇā stolen from him by his enemy.
6. This might probably be the reason why the *Arthaśāstra* is treated with derision and contempt by Bāṇa in his *Kādambarī* ('Kim vā teṣām sāmpratam yeṣām atinṛśaṃsaprāyopadeśanirghṛṇam. Kauṭilyaśāstram pramāṇam p. 109 Bombay edn.) and Daṇḍin in his *Daśakumāracarita* (Adhīṣva tāvaddaṇḍanītim. II. 8.)

eriod in temperament that makes the Smṛtikāras and Kauṭilya give mutually opposite views regarding adult-marriage and the marriage of a śūdra woman by a Brahmin. The Smṛtikāras, religious-minded as they were, considered every activity on earth as having a spiritual aim. To them, life was a religious pilgrimage and every act in it, a religious function. Marriage was not an exception to this rule. Hence, they considered it not merely as a means to prevent evil that was otherwise inevitable, not merely as the necessary weapon to fight out immorality that was otherwise possible, not merely as a concession to human weakness, but as a spiritual function which not only served to save the man and woman from the otherwise inevitable immorality but also helped the parents of the bride and bride-groom to attain the *Summum bonum* of human existence. Perhaps the greatest gift that a man can boast of, is his daughter to a worthy man and this act brings him the highest benefit that he can ever desire. It brings him Heaven, which is otherwise very difficult to attain.

Therefore, we see that, to the Smṛtikāras, marriage is a spiritual function, not a mere secular activity. Naturally, they formulated stringent laws regulating it. They felt that any violation of these laws was condemnable. They allowed exceptions but at the same time never allowed spirituality to these exceptions. In their opinion, only that marriage is sacred which obeys *verbatim* the prescribed laws. The other kinds which come as exceptions have no spritual value. Hence they looked upon the marriage of a śūdra woman by a brahmin and the adult-marriage of girls as exceptions to the general rule and as devoid of all spiritual value. These were practised not encouraged, tolerated but never applauded. But a minister of the state and preserver of law and order like Kauṭilya, would find it very hard to make any difference between the various kinds of marriage. Any kind of marriage which would serve as a preventive to licence and immorality and which would not bring displeasure to any of the parties concerned in it, is desirable and appealing to a legislator. And it is this view that is responsible for Kauṭilya's tolerant attitude towards the adult-marriage of girls and the marriage of a śudra woman by a brahmin.

We have also seen that customs like drinking of liquor and embracing of the military profession by the brahmins was the predominant feature of Mauryan India, and that in the Smṛti period these customs seem to be either discouraged or not in much vogue.

There now rises up an interesting question : Are we to suppose that the customs referred to in the Smṛtis are ancient and that in the *Arthaśāstra* their practice was discontinued and discouraged? Or, should we infer that the customs depicted in the *Arthaśāstra* indicate their earlier age and that in the Smṛti period the practice of these was condemned and prohibited?

The former supposition is inadmissible, for the Smṛtis even now continue to be the sole authority for all our customs, religious or social. Moreover, we lack evidence to assert that the customs laid down by the Smṛtis were discontinued in the Mauryan period but were resumed later on.

We are, therefore, bound to accept the alternative that the Smṛtis find fault with the Mauryan customs and consequently try to regulate the people by prescribing the right type of social customs. Our supposition seems to be supported by another fact. Even a cursory student of the marriage-hymn of the Ṛgveda[1] knows that adult-marriage was not merely allowed in vedic times, but was the only kind of marriage that was known. A study of the funeral hymns shows that Satī, the atrocious custom that has been praised by the Smṛtis, was never practised in vedic India.[2] The widow lies by the side of her dead husband for a moment, only to get up subsequently. She is asked 'to come unto the world of life' and this may perhaps mean that she was allowed to marry afterwards if she desired. Widow-marriage is prohibited and Satī is extolled in the Smṛtis. But the vedic custom was exactly the opposite. So also while the Smṛtis treat of adult-marriage as an anomaly, by no means sacred, in vedic India, girls were married only after they were fit for consummation. In the epic period also, we find that the marriage of girls after puberty was a prevalent custom.[3] We may, therefore, possibly infer that the people in Mauryan India approved of and continued the practices of vedic times, and that the Smṛtikāras did not approve of them and consequently discontinued their practice.

A point of chronology has now been raised. We have now to accept that the Smṛtis are later in age than the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. In raising this proposition, I trust I shall be but alluding to a point, long back raised and convincingly proved by my revered *guru*, Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. R. Shamasastry, in his learned preface[4] to his translation of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya.

1. RV. X. 85. 21-22.
2. RV. X. 18.8.
3. *Epic India*—C. V. Vaidya pp. 88-91.
4. Preface pp. XV to XVIII.

MISCELLANEA

A NOTE ON THE INDIA OFFICE PLATE OF DEVASENA

In the last June number of this Journal Dr. H. N. RANDLE has published an interesting article on the India Office plate of the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Devasena. I write this note to throw further light on some matters discussed by Dr. RANDLE.

In note 1 on page 177 Dr. RANDLE says that the Rāmṭek plate registered in HIRALAL's *Inscriptions of the C. P. and Berar* is unfortunately not described. He has not, evidently, seen my article entitled 'An odd Copper-plate of the Vākāṭaka King Pravarasena II' published in the *Nagpur University Journal*, No. 3 (1937). The article is accompanied by fascimiles of the two sides of the plate. The original plate is now lost. It was discovered together with three or four other plates by some contractors while digging for manganese at Mansar near Rāmṭek. The contractors divided the plates among themselves. After some of them had left the province, the news of the discovery reached Mr. G. P. DICK, Barrister-at-Law, who could, thereafter, secure only one of the plates. This plate too was subsequently lost when Mr. DICK had to leave hurriedly for England owing to illness. Only the photographs of its two sides, which were taken at the time, were in the possession of the late Dr. HIRALAL who kindly placed them at my disposal for publication. The aforementioned facsimiles are prepared from those photographs.

Like other Vākāṭaka records this inscription also is written in Sanskrit and in box-headed characters. As the first two or three plates[1] are not forthcoming, all details about the grant such as the donor, the donee, the land or the village granted etc. are lost. But as the characters resemble those of the Patna Museum and other grants of Pravarasena II, this grant also was probably made by the same king. The extant portion of the inscription records the purpose and conditions of the grant and the immunities allowed to the donee. The opening words clearly state that the grant was made for the increase of the religious merit, life, strength and prosperity of the donor. This statement clearly shows that this plate could not have belonged to the same set as the Patna Museum plate[2] which records a grant made by Pravarasena II for the increase of the religious merit etc. of his mother. In fact I have ascertained from inquiries that the latter plate was discovered in about 1919, while digging for the foundation of the bungalow (or one of its outhouses) of the District Superintendent of Police at Bālāghāṭ. I have shown elsewhere[3] that some of the villages mentioned in the Patna Museum plate can be satisfactorily identified in the vicinity of Bālāghāṭ.

Dr. RANDLE thinks it doubtful if Nandivardhana, Pravarapura, Padmapura and Vātsyagulma were capitals of the Vākāṭakas. That Nandivardhana was an early capital of the Vākāṭakas was first suggested by me in my article on the unfinished Vākāṭaka plate from Drug.[4] That suggestion is now corroborated by a set of plates of Pravarsena II, recently discovered at Beloṛā in the Wardha District, which I am editing in the *Epigraphia Indica*. Like the Poona plates of Prabhāvatī-guptā these plates also were issued from Nandivardhana and there is no indication

1. The Rāmṭek plate is the penultimate plate of its set. The last plate must have contained the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses.
2. Dr. HIRALAL thought that the two plates belonged to the same set. He has not, however, given any reasons for his view. See his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, 2nd ed. p. 5.
3. See my article 'Epigraphic Notes—II' in the *Nagpur University Journal*, No. 3, pp. 48 ff.
4. *E. I.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 207 ff.

in them that the place was only a site of the royal camp. Nandivardhana, therefore, clearly appears to have been the Vākāṭaka capital before the foundation of Pravarapura. There is no doubt that this Nandivardhana is identical with the Nandivardhana from which Bhavadattavarman's[5] Ṛddhapura (Ṛithpur) plates[6] were issued. And the conclusion is irresistible that Bhavadattavarman of the Nala dynasty occupied for some time a portion of Vidarbha. This place is now called Nandardhan or Nagardhan which is situated near Rāmṭek in the Nagpur District.[7] Pravarapura is mentioned as the place of issue in three[8] out of the five complete grants of Pravarasena II that have been published so far. It was evidently founded by that king who named it after himself and made it his capital. Like Nandivardhana and Pravarapura, Padmapura also seems to have once been the capital of the Vākāṭakas. The Drug plate was intended to be issued from Padmapura and it is noteworthy that no word like *sāsaka* is added to it in that inscription, which plainly indicates that it was not a temporary site of the royal camp. In my article on the Drug plate I have put forward the suggestion that the seat of government was shifted to Padmapura during the reign of Pṛithivīsheṇa II and his father Narendrasena when a portion of the Vākaṭaka kingdom was occupied by the Nalas.[9] Prithivīsheṇa II finally succeeded in driving out the Nalas and even in devastating their capital Puṣkari as stated in the Poḍāgaḍh inscription.[10]

Vāṭsyagulma or Vatsagulma, as the name is spelt elsewhere, was the last capital of the Vākāṭakas. It seems to have attained great importance in course of time; for it gave its name to a particular style. In the opening verse of his Prākrit play *Karpūramañjarī*, Rājaśekhara mentions Vacchomī (which is plainly derived from the Sanskrit Vāṭsyagulmī) as a *rīti* together with the Māgadhī and the Pāñcālī. Vacchomī is clearly identical with Vaidarbhī. The latter name is derived from the country of Vidarbha and the former from its capital Vacchoma (Vatsagulma). Dr. RANDLE has shown by reference to the *Kāmasūtra* that the Vatsagulma country was situated in the South and that it corresponds to the Vākāṭaka kingdom. Rājaśekhara also tells us in his *Karpūramañjarī* that Vacchoma was situated in the Dakṣiṇāpatha.[11] This Prakrit play has for its plot the marriage of Karpūramañjarī, the princess of Vacchoma, with Caṇḍapāla who was probably intended to represent the Pratihāra king, Mahīpāla, of Kanauj.[12] The princess seems to have been an adopted daughter[13] of the contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa king and was staying at Vacchoma (Vatsagulma), the capital of Vidarbha. The importance of Vatsagulma as a centre of culture is suggested by Rājaśekhara in his rhetorical work, *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* also. In the third *adhyāya* of this work Rājaśekhara states that the mythical Kāvyapuruṣa married the Sāhityavidyā at Vatsagulma in Vidarbha

5. The name of this king of the Nala dynasty appears by mistake as Bhavattavarman in Ṛddhapura plates. It appears in the correct form in the Poḍāgaḍh inscription (*E. I.*, XXI, 155) and on the gold coins recently discovered in the Bastar State. See *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, No. 1 pp.

6. E. I. XIX, 102. The difference between Nāndivardhana and Nandivardhana is not very material.

7. *Ibid.* IX, 43-44.

8. *Viz.*, in the Cammak, Dudia and Paṭṭan plates.

9. *Ibid.*, XXII, 212.

10. *Ibid.*, XXI, 155.

11. See *Karpūramañjarī* (Harward Oriental Series ed.), p. 25.

12. LANMAN thinks that he was ruling in the Deccan (*Ibid.*, p. 213), while Sten KONOW identifies him with Mahendrapāla of Kanauj (*Das Indische Drama*, p. 85). For the reasons on which my view is based, see *I.A.*, LXII, 201 ff. and *Pathak Commemoration Volume*, pp. 362 ff.

13. The text is corrupt in this portion. The Nirṇayasāgara ed. has *tehiṁ ahaṁṇupaṇṇetti* which would make the princess a daughter of the Kuntala king. But the capital of Kuntala in those days was Māṇyakheṭa, not Vatsagulma. The Harward ed. has *tehiṁ ahaṁ khalakkaṇḍekiṁ kiṇidō duhida tti saccāmi* which LANMAN translates as 'They call me by way of joke (?) their bought daughter.'

which is the pleasure-resort of the god of love.[14] Vatsagulma was evidently known as a centre of learning and culture in the time of Rājaśekhara.

This Vatsagulma is identical with Vāśim or Bāsim, the chief town of the Bāsim *tālukā* of the Akolā District in Berar. This place is now regarded as a holy *kṣetra* and there are said to be as many as 108 *tirthas* in it, associated with different gods and sages. This place-name is variously derived. The *Jayamaṅgalā* a commentary of the *Kāmasūtra* states that Vatsa and Gulma were two uterine brothers and princes of Dakṣiṇāpatha. The country settled by them came to be known as Vātsagulmaka.[15] The local *Māhātmya* gives an altogether different derivation. It states that Vatsa was a sage who by his very severe austerities made an assemblage (*gulma*) of gods come down to and settle in the vicinity of his hermitage. The place since then came to be known as Vatsagulma.[16]

The India Office plate was intended to record the grant of the village Yappajja (?) situated in the Nāṅgara-*haṭṭaka* on the northern road (*Uttara-mārga*). These places have not been located. I too cannot suggest any identification of Yappajja, but if Nāṅgara is a mistake for Māṅgara,[17] the place may be identical with Mangrul[18] (ancient Māṅgarpura, the head-quarters of a *tālukā* of the same name in the Akolā District. It lies about 25 miles north by east of Bāsim, on the high road which connects Bāsim with Kāraṃjā. It was therefore situated on the northern road (*Uttara-mārga*) as stated in the inscription.

Finally, I would suggest the reading *santara* (for *santaka*) in place of *saṃcara*. We occasionally come across the looped *t* in Vākāṭaka records. There are several instances of it the recently discovered Beloṭh plates of Pravarasena II, mentioned above. *Saṃcaraṇtaka* is clearly a mistake for *saṃcaraṇtaka* (properly *Saṃcaraṇtaṅ*), which corresponds to the expression *ājñā-saṃcāri* usually met with in Vākāṭaka grants.[19]

Nagpur. V. V. MIRASHI.

DR. GHOSH ON PĀṆINI AND THE ṚK-PRĀTIŚĀKHYA

In *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, pp. 59-61, Dr. Batakrishna GHOSH has kindly taken note of my article. "*Pāṇini & the Ṛk-Prātiśākhya*" (*NIA*, Vol. I, pp. 450-59) and discussed some of the points raised by me. The main theme of my article was to examine in detail the scholastic discussion between Dr. GHOSH and Dr. THIEME on the above subject and put forth my views as to the validity and conclusiveness of their arguments and conclusions. Fortunately, both the scholars have, by now, expressed their views on my article (GHOSH ; *NIA*, Vol. II, pp.

14. G. O. S. ed. (1916), p. 10.

15. *Kāmasūtra* (Nirṇayasāgara ed.) p. 295. The *Bṛhatkathā* also mentions Vatsa and Gulma who were sons of a Brāhmaṇa and maternal uncles of Guṇāḍhya ; but it does not state that they founded a city named Vatsagulma. See *Bṛhatkathā-śloka-saṅgraha*, I, 3, 4 and *Kathāsaritsāgara*, I, 6, 9.

16. *Akolā District Gazetteer*, pp. 322 ff.

17. As shown by Dr. RANDLE, the inscription contains numerous errors of orthography. Such a mistake is not, therefore, unlikely.

18. This place is also called Mangrul Pir. Since this note was sent to the press, a large hoard of more than 1500 potin coins of several sātavāhana kings has been discovered there, which shows that the place dates back to the beginning of the Christian era.

19. *Saṃcaraṇtaka* has no connection with *santaka*. The word is clearly the same as *saṃcaraṇtaka* which is met with in the earlier Prakrit grants of the Pallavas. See *amne ṇi ca amhapesaṇa-appayulte saṃcaraṇtaka-bhaḍa-maṇusāṇa* in the Hirahaḍagalli plates of Śivaskandavarman, *E. I.*, 1, 5, and compare the expression *saṃvāḍḍakyakṣha-vallabha-śāsana-saṃcāriṇaḥ* in the Mangalur Sanskrit grant of the Pallava king Siṃhavarman, *I. A.*, *V*, 155. *Saṃcaraṇtaka* refers to officers and servants touring in the districts by royal command.

59-61 : THIEME ; IC, Vol. V, pp. 363-66). But while Dr. THIEME feels "compelled to accept my view-point in every essential detail (*Ibid* p. 366) and reserves for future "a discussion of those delicate points on which he differs from me",—Dr. GHOSH has confined himself to a few salient points in his discussion of my views and has kept silent on other issues wherein I have taken exception to his erroneous views and mis-statements. I may be permitted to regard his silence as an illustration of *Maunam Sollāra-lakṣaṇam*. In the present note I shall, therefore, refer only to those points which have been learnedly discussed by Dr. GHOSH.

In his previous article, Dr. GHOSH "particularly stressed the rhythm of a verse-foot in *Nodāttasvaritodayam*" (Pāṇ. VIII-iv-67) and expressly stated that "the burden of his whole argument (about Pāṇini's borrowing from the Ṛk-Prātiśākhya) hinges on the metrical nature of the *sūtra*". But in the last note he argues "that the metrical rhythm *plus* the term *Udaya* plus the anomalous (?) grammatical construction *might* together constitute the positive proof". This clearly shows that he is no longer enamoured of the 'metrical rhythm' as the weightiest argument. It may be (and to my knowledge it is) true that none before Dr. GHOSH had detected the metrical rhythm in the *sūtra*, but the 'discovery' does not help the matter much. As pointed out by me before, the three parts of the arguments, viz., metrical rhythm, the use of the word *Udaya* and anomalous grammatical construction, considered independently lead to no sure conclusion. It is, therefore, natural to expect from Dr. GHOSH conclusive and sound arguments and not mere "concurrent possibilities".

About the meaning of the word, *Anārṣa*, Dr. GHOSH is "astonished to see my quoting the passages from the *Kāśikā* and *Bālamanoramā* to show that the word *Anārṣa* means Pada-pāṭha. But he has missed the real purpose of my doing so. It was merely to indicate that Dr. GHOSH was not the first scholar to interpret Pāṇ. I-i-16 with reference to Śākalya's Padapāṭha (as implied in his statement on p. 390, vol. IV of Indian Culture). I never contended that the word does not mean Padapāṭha; on the other hand I quoted the above commentators to show clearly that Śākalya's Padapāṭha was not understood as falling outside the scope of Pāṇ. I-i-16. The real question was and is whether the word, according to Pāṇini, meant Pada-pāṭha and Padapāṭha *only*. For deciding this question we should refer to the use of the word in Pre-Pāṇinian and Pāṇinian times. So far as P. is concerned, let it be clearly understood that he does not regard it as a technical term for Padapāṭha, as Dr. GHOSH emphatically asserts. I humbly refer Dr. GHOSH to Pāṇ. (IV-1-78), wherein the word has been used to signify "something else than the Padapāṭha". I may also refer to the non-technical use of the secondary formation from the word, viz., *Anārṣeya*, occurring in the Atharva-Veda (11-1-33). It is, therefore, correct to say that in Pāṇ. (I-i-16), Pāṇini is not using the word in a technical sense (Pada-pāṭha *only*). Pāṇini uses the word in the simple sense, viz., non-vedic, which, of course, as understood by the Pāṇinīyas includes Padapāṭha also. If we accept Dr. GHOSH's view that the word means *Padapāṭha only*, the counter-examples in the Kāśikā on Pāṇ. I-i-16 would be quite unwarranted. The phrase *Gav-ity-aya-m-ēha* is not taken obviously from Śākalya's Padapāṭha. How can this phrase be then cited as a counter-example (*Prati-Uddharaṇa*) of the word *Sambuddhau* in the sūtra (i.e. as the possible example of the sutra if the word *Sambuddhau* were dropped from Pāṇ. I-i-16? Dr. GHOSH is not prepared to accept the proposition that the term 'anārṣa' in Pāṇ. I-i-16 refers to the non-vedic language in general, for the simple reason that in that case his contention of Pāṇini's borrowing from the *Ṛk-Prātiśākhya* would not stand.

Dr. GHOSH has charged me with "having not observed a difference between a final *O* in general and that of Vocative so far as Sandhi-contraction is concerned" and takes pains to demonstrate the same. But all his trouble is uncalled for and amounts to replying a *pūrvapakṣa* never suggested. What I maintained was that Pāṇini deals with *both* the kinds of cases—with final *O* in general and Vocative *O* in

relation to *iti*. This does not suggest that there is no difference in their treatment. My contention was that we have no reason to suppose that Pāṇini should not and could not have dealt with the non-contractibility of the Vocative *O* in relation to *iti*, for I don't agree with Dr. GHOSH that Pāṇini had no personal knowledge of Padapāṭha and that he had no business to dabble with the rules of Sandhi observed in Padapāṭha. There is, therefore, no justification for narrowing down arbitrarily the sphere of his work. Pāṇini's is a well-planned and comprehensive grammar and naturally therefore he deals with the cases of Vocative *O* in relation to *iti* as well as those of final *O*. It may be borne in mind that Pāṇini's treatment of the subject is just the same as warranted by the actual usage in the language. If, in Śākalya's Padapāṭha the vocative *O* remains unjoined in Sandhi with the following *Iti*, it is provided for in the sūtra (I-i-16), while the cases of final *O*, which are joined in Sandhi, are provided for by the sūtras (VI-i-78, VI-i-109). Exceptions to the above rules in the *prose* Mantras and in the *metrical* mantras are provided for in the sūtras (VI-i-117 ff; VI-i-115-6) respectively. There could be no better, and yet at the same time brief, treatment. But Dr. GHOSH, anxious to find defects in Pāṇini's treatment, quotes three (3) cases from the *Taittirīya* Saṁhitā and asserts that they are not covered by Pāṇini. I may point out that Pāṇini's plan has not left the above 3 cases unattended. The first two examples, cited by Dr. GHOSH, *śāno asi* (TS. 1-3-14-7) and *Pito ā* (TS. 5-7-2-4) are not joined in Sandhi, because —as occurring, in the body of a *metrical* mantra (*Sa no mayobhū pito ā viśasva* and *vadmā hi ṣṇo asy-admasadmā*)—they are covered by Pāṇ. (VI-i-115). Dr. GHOSH's third example *Satakrato'nu* (TS 2-5-12-15) occurs in a *prose* mantra and therefore the general rule (VI-i-109) prevails and Sandhi is made. I wonder how the strict and careful application of (Pāṇ. VI-i-115) to the above examples escaped Dr. GHOSH's vigilant notice.

Before I pass on to other topics, I may allude to two mis-statements made in this connection in his note by Dr. GHOSH. He thinks that Patañjali misunderstood Pāṇ. I-i-115, for the example given by him, *āho iti* is from Padapāṭha. If Dr. GHOSH had read further the remarks of Patañjali on the same sūtras, he would have clearly seen that Patañjali did not regard the sūtra applicable to Padapāṭha only (vide *ado'bhavat*, given as an example of the Vārtika *Otaśca vipratiṣedhaḥ*) on the same sūtra. In fact, Patañjali takes the sūtra as enjoining the particle *O* to be unchangeable in general. And this is in full conformity with the state of things. But the difficulty of Dr. GHOSH is that he does not like Pāṇini or his commentator to refer to Padapāṭha, which according to him is reserved for the author of the *Ṛk-Prātiśākhya*. The other statement of Dr. GHOSH open to objection is that he thinks that cases of real non-sandhi are dealt with by P. in VI-i-115 ff, where the word is *prakṛtya* and not *pragṛhya*. According to Dr. GHOSH, the *pragṛhya* cases should belong to Padāpāṭha only. But the Pāṇinian scheme does not justify the above assumption. Does Dr. GHOSH mean to say that the *pragṛhya* cases (provided for in Pāṇ. I-i-11-12 ; 15) occur in Padapātha only and not in the general literature?

About the 'ingenious' suggestion regarding Pāṇ. VI-i-27, Dr. GHOSH says without giving reasons that he is still unconvinced. This, of course, I cannot help. But when he further asserts that, in case the sūtra (VI-i-127) is split into two parts, the particle *ca* would not be redundant, but would serve the purpose of connecting the two parts and quotes an analogous case of Pāṇ. VII-ii-98, I must say that he has missed my argument. In Pāṇ. (VII-ii-98) the particle *ca* is really *anukarṣaṇārtha* of the word *eka-vacane* which otherwise would not be obtained, for the following of a *pratyaya* or an *uttarapada* does not necessarily imply the *eka-sacanatva* of the preceding *Yuṣmad* and *Asmad*. But in the present case (VII-i-127), the state of things is different. Here the very fact that the long vowels ī, ū, etc. are shortened before a dissimilar vowel, clearly implies that no further *yaṇ-sandhi* should take place (*Hrasva-vidhi-sāmarthyāt na svarasaṁdhiḥ*). Hence there is no neces-

sity of assigning *pragṛhyatva* to the examples of Dr. GHOSH's second part of the sūtra and the particle *ca* would therefore remain redundant.

Regarding his novel theory that in a Pāṇ. rule the name of an *Ācārya* invariably comes in the end, I have shown in my last article that no such principle can be deduced from the order of words in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and finally quoted the sūtra (III-iv-111) as going against Dr. GHOSH's theory. In reply, Dr. GHOSH says that he was not oblivious of that sūtra and considers the word *eva* in (III-iv-111) as truly redundant. As Dr. GHOSH disregards my reference to Patañjali (on Pāṇ. III-iv-110), where the significance of *eva* has been indicated, I can't decide whether he remains unconvinced by the argument or has missed the point as in the above case of *ca*. The latter is, indeed, the case with his another statement in which he still persists to regard *ityeti ākurvate* (TS 5-5-8) and *mithuni abhavam* (*ibid*, 5-5-6) as the known examples of Dr. GHOSH's first part of the sūtra (VI-i-127). The facts are quite simple and clear. As the first part of the sūtra records the opinion of *Śākalya*, its examples should, according to Dr. GHOSH, be given from Śakalya's work (Padapaṭha) as in the case of other Pāṇ. Sūtras quoting Śāklya. The examples from the TS. would be, according to him, unwarranted and irrelevant. As regards the *Uśaḥ ūṁ* problem, Dr. GHOSH is 'mystified to see that I discussed only that side of problem which may be turned to support *my* theory and completely ignored the rest. But how am I to convince him that I have no theory to advance. I was concerned with examining his misstatements on the *uśaḥ ūṁ* problem. Dr. GHOSH had stated (IC, Vol. IV pp. 394-95) that Sandhi in *avadv-indra* and its absence in *bhū a-avihave* cannot be explained by Pāṇ. On this, I pointed out the Pāṇ. sūtras (VIII-iii-33 and I-i-14), which fully cover the above examples. But instead of admitting the cogency of my reply, he insists to remain unconvinced. As regards his reasons for remaining unconvinced, he has none to offer with reference to *bhū a-avihave*, and about *avadv-indra* he gives an illuminating (?) reason that the sūtra (VIII-iii-33) is an optional rule. What a good reason!

As regards the last paragraph of Dr. GHOSH's note, I can't help wishing that I would rather like to remain misunderstood "as to what I intended to convey" than to be misunderstood. For, the misunderstanding of my remarks seems to have exasperated Dr. GHOSH and induced him to take pains to explain in detail an 'obvious' thing, viz. contraction or non-contraction in Saṁhita has nothing to do with *pragṛhyatva*. I pray Dr. GHOSH to re-read the last paragraph of my article before attributing to me the views I did not express. My view-point in brief was this that if P. had before him the present redaction of the *written* Saṁhitā text, it was within the scope of his work to account for the cases of non-sandhi as found in written Saṁhita text. It is a different question whether the Sandhi allowed in Saṁhitā text has to be actually resolved or not *metri causa* in recitation, what P. was concerned with is that the cases of Sandhi or non-Sandhi as occurring in the *written* Saṁhitā text should be covered by his rules. I have above referred to the sūtra (VI-i-115) which explains the non-sandhi of final *O* in 'hundreds' of the written Saṁhitā text cases. P. was, therefore, quite justified in taking the cases of non-sandhi in *Gaur adhāvitaḥ* (RV. IX 12-3) and *tanū ṛtvaye* (Rv. X-183-2) into account (vide the sūtra I-i-19). This sūtra is not put in the section of *prakṛtyā* (Pāṇ. VI-i-115, ff.). P. puts it purposely in the *pragṛhya* section (Pāṇ. I-i-11 ff.) in order to give it an additional significance of indicating the peculiar treatment of its examples in the Padapāṭha. This is the *rationale* of the traditional interpretation, which does not permit the *anuvṛtti* of the phrase *Śākalyasya iti anārṣe* in the sūtra. If Dr. GHOSH had his say in the matter, he would drag back the above phrase even in Pāṇ. I-i-11-115 also, for there also the vowel declared to be *pragṛhya* is followed by *iti* in the Padapāṭha.

Before taking leave of Dr. GHOSH, let me make it clear that it is far from us—the Pāṇinīyas—and as a matter of fact from Ācārya Pāṇini himself—to claim in-

fallibility and omniscience for Pāṇinian Grammar. What we insist on is that we should make every honest effort to study closely Pāṇini and his commentators before rushing to a hasty conclusion. For we believe that, despite a very valuable and solid work done in the sphere of Sanskrit Grammar, there is still much in Pāṇini which has escaped the attention of modern scholars, and a patient and sympathetic study of P. would reveal things unknown so far. It is, therefore, a matter of regret that such a veteran Philologist as Dr. GHOSH—whose opinions are entitled to our great respect—should indulge in such cheap and undignified remarks as 'Pāṇini copied mechanically without understanding', that 'he had no personal knowledge of Pada-pāṭha', and that 'he had no business to deal with Padapāṭha.'

"कृत्स्नं व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः"

Nagpur.

S. P. CHATURVEDI.

MADHUSŪDANĀNANDA

Dr. V. RAGHAVAN in his note under the above caption in *NIA.* No. 1. 749-50 refers to my statement in the *ABORI* 9. 321 that one of the two verses in *Rājñāṁ pratibodhaḥ* referring to the rule of the Marathas in Mahārāṣṭra is an interpolation in the only available Ms. of that work at the Mss. Library at the *BORI.*, Poona and asks whether it is not likely that the other verse therein referring to the killing of the Mahomedans at Delhi by the Marāṭhas may also be an interpolation. Then in the last paragraph the learned doctor relying on certain data puts forth a theory that the author of the said work, might have composed it about the beginning of the 14th century.

2. It is very unsafe to determine the date of a work positively from internal evidence only when only one Ms. thereof is available and when the copyist is found to have copied out verses indiscriminately and left scores of them unnumbered without mentioning the reason for doing so. I however proceed to consider the above theory on assuming that all the unnumbered verses were interpolated by the copyist in order to fill in what seemed to him gaps in the original before him or to supplement an argument of the author.

3. That theory would be acceptable only if the verse containing the said reference to the killing of the Mahomedans at Delhi by the Marathas is an interpolated one. I regret to find from the jottings made by me when I wrote the above "Reply to Criticisms" that it is not so. As stated already the Ms. consists of three parts named (1) *Pañcamakāra-vivaraṇaṁ.—Pūrvārdhaṁ* (2) *Pañcamakāra-vivaraṇaṁ-Uttarārdhaṁ and* (3) *Rājñāṁ-pratibodhakaṁ-prakaraṇaṁ-Uttarārdhaṁ.* The verse *Indraprastha mahāmlecchā* &c., has been distinctly numbered 70 in the first part whereas the verse *Maharastrece rājanyāḥ* &c. which I put down as an interpolation occurs in the third part, between verses numbered 16 and 17 and has no number assigned to it in the Ms.

4. On the other hand there are distinct quotations from the *Pañcadaśī* by name made in the first part at two places. The first quotation has been assigned No. 29 but others quoted after No. 206 have not been assigned any numbers. If these quotations formed part of the *Pañcamakāra-vivaraṇaṁ* of Madhusūdanānanda, the above theory of Dr. RAGAVAN becomes unacceptable since Bhāratītīrtha and Vidyāraṇya did not live prior to the beginning of the 14th century. Even if the unnumbered verses from the *Pañcadaśī* may be brushed aside as interpolations the numbered one cannot. I therefore believe that this evidence is definitely against the plausibility of the said theory.

5. If Dr. RAGHAVAN is of opinion that this is not conclusive evidence and is keen on ascertaining the date of the *Pañcamakāra-vivaraṇam* and *Rājñāṁ prati-bodhaḥ* from internal data he can do so on taking into consideration the following facts which appear from my jottings namely :—

1. The chewing of tobacco as a vice of his time is referred to by the author in I. 188.
2. The use guns (Lohayantras) in war in place of Astras and Śastras is condemned in an unnumbered verse at p. 8.
3. The levying of taxes by a Mahomedan king of the place, where the author lived, even on endowments made by former kings to Brahmans and Sannyasins and the consequent infliction of misery on them is stated in I. 66-119 to be fraught with very dire consequences, if not immediate, at least remote.
4. Besides the *Devīsūkta, Bhagavad-gītā, Manu, Dakṣa, Parāśara, Yājñavalkya* and *Nārada Smṛtis, Rāmāyaṇa, Śāntiparva of the Mbh., Bhāgavata, Brāhma*, and *Āditya Purāṇās, Hathayogadīpikā* (said to be work of Kardama) *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, and *Nitilaṭaka* which are decidedly of dates earlier than the 13th century, the Ms. contains quotations from the following works distinctly named, namely :—
   1. *Gorakṣa-vacanam* I. 3.
   2. *Kaulārṇava* I. 5.
   3. *Yājñavalkya* (*Advaita*) I. 9.
   4. *Śiva* (*Rasārṇava*) I. 11 to 23.
   5. *Rāvaṇatantrasāra* I. 24, 27.
   6. *Pañcadaśī* I. 29, 206.
   7. *Vibhīṣaṇatantra* I. 33.
   8. *Laghusubhāgya-latikā* I. 48. 215.
   9. *Nandendra Yatikāyastha-saṁvāda* I. 73.
   10. *Nandendra Pṛthivipati-saṁvāda* I. 76.
   11. *Satyakāma* I. 97.
   12. *Dattātreya* I. 190.
   13. *Dvijayavana-saṁvāda* p. 20.
   14. Pṛthvīcharācārya's *Vāstupūjāpaddhati*, taken from the *Caṇḍi-pāṭha* in the *Vāyupurāṇa*. pp. 23, 27.
   15. *Prabodhacandrōdaya* p. 45.

Ahmedabad.

P. C. DIVANJI

ŚRI RĀGHAVENDRA SVĀMIN

RĀGHAVENDRA SVĀMIN (TĪRTHA) 1623-71.

By

B. N. KRISHNAMURTI ŚARMA.

Rāghavendra Tīrtha ranks as one of the memorable Saints of the Mādhva calendar. After Vijayīndra Tīrtha, he is the most influential commentator and authoritative exponent of the school of Madhvācārya. To this day his memory is loved and cherished with respect by the followers of Madhva to whatever Mutt they belong.

For a full and contemporary account of his life and career, we are indebted to his nephew Nārāyaṇa, whose *Rāghavendra-Vijaya*[1] is a fine poetic account in ten cantos, packed with historical information. (2) The *Guruguṇastava*[2] of Vādīndra, throws much welcome light on the contemporaries of Rāghavendra in the realm of letters as well as on his literary activities. (3) This is supplemented by valuable references to writers of rival schools, in the works of Rāghavendra himself.

Date

According to the Mutt lists, Rāghavendra was on the pīṭha from 1624-71. His predecessor, Suddhīndra Tīrtha was a contemporary of Raghunātha Nāyaka (1614-33) of Tanjore.[3] And Rāghavendra himself was a contemporary of the last of the Nāyaka of Tanjore : Vijayarāghava (1633-73).

Nārāyaṇa tells us in his biography that early in his life i.e. before he became a Pontiff, Rāghavendra (then Venkaṭanātha), did, on one occasion, win the admiration of the famous scholar Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita[4] of the Tanjore Court when he came out successful in a disputation with a celebrated scholar at the court who had commented upon the *Śulba-Sūtras* ; and again later when he vanquished his opponents in a disputation over the term *kākatālīya*[5] and the question *taptamudrādhikara*.

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1. Ed. by S. Subba RAU, Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, 1898.
2. Published in the *S.M.* (Belgaum, 1923).
3. *Rāghavendra-Vijaya*, ii, 53.
4. He was the son of Govinda Dīkṣita who was minister to Acyutappa and Raghunātha Nāyaka and translated the *Pañcavandavāḍātmya* in 1606. He may be taken to have flourished between 1615-45. Yajñanārāyaṇa was the author of *Sāhityaratnākara*.
5. The formation of this term was frequently debated. Vide *Kākatālīyavādārtha* of Vaṭeśvara son of Narasimha (HZ II. 144) *Catalogus*, III. 19 and (OPP. II. 6649) i, 89.

Two verses relating to these incidents have been cited from Nārāyaṇa's work, in the *Sources of Vijayanagar History* :

" तञ्जापुर्यामन्यदा शुल्बसूत्रं व्याख्यातारं यावचूकं जयन्तम् ।
राज्ञो विद्वान्यज्ञनारायणेज्याशीलोत्संसः तं ननन्दातिमात्रम् ॥
कालेनास्मिन् काकतालीयशब्दे जेतारं तं वावदूकान्धवीन्द्रान् ।
तस्यां पुर्यां तत्समुद्राजने च प्रौढं मेने यज्ञनारायणस्वम् ॥" (IV. 16-17)

Of these, the first one is grammatically faulty[6] and defies constructions. The English rendering of the verses as on P. 253 of the *Sources of Vijayanagar History* :

" At Tanjore, the great Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita who had performed sacrifices and who had commented on the *Śulba-Sūtras*, respected Venkaṭanātha (later on Rāghavendra Tīrtha) very much .....(and) underwent Mudrāṅkana by him,'

is very wide of the mark. It will be seen that if literally construed, the first two lines would convey that *not* Yajñanārāyaṇa but Rāghavendra himself was the Sacrificer (*Yajantam*) and commentator on the Śulba-Sūtras! The accusatives *Yāyajūkam Yajantam* and *Śulbasūtram Vyākhyātāram* cannot at all be connected with Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita as has been done by the author of *Sources of Vijayanagar History*. Nor is there independent evidence to show that Venkaṭanātha had ever performed any sacrifices or had commented on the Śulba-Sūtras. " Yāyajūkam " would moreover signify a *habitual sacrificer* which we know R. was not.

The correct reading of the first verse therefore seems to be :—

तञ्जापुर्यामन्यदा शुल्बसूत्रं व्याख्यातारं यावचूकं जयन्तम् ।
राज्ञो विद्वान्यज्ञनारायणेऽप्याशीलोत्संसः तं ननन्दातिमात्रम् ॥

which would mean that Venkaṭanātha had occasion to meet and vanquish in disputation a celebrated scholar of the Tanjore court who had commented upon the *Śulba-Sūtras*.

This commentator on the *Śulba-Sūtras* must have been a famous personage of his times ; so much so that Nārāyaṇa has not thought it necessary to mention his name. That he was not the same as Yajñanārāyaṇa himself[7] is obvious from the tenor of the verse defective as it is in the quotation.

On the actual identity of this scholar light is thrown by Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita who tells us in one of the introductory verses to his *Tantraśikhāmaṇi* (T.P.L. XII, 6841), that his teacher Venkaṭeśvara Dīkṣita, son of the celebrated Govinda Dīkṣita (Minister of two of the Nāyak Kings of Tanjore)—wrote four works including a commentary on the *Śulba-Sūtras*[8] entitled

6. It would be obvious that of the two epithets *Yāyajūkam* and *Yajantam* (as in the text) any one is redundant in the light of the other.

7. It is also unlikely that the Minister himself would have thought it wise or politic to do so.

8. No Ms. of the work has been preserved at the T. P. L. But there is one at the Library of Asiatic Soc. of Bengal. Commenting on the *Śulba-sūtras* was a little unusual and very probably Nārāyaṇa thought and rightly too that to mention

Sulba-Mīmāmsā :—

येनेदं साग्निचित्याप्तवाजपेयादिभिर्मखैः ।
कृतं साहित्यसाम्राज्यं नाम काव्यमनुत्तमम् ॥
व्यतानि **शुल्वमीमांसा** तथा कर्मान्तवार्तिकम् ।
टुप्टीकायाः कृता दीक्ष वार्तिकाभरणाभिधा ॥

Here then is most plausible evidence to believe that the commentator on the *Sulba-Sūtras* mentioned by Nārāyaṇa was no other than Venkaṭeśvara Dīkṣita[9] son of Govinda Dīkṣita and a brother of Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita himself !

Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita's *Tantrasikhāmaṇi* was composed in 1637 A.D., and the meeting between his teacher (Venkaṭeśvara Dīkṣita) and Venkaṭanātha may therefore have taken place about 1620 A.D. in the reign of Raghunātha Nāyaka.

It is therefore impossible to accept the translation of the second half of the second verse in *Sources of Vij. History* that "the scholar Yajñanārāyaṇa himself underwent Mudrāṅkana (branding of the body with the symbols sacred to Vaiṣṇavism) by him" (i.e. Venkaṭanātha) [p. 253] for the simple reason that the latter was *not yet* a Sannyāsin[10] (Yati) who alone is empowered to administer the taptamudrā according to the religious laws of the Mādhvas. Here again the fact of the matter and what Nārāyaṇa himself means to say, appears to be that Venkaṭanātha came out victorious in a disputation with certain scholars over the issue of the Śāstraic character of taptamudrā-dhāraṇa and that his arguments in defence of it were admitted to be sound and sensible by Yajñanārāyaṇa himself (in whose presence evidently the debate was conducted) :—

कालतालीव शब्दे, तप्तमुद्राङ्कने च (विषये) वादक्षान्कवीन्द्रान् जेतारं तं (वेङ्कटनाथं) यज्ञनारायणः प्रीतं (सन्तुष्टं) मेने ॥

Here again, we are lucky to light upon interesting facts from the literary history of the times. The evidence of Mss. shows that Bhāskara Dīkṣita disciple of Umāmaheśvara Dīkṣita (who in turn was a pupil of the redoubtable Nṛsiṁhāśrama) wrote a work called *Taptamudrā-Vidrāvaṇam* in which he condemned the practice of *taptamudrā-dhāraṇa* advocated by the followers of Madhva—probably as a counterblast to Vijayīndra Tīrtha's work in defence of the said practice (See under VIJAYINDRA). A Ms. of this work of Bhāskara Dīkṣita is preserved at the T. P. L. (XIII. 7523) and it is dated in the reign of Sāhaji (1684-1710). The author himself may naturally be

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the fact would suffice to give a clue to the identity of the person, without giving *open* offence to the great Minister !

9. Needless to point out that the epithet *Yāyajūkam* (frequent sacrificer) : applied by Nārāyaṇa would fit him admirably as he was a full-fledged Dīkṣita.

येनेदं साग्निचित्याप्त वाजपेयादिभिर्मखैः

10. This is clear from the fact that Nārāyaṇa goes on to narrate the story of Venkaṭanātha's renunciation and ordination as a monk only from VI-26 onwards.

pushed half a century earlier and assigned to the period of Raghunātha (1614-23) and Vijayarāghava. It was probably the same writer that encountered Venkaṭanātha. The former's grand-preceptor Nṛsiṁhāśrama was a contemporary of Rāghavendra's Paramāguru Vijayīndra Tīrtha (1514-95). The contemporaneity of the two grand-disciples is thus by no means an unsound deduction. Needless then to stress that great is the historical value of Nārāyaṇa's biography of his uncle.

(2) The *Guruguṇastava* tells us that Rāghavendra's commentary on the *Mīmāṁsa Sūtras* was greatly admired by Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, the great scholar and minister of Tirumala Nāyaka of Madura (1623-59), who showed his regard by placing the work on the back of his own elephant and taking it round the city.[11]

(3) In his c. on the *TP* of Jayatīrtha, Rāghavendra refutes certain criticisms urged by the Viśiṣṭādvaitin Mahācārya, on the Dvaita-interpretation of the B.S., in his *Pārāśarya-vijaya*[12]. This Mahādārya figures as the donee of a land-grant (jaghir) of the village of Siṅgareḍḍipalli in the Nellore Dt. from Vāḍa Peḍḍa Veṅkaṭādri Nāyaṇiṅgaru, in 1653[13].

Rāghavendra seems to have spent the major part of his life in the Southern districts of the Madras Presidency, chiefly at Tanjore and Kumbakonam. Towards the latter part of his life however he seems to have moved to Mysore territory. In 1663 (Śobhakṛt) we see him receiving a (c.p.) grant of the village of Nallūru, surnamed Devarājapura, from Doḍḍadevarāja Oḍeyar (1659-72)[14] of Mysore[15] and a few years later the village of Mantrālaya from an officer of the Governor of Adoni (1662-87).

The date assigned to him in the Mutt list (1624-71) is thus corroborated by the foregoing evidence[16].

Life

Rāghavendra's ancestors on the maternal side were of the Gautamagotra. His great-grandfather Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, was tutor to the Emperor Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, in Vijñā. His grandfather was Kanakācala Bhaṭṭa. His father Timmaṇṇācārya was also a good scholar and an artist in Music. After the

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11. 'मन्त्रिश्रीनीलकण्ठाभिधनविमणिना महतन्त्रात्मबन्धे
अन्धे तावत्त्वदीये करिणि गुणविदा रोपितेऽन्यर्ण्णाव ॥'

Nīlakaṇṭha is known to have arbitrated at a Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava dispute over the digging of a tank at Madura, in 1626 A.D. TAYLOR, *His Mss.*, Vol. ii, p. 149. His *Nīlakaṇṭhavijayacampu* was composed in 1637-38. (See the verse given in Mm. Kuppusvami SASTRI's Introd. to the edn. of the work).

12. See under *TP-Bhāvadīpa* of Rāghavendra.

13. Rangācārya, *Madras Insc.*, II, p. 1151. Venugopal and Butterworth Nellore, 1905, p. 61.

14. BURGESS, *Chronology of Modern India.*

15. *Mysore Arch. Rep.* 1917, pp. 58-59.

16. According to S. Srikanta SASTRI "Sk. Lit. under Vijayanagar Kings" (*Vij. Ser. Com.* Vol. p. 317) Rāghavendra was a contemporary of Bhallavipuri Bhāiravabhaṭṭa and Virabhadra Paṇḍita. Vide also *Rāgh. Vij.* VIII. 4.



Reproduced from an ancient portrait preserved in his Matha at Kumbakonam.

fall of Vijayanagar (1565), Timmaṇṇāchārya migrated to the Tuṇḍīramaṇḍala (Kāñci) and settled down at the town of Paṭṭaṇa (Sadras)? with his wife Gopikāmbā. They had three children: Gururāja; Venkaṭāmbā[17] and Venkaṭanātha (the future Rāghavendra). Early in his life, Venkaṭanātha lost his father. But his elder brother Gururāja took charge of him, had him educated under his brother-in-law Lakṣmīnarasimhāchārya, and got him married when he came of age.

It was about this time that Venkaṭanātha first came to be attached to the Mutt of Sudhīndra Tīrtha at Kumbakonam, where his scholarship soon attracted the attention of the Svāmi[18]. It was also probably at this time that Venkaṭanātha made his literary debût, as already referred to, at the court of Raghunātha Nāyaka. The more Sudhīndra saw of Venkaṭanātha, the greater grew his desire to make *him* succeed him as Pontiff of his Mutt. He accordingly communicated his wish to the young scholar but met with stout resistance. Venkaṭanātha pleaded that he was yet young and in no

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17. She was married to Lakṣmīnarasimhāchārya who subsequently became the teacher of Rāghavendra. Her son was Nārāyaṇa who wrote the biography of his uncle Rāghavendra.

18. There is no ground for the assumption of Dr. R. Nagaraja SARMA that "Rāghavendra was (for some time) the direct disciple of Vijayīndra Tīrtha, in the matter of the study of Dvaita Vedānta" and that he was "undoubtedly a junior contemporary of Vij. and studied partly under him and partly under Sudhīndra after the demise of Vij." (*The Hindu*, Madras, Aug. 4, 1935, p. 9, col. 1) The proofs adduced by the Doctor are: (1) certain stories current in traditional circles; (2) a portrait of the *pupil Rāghavendra engaged in study*, still preserved in the Vij. Maṭha at Kumbakonam (Italics mine) and (3) the internal evidence when R. "speaks with great admiration, of the works of Vij". We need not trouble to contradict *stories* in such cases. But the evidence of a contemporary biographer like Nārāyaṇa, has greater claims to recognition than the stories of later generations. And throughout his work Nārāyaṇa has nowhere said a word about his uncle's studies under Vij. He is not likely to have passed over it if such had really been the fact. It is significant that he begins his account of the history of R. after recording the demise of Vij. The portrait (face opposite) too represents R. not in study (as Dr. Nagaraja SARMA would have us believe) but in the attitude of one worshipping God. The ascetic robes in which R. is dressed and the absence of the *yajñopavīta* from his person are sure indication that the portrait has reference to his pontifical days, but there is absolutely no reason to connect the picture necessarily with Vij. who does not also find a place in it. The reference to Vij. as "Gurupāda" in some of R's works, has therefore to be viewed merely as a tribute rather than as recording a strictly historical fact. We have it from Nārāyaṇa that R. used to spend his time at the Tomb of Vij. in prayer and contemplation and he might have learnt to revere the memory of Vij. as that of a Guru (and in fact, he was his Guru's Guru). From N's account it is clear that R could not have been more than forty at the time of his ordination which (there is reason to believe) took place *two years* before the death of Sudhīndra (1623) according to the Mutt list. This would give 1582 or so as the date of R's birth and he could not have been more than 13 at the time of Vij's demise (1595, Manmatha) and it is too much to be asked to believe that he had read all the advanced classics of the Dvaita system, under Vij. by then.

mood for renunciation, that he had not yet finished tasting and testing the pleasures of life, that his wife was still young and his boy not yet initiated into Gurukula[19]. But Sudhīndra would not take a refusal. He continued his pleadings and persuasions and finally succeeded in convincing the young scholar of the vanity and evanescence of worldly attachments telling him of the great destiny that was in store for him. Under these repeated importunities, the higher aspirations of Venkaṭanātha began to be roused and he began to thaw. He was however thrown into restless cogitations for sometime. One day, a vision appeared before him and that practically settled his future. The ordination was arranged to take place at Tanjore, to avoid trouble from the young wife. In or about 1621 A.D., Venkaṭanātha was duly ordained a Monk under the name of Rāghavendra Tīrtha. Two years later, Sudhīndra Tīrtha died at Hampi and Rāghavendra became the Head[22] of his Mutt. Madura[25] and Śrīrangam. From Śrīrangam he moved westwards, to Udipi and Subrahmaṇya and thence north to Pandharpur,[24] Kolhapur and Bijāpur. At Kolhapur he is said to have made a long stay[26] and at Bijāpur he was able to make many converts[27]. He returned ultimately to Kumbakonam passing through Tirupati, Kāñci, Vṛddhācalam and Śrīmuṣṇam[28]. His frequent marches from place to place do not seem to have interfered with his literary activities. He wrote his works in the intervals of his tour from one place to another as well as when on the move. A good pen-picture of Rāghavendra during the latter part of his life at Kumbakonam, is given by

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19. बाला भार्या बालको नोपनीतो बालश्चाहं नाप्तमे मेऽस्ति बाल्यं

(*Rāg. Vij. VI.* 29.)

20. His name is said to have been Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa who is credited in the *Guruguṇastava* with the authorship of a com. on the *Rghkāśyapīkā* (verse 27) of which we have an incomplete Ms. in the Mysore O. L. (Nāgari, 2981).

21. At Tanjore, on the banks of the Vadavār.

22. The evidence on this point is furnished by Nārāyaṇa :—

वाचीहि त्वं पेङ्गलार्यं स्वकार्ये वाग्तो जन्मे वत्सरद्वन्द्वमेव ॥ (VI. 52)

in a speech put into the mouth of Sarasvati. This effectively disposes of Dr. R. Nagaraja SARMA'S theory of Rāghavendra's having been a student of Dvaita classics under Vijayindra.

23. Tradition says that Rāghavendra had to contend with a rival claimant to the Pīṭha in the person of Yādavendra who had been ordained by Sudhīndra a few years before him. This Yādavendra is said to have caused considerable annoyance to Rāghavendra both at the time of his succession to the Pontificate and for years afterwards. The King of Tanjore is said to have finally decided the issue in favour of Rāghavendra and proclaimed him as the rightful heir and successor. Yādavendra is reported to have passed away at Yadagiri on the R. Kṛṣṇā. On account of his feud with Rāghavendra, his tomb, it is said, is not officially visited by the Svāmis of the Mutt. This Yādavendra was probably the same as the Guru of Lakṣmīnātha Tīrtha of the Vyāsarāya Mutt. (See later).

24. *Ragk. Vij.* vii, 46. It was presumably then that he made the acquaintance of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita.

25. *Op. cit.* viii, 67.

26. *Op. cit.* viii, 67.

27. viii, 89.

28. viii, 73.

Nārāyaṇa[29]. [See the portrait of Rāghavendra engaged in āhnika, facing p. 74].

By 1663 Rāghavendra had left for Mysore when he received a grant from Doḍḍa Devarāja Oḍeyar. He seems to have moved further north after a time and finally settled down at Mantrālaya a village in the Bellary Dt. about 12 miles from the Tungabhadrā River (Ry. Station). It appears from the Mackenzie Mss. that the village was granted to him rent-free by Venkaṇṇa Pant the Dewan of Sidi Masanad Khān, Governor of Adoni (1662-87). (Madras Dt. Gazette. Reprint 1916. Ch. XV. Adoni taluq. p. 213). There, on the banks of the sacred river, he passed away in 1671 (Virodhikṛt), and his mortal remains which lie enshrined there, attract thousands of pilgrims all the year round.

Works.

Over forty works have been attributed to Rāghavendra. Most of these are in the nature of commentaries on the works of Madhva, Jayatīrtha and Vyāsarāya. The rest include a couple of original works and commentaries of a more or less independent character. "Bhāvadīpa" is the general title given to a majority of his works. His writings are characterised by remarkable simplicity of language and clarity of exposition. Through his singularly unassuming commentaries he has brought the contents of even the most abstruse treatise in the Dvaita Vedānta within easy reach of the average reader and therein lies the secret of his success and fame.

(1-6) *Daśa-Prakaraṇa.*

Rāghavendra wrote glosses on six out of the ten Prakaraṇas of Madhva, elucidating the respective commentaries thereon of Jayatīrtha, omitting those four already commented upon by Vyāsarāya[30]. Except that on the *Karmanirṇaya*, all the other glosses have been printed. Of these the tippaṇa on the *VTN.* is the biggest running to 3700 granthas. Next comes that on the Td-tīa with 1450 granthas (Bombay, 1898).

(7-12) *Sūtra Prasthāna.*

There are altogether six works of Rāghavendra bearing upon the Sūtraprasthāna. One of them (7) the *Nyāyamuktāvalī* (p)[31] is a brief summary

29. It appears from Narayana's account that R. had made the Saiva Mutt (acquired in the days of Vijayīndra as already related) facing the southern gate of the Kumbheśvara temple at Kumbakonam, his permanent residence. He used to go for his daily bath at the Kaveri, pay his respects at the Tomb of Vijayīndra and then worship Kumbheśvara on his way back to his Mutt. (ix 37-39).

संप्रणम्य विजयीन्द्रयोगिनं दैविको मठमथ प्रतस्थिवान्।
× × × × पार्वतीशमभिवंद्य पद्धती॥

30. Viz., those on the *Khaṇḍatraya* and the one on the *Tattvaviveka*. His glosses are not known as "Tīkā" as stated on p. 317 of the *Vij Sar. Co.* Vol.

31. Belgaum.

of the Adhikaraṇa of the B.S. (8) His *Tantradīpikā*[32] is a Vṛtti directly on the sūtras, in 3000 granthas, referring where necessary, to the explanations contained in the earlier works and commentaries like the NS., the *Candrikā*, the *TD* and the *Nayacandrikā* as well as a few other (minor) commentaries. It does not attempt any criticism of the interpretations of rival schools, as the purpose of the author is solely constructive. Among the Post-Vyāsarāya commentaries referred is one by Vijayīndra Tīrtha[33] (9) His *Bhāsadīpa*[34] on the TP of Jayatīrtha, is a voluminous work of over 12,300 granthas. It refers to both the *Tantradīpikā*,[35] and the *Prakāśa*[36] on the *Candrikā*. The plan of the work is both critical[37] and expository. One of the new works criticised here is the *Pārāśaryavijaya* of Mahādīrya,[38] whose strictures on the Sūtra-interpretation of Madhva are quoted and criticised (See i, 1, 27 p. 64, lines 10-24; i. 1, 6 p. 39). Certain criticisms urged by Appayya Dīkṣita have also been dealt with (iii, 3, 61 (34b); P. 29, lines 18-23; P. 19, 4-6). The TD is quoted over fifty times and these quotations are valuable also in fixing the text of it. There are references to several other commentators of the TP (i, 2, 17, P. 84, 85; iii, 3, 27, p. 318b), including the *Candrikā* (on ii, 4, 2).

(10) The commentary on the *Tātparyacandrikā* of Vyāsarāya, entitled "*Prakāśa*" is another lengthy work of 18,400 granthas. It is eulogised by Vādīndra in his *Gurugunastava* (verse 17) and seems to have preceded the author's commentary on the TP wherein it is referred to.[39] The views embodied in the *Naya-viveka*, *Nibandhana*, *Tantracūḍāmaṇi* (*Mīmāmsā*), the Srikaṇṭha-bhāṣya[40], and its commentary *Śivārkamaṇidīpika* by Appayya Dīkṣita, as well as those in his *Madhvamatavidhvamsana* are quoted and criticised. Mention is made of (1) the *Upasamhāravijaya*, (2) the *Kaṇṭakoddhāra* and the *Paratattvaprakāśikā*[41] of Vijayīndra Tīrtha. The author

32. Referred to in his *N. S. Parimala*, ii, 1, p. 208 and 286.

33. Cf. गुरुपादकृतोऽवसि संग्रहो हृदयंगमः (ver. 2) Cf. also a quotation from it under iii, 3, 37 dismissing an objection of Appayya Dīkṣita that Madhva's interpretation of चतु there is opposed to the Mīmāmsā-sampradāya.

34. Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, 1902.

35. i, 3, 42p, 239b; P. 31, line 7; P. 64, 4: 70, 12.

36. 11 p. 39; 122b.

37. 'नूतनैरूहिता ये तु दोषास्तेषामलब्धताम्।
संप्रदर्शयितुं चाराः प्रसन्नाः सन्तु सज्जनाः॥'

38. Sastramuktavali Series, 43, Conjeeveram, 1912.

39. P. 30, lines 7. (Bombay) But the *Prakāśa* itself refers to the *TP-Bhasadipa* i, 4, adh. 7, p. 842b.

40. The work is not noticed by Vyāsarāya in his *Candrikā*. The omission is made good by Rāghavendra who by quoting both from the *Śivārkamaṇidīpikā* (p. 413 and 842b) and the *Nyāyarakṣāmaṇi*, has brought the critical literature of his school upto date. He has also dealt with the criticisms of Mahādīrya's *Pārāśaryavijaya*, here. (1, 4 adh. 2, 792; 842).

41. P. 824b.

gives ample proofs of his profound acquaintance with and mastery over the interpretational niceties of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā and Vyākaraṇa systems, by discussing a great many of their Adhikaraṇa-nyāyas and sūtras referred to in the body of the *Candrikā*. So numerous are these occasions that it would be futile to cite instances (See pp. 550, 590-92). The *Śrutaprakāśa* on the *Śrībhāṣya* (pp. 543; 554 and 610b); the *Nayacandrikā* of Nārāyana Paṇḍitācārya (756b); and certain earlier commentaries on the *Candrikā* (pp. 604 and 670b) are quoted in the course of the work. There are references also to the *Kalpataru-Parimala* of Appayya Dīkṣita (p. 770b) and to certain [illegible] Madhva's bhāṣya (829), not to speak of one to the *Siddhānta Kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji (p. 12, line 6).

(11) Rāghavēndra's *Tattvamañjarī* is a detailed exposition of the *Anubhāṣya* of Madhva, in 1,900 granthas. It does not mention any earlier commentaries on the original.

(12) His *Nyāyasudhā-Parimala*[42] is one of the most popular and influential commentaries on Jayatīrtha's NS. Tradition has shown its appreciation of this commentary by conferring the epithet of "Parimalācārya;" on the author. The total number of granthas in this work is 19,300. The author quotes a number of earlier commentaries on the NS (i, 1, p. 30b; 1, 1, 38; ii, 1, 221b and 232), including that of Yadupati (i, 4, 199) which he criticises; iv, 2, p. 20; i. 1, 15 and i, 1, 49b. He also quotes from the *Nayacandrikā* (i, 1, 14b) the *Samayāyaratnāvali* (i, 1, 129b). He makes a passing allusion (i, 4, adh. 6. p. 199-2-3) to the view of some that the slokas "Prapañco yadi" etc., are no part of the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* but are really the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda.[43] He fancies the *Bhāmatī* to be a *bhāṣya* (?) (vol. 2, p. 149) and speaks of a certain *Idurāri-Śataka* by the Bhāṣyakāra[44] (Śaṅkara) meaning thereby the *Saṁkṣepa-Śārīraka*[45] of Sarvajñātman.

Ṛg and Upaniṣad Prasthānas.

The works under this head includes (13) a commentary on the first three Adhyāyas (40 sūktas) of the Ṛg Veda (the same portion as is covered by the *Ṛg bhāṣya* of Madhva) known as *Mantrārthamañjarī* (alias *Ṛgarthamañjarī*) and lucid expositions (called Khaṇḍārthas) of nine out of the ten major Upaniṣads commented upon by Madhva (excepting the

42. Bombay. A commentary on the *Parimala* has recently been acquired for the TPL.

43. On the entire question of the Upaniṣadic Theory of the first chapter of Gauḍapāda's work see my papers in the *Review of Phil. and Rel. Poona* (2, 1; 3, 1; 4, 2) and the *Poona Orientalist* Vol. 1 No. 2 & Vol. 2 No. 1. 43, Vol. II. P. 140.

44. Vol. II. p. 140.

45. The mistake (?) is repeated also on P. 23, line 2, of his c. on the *Tattvod; yotaṭikā*, in identifying the verse "Anrtajadavirodhi rūpam." (of the *Ś-Śārīraka*):

(शङ्करकृतमुरारिशतकनखलाघवश्लोकोऽयम्)।

46. Bombay.

Aitareya).[47] His commentary on the *Kena* (i. 4) refers to an earlier commentary. In *Muṇḍaka* i, 5, his exposition of "Parā" and "Aparā" Vidyā as aspects of the same thing, on the analogy of Pravṛtta and Nivṛtta-Karmas is simple yet attractive. He does not fight shy of the obvious drift of *Muṇḍaka* vi, 8 ; and acknowledges his indebtedness to the c. of Vyāsatīrtha in writing his gloss on the *Taittirīya* (granthas 885). He has also given a clear lead in the interpretation of the somewhat confused न वा अरे पत्युः कामाय...वीप्सायै ब्रह्म-मानायै... (Bṛh). The *Bṛh-gloss* is the biggest of his commentries on the Upanisads running to 3,300 granthas. That on the *Chan. Up.*, termed "a new discovery" in the Baroda O. L. Catalogue (xv), has been printed along with the rest of his glosses, many years ago. We have also a Ms. of it at the T. P. L. (iii, 1620). Rāghavendra's commentaries on the Ups. were evidently the reactions from the Dvaitic side to the Upaniṣadvyākhyās of Raṅgarāmānuja who is anterior to 1707.

Gītā-Prasthāna.

We have altogether three works of Rāghavendra on the Gītā-Prasthāna, not to speak of a *Gītārthamañjarī* attributed to him (23). His c. on the *Gītā-bhāṣya-Prameyadīpikā*, referred to by Vādīndra in his *Guruguṇastava* (ver. 25), is preserved at the Mysore O. L. (C. 340 Dev.) ; but that on the *Gītā-Tātparya-Nyāyadīpikā* of Jayatīrtha, is known only through Vādīndra's reference to it in ver. 26 of his *Guruguṇastava* :

गीतातात्पर्यटीकाविवरणमकरोद्बहुतं राघवेन्द्रः ॥

(26) His *Gītārtha-Saṁgraha*, more popularly known as *Gītā Vivṛti*, is a lucid and original commentary on the *Gītā*, printed several times in India.[50] Its apt and convincing explanations have won the admiration even of the followers of other schools of thought. It runs to 3,700 granthas. The author has made judicious use of the commentaries of Madhva and quotes also from other works of the Ācārya here.

Other Works.

The other works of Rāghavendra include commentaries on (26) the *Pramāṇa-Paddhati*[51] and (27) the *Vādāvali* of Jayatīrtha[52] and (28) the

47. All these comm. have been published from Bombay. A new edition has recently been brought out from Dharwar. The gloss on the Ait. included in these editions, is by a (recent ?) writer, who describes himself as disciple of Bhāṣākarī Venkaṭavarabhācārya.

48. केचिच्चक्राम्बकगतेर्भ्योऽन्यदिति वर्णं इत्याहुः ॥The commentator refers also the glosses of Vedeśa and Vyāsatīrtha, to both of which he is indebted.

49. A Tulu Ms. (palm leaf) No. 291, is however reported from the Pejāvar Mutt.

50. It is one of the comm. included in the Gujarati Press Edn. Bombay 1908.

51. Called *Bhavadīpa*. Dharwar.

52. Bombay. Not *Vādāvali* as on P. 317 of the *Vij. Sex. Cou. Vol.*

Tarkatāṇḍava (*Nyāyadīpa*) of Vyāsarāya; (29) one on the *Mbh. T. N.* (entitled *Bhāvasaṅgraha*[53] and (30) a complete and fascinating commentary on the (entire *Mīmāṁsā Sūtras* of Jaiminī, following the Bhāṭṭa school, and entitled "Bhaṭṭa-saṅgraha". The commentary on the *Tarkatāṇḍava*, of which a portion (containing pariccheḍas I-II) has already been issued from Mysore (G. O. L. Series, 1932-35) running to over 6,350 granthas, is a very illuminating performance, very helpful in identifying and clarifying the quotations from the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* and its commentaries occurring in the work of Vyāsarāya. Rāghavendra quotes Rucidatta (i, 152) and Narahari (181). The *Bhāṭṭasaṅgraha*[54] is a remarkable work, valuable not only by reason of its inherent worth but as one of the very few works written by Dvaitins upon other systems of thought. Under each Adhikaraṇa, the Pūrvapakṣa and siddhānta are summed up. The work is written in the best style of the author and is based upon a critical study of the *Śabara bhāṣya*, the works of Kumārila and other writers:

भाष्यवार्तिक टीकादिनानाग्रन्थावमर्शिना।
राघवेन्द्रेण यतिना कृतोऽयं भाट्टसंग्रहः॥

(31-37) *Miscellaneous Works.*

Besides the above-mentioned works, tradition ascribes to Rāghavendra, commentaries on the Rg, Yajus and Sāma Vedas, and short glosses on certain Sūktas like the *Puruṣa-sūkta*,[55] *Gharma*, *Samudra*, *Pavamāna*, *Hiraṇyagarbha* and *Ambhṛṇī*. These have been collectively referred to in the *Guruguṇastava* (28):—

सकलाग्यपि सूक्तानि सम्यक् व्याकुर्वन्तम्।

His c. on the *Rg. Veda* which is presumably the same as the *Mantrārthamañjarī*. The commentary on the other Vedas, are utterly lost to us though referred to in the *Guruguṇastava* (ver. 30).

हृद्या टीकानद्यः परिविहृतयजुःसामसम्बन्धिनी ते॥

Besides the above, tradition speaks of four other minor works of Rāghavendra (38) a *Rāmacaritamañjarī*,[56] (39) *Kṛṣṇacaritamañjarī*, (40) *Prātaḥsaṁkalpa-gadya*, and (41) a short c. on the *Anu-Madhvavijaya*, said to have been composed before his ordination.

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53. M. M. Sangha list as also p. 317 of the *Vij. Sex. C. Vol.*
54. Mysore O. L. A. 421 and 465. See P. 400 *ante*.
55. Printed.
56. Most probably the same *Rāma-kathā* in Srugdharā verses that Rāghvendra is said to have composed, in i. 12, of Nārāyaṇa's biography:

यो सितीर्षां रामकथां सम्वरानिः समग्रहीत्।

57. Evidently Nos. 38-39 are the same as the *Rāmakṛṣṇa-Caritamañjarī* referred to on P. 317 of the *Vij. Sex. C. Vol.* which speaks also of a "*Bhedabodhini*" by Rāghavendra.

TWO SANSKRIT CHINESE LEXICONS OF THE 7th-8th CENTURIES, AND SOME ASPECTS OF INDO-ARYAN LINGUISTICS*

By

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Dr. Prabodh Chandra BAGCHI's *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois* (Two Sanskrit-Chinese Lexicons) is a work of unique interest and importance in Sanskrit and Indo-Aryan linguistics, apart from its other bearings. The first volume of Dr. BAGCHI's work appeared from Paris in 1929, giving the text of two Sanskrit-Chinese dictionaries, the *Fan Yu Tsa Ming* of LI YEN and the *Fan Yu Ts'ien Tseu Wen* of Yi Tsing, in a facsimile reprint from Japanese wood-block editions published in the 18th century. In this first volume, Dr. BAGCHI has given a Roman transcription of the *Fan Yu Tsa Ming* in its entirety, accompanied by French equivalents of the words occurring in it : the Chinese characters in this lexicon have been transcribed from a standard modern pronunciation, following the French system, and the Sanskrit words have been transliterated, corrections (which are numerous) being given within brackets. There are cross references to the pages and columns of the *Fan Yu Ts'ien Tseu Wen* for the Sanskrit words in that work ; and of the *Fan Yu Ts'ien Tseu Wen* only the Sanskrit portions have been given in transcription, with corrections within brackets (the Chinese characters being omitted), and references to the same or synonymous words in the *Fan Yu Tsa Ming* have been indicated by means of numbers. The transcription of the *Fan Yu Tsa Ming* has been enriched by a number of notes from Prof. Paul PELLIOT, discussing the etymologies of a good many of the Indian words.

Dr. BAGCHI promised a detailed study of these two interesting works ; and after eight years, he has just published (November 1937) the second volume, forming the third number in the *Sino-Indica* series published on behalf of the University of Calcutta by Paul GEUTHNER of Paris. The second volume of Dr. BAGCHI's *Deux Lexiques* is remarkable in one respect : it is the first work by an Indian Sinologue published from an Indian-owned and Indian-managed press (the Calcutta Oriental Press, Ltd.) in which Chinese characters (the fount being imported from Japan) have been extensively printed. In this volume, Dr. BAGCHI has given us full accounts of the two works, placing before us all that can be known about their authors, and submitting the words wherever they offer a scope for it to a rigorous survey, orthographical, linguistic and lexicographical. A study of the phonetics of Indo-Aryan as well as Early Chinese naturally issues out of a discussion of

* This paper was received too late for inclusion in the *F. W. Thomas Commemoration Volume*.—S. M. K.

the transcription of the Sanskrit syllables by means of Chinese characters in both the works; and Dr. BAGCHI has properly treated the relevant topics. Notes on the Chinese transcription of the Sanskrit sounds have been included.

Some fresh materials came to Dr. BAGCHI's hands, after the publication of the *Fan Yu Tsa Ming* and the *Fan Yu Ts'ien Tseu Wen* in fascimile. These consist of different editions and versions or redactions of the two lexicons, giving variant readings and additional words not occurring in the Japanese editions of 1732 and 1773 which were published in fascimile. Dr. BAGCHI has fully discussed these new materials in his second volume, to which he has appended a Chinese-Sanskrit index with the Chinese characters arranged according to their radicals and the Indian words occurring in all the texts duly entered after the Chinese.

Dr. BAGCHI's account of the compilers of the two dictionaries afford us valuable glimpses both into the state of Buddhism in India, Serindia and China in the 7th-8th centuries and into that of Sanskrit and Indian studies in Serindia and China of that period. The dictionaries were taken to Japan where they were carefully studied and faithfully copied, and it is remarkable how in the hands of the copyists and wood-engravers of the 18th century in Japan the shapes of the Indian letters of the 7th-8th centuries as modified by Central Indian and Chinese scribes were on the whole preserved in tact. But during the ten centuries from the 8th to the 18th, mistakes had crept in, in the form of copyists' errors, of confusion of letters, and faulty or incorrect forms (apart from the frankly Prakrit words) which were based on vernacularised pronunciations of orthoepic modifications of Sanskrit sounds among Central Asian peoples, or among Indians themselves. Dr. BAGCHI has treated these errors thoroughly, drawing many an interesting conclusion from them and giving some suggestive parallels and examples.

Of the two lexicographers, LI YEN was an inhabitant of Kucha in Sin Kiang (Chinese Turkestan), while YI TSING was Chinese. (YI TSING has not given his proper Chinese name in his work—he follows the Buddhist fashion in vogue in China of his times in signing in his Indian or Sanskrit name PARAMĀRTHA-DEVA: it is interesting to note that FA HIEN'S Sanskrit name was MOKṢA-DEVA, and HIUEN TS'ANG'S MAHĀYĀNA-DEVA). Dr. BAGCHI has shown how LI YEN'S mother-tongue, Kuchean, influenced his Sanskrit vocabulary—at least one Kuchean word has been put down by Li Yen as Sanskrit (BAGCHI, II, p. 388).

The Sanskrit treated in the two lexicons is not the pure classical Sanskrit, pure in either vocabulary or grammar. A study of the words shows that there is a considerable divergence in the type of Sanskrit which was the objective of Li Yen and of Yi Tsing. It may be stated in general terms that it was *Buddhist Sanskrit*, much mixed up with vernacular Prakrit forms, that was the aim of both to teach. From point of view of Sanskrit Yi Tsing is the more careful compiler: his Sanskrit is purer, being less vernacularised. This is only natural, considering that he lived in India and studied his Sanskrit at Tamralipti in Bengal. We can only expect him to be familiar with

the Buddhist Sanskrit as used by the Bengal and Eastern Indian Buddhists of the 8th century, and this, it would appear, was substantially the same form of the speech which has been recovered from Nepal. Dr. BAGCHI suggests that a few of Yi Tsing's Prakritic forms really belong to the dialect of Bengal (p. 429). But these words are not peculiar to the vernacular of Bengal alone—they at any rate belong to the plains of Northern India, and the only thing that these and other words of the same type would suggest is that Yi Tsing's Buddhist Sanskrit has a vernacular North Indian colouring. His spellings are more correct, and more in accord with the correct Sanskrit of the plains of India written in the well-established orthography apparently fixed for good during the Kushana and Gupta periods.

Li Yen, on the other hand, spent his life in Serindia and China, and what he learned of 'Sanskrit' was outside India. Dr. BAGCHI has called together all that can be known about his life from Chinese sources, and has demonstrated how much he was in touch with Central Asian conditions. A number of words, Iranian and Serindian, doubtlessly, used by the Indians of the North-West, feature as Sanskrit words in Li Yen's work. These probably were not in use among Indians of the Gangetic plains. Li Yen's orthography and orthographical errors suggest a different environment from that of Yi Tsing. Although Li Yen's lexicon (in its Japanese edition) gives the Sanskrit words in the *Siddha-mātṛkā* alphabet—a sort of Devanagari of the 8th century—his common orthographical error of writing short vowels for long ones suggests the Kharoṣṭhī tradition of orthography behind the later Brāhmī one of the *Siddha-mātṛkā*. Other North-Western Indian phonetic and orthographic peculiarities are plentiful and they have been noted by Dr. BAGCHI. A close study of Li Yen's words and forms (some verb-forms in a Prakrit dialect occur—see BAGCHI II, p. 386) would make it quite clear that his 'Sanskrit' was a form of Buddhist Sanskrit different from that of Yi Tsing: it was, in fact, Buddhist Sanskrit as used among the Indians of the North-West, and probably also of Serindia.

This raises a very important question: was the Mahāyāna canon still split up in local dialectal versions? If the intention of Li Yen was to teach Sanskrit of the Mahāyāna texts such as we know them now, then either he did not know his Sanskrit well, being able to boast of a kind of jargon or 'pidgin' Sanskrit which would be in use only in the North-West—the area which had close relations with Central Asia; or there were current in Central Asia and North-Western India local redactions of Mahāyāna texts in a Buddhist Sanskrit different from that current in Bengal and Eastern India.

From the fact of Buddhist Sanskrit, and the evidence of the vocabularies of Li Yen and Yi Tsing, it is quite legitimate to assume that Sanskrit in the 8th century A.C. was not as dead as it would seem to be now. Sanskrit lived as a sort of elegant form of the vernaculars—a language which gave the older and fuller forms of the vernacular Prakrit words. It was considered to be near enough to the vernaculars, and it could be freely mixed or contaminated with vernacular words and forms, idioms and speech-habits. Cor-

rect grammatical Sanskrit was the business of scholars, particularly Brahman scholars. But for ordinary literate people, who were not necessarily great at grammar, a kind of 'dog Sanskrit' evidently was a great *Verkehrsprache*, particularly for conversation or correspondence out of one's own little dialect or big home-language area. It was bound to be in a fluid state, when it was current over such a wide tract extending from Bali and Java, and Cambodia and Siam, through Burma, Bengal and the Drāviḍa lands, to the North-Western frontier and Afghanistan, Central Asia and Sin-Kiang.

It is also clear that with Li Yen and the Serindians, there was not much discrimination between pure or classical Sanskrit and the current Prakrit vernacular of the North-West, if the latter used a highly *tatsama* vocabulary: evidently both were characterised as *Indian Speech*. In the same way, the average Arab Moslem of the age of the Crusades and later would not much discriminate between Latin and Italian or French as the *Language of the Franks*.

The orthographical errors in Li Yen give us interesting sidelights into Sanskrit pronunciation—or, rather, Indo-Aryan speech-habits—of the North-Western Frontier and Central Asia (among the Indian colonists) in the 7th century A.C. and earlier. The contamination with Serindian dialects should only warn us in the direction of caution and discrimination in using this evidence Indo-Aryan phonology.

The Chinese transcriptions give us valuable hints for Sanskrit (and Prakrit) pronunciation of the times. Thus, although the Sanskrit orthography, particularly in LI YEN, is slipshod and careless in the matter of vowel-length, the Chinese method of indicating the pronunciation of the Sanskrit syllables is generally careful by using a separate symbol to indicate a long vowel, whether originally long or long by position. Tone marks have been used, probably to indicate stress: but the point is not clear (BAGCHI, II, pp. 374 ff., and pp. 435-436). Proper liaison between the members of Sanskrit conjunct consonant groups, which can only be denoted in Chinese writing by means of a separate character with a syllable for each consonant sound in the conjunct, is sought to be indicated by means of special diacritical links (e.g. Sanskrit *varṣa* is transcribed by three characters in Chinese, formerly pronounced as *va-ri ṣa*, now as *fa-li-ṣé*, but to guard against the likelihood of pronouncing the word in Chinese fashion as a trisyllabic one, a link symbol is used, e.g. *"va-ri+ṣa=varṣa*). Other devices are employed, to help the Chinese learner in doubling a consonant or in articulating properly a compound consonant; although here and there these devices remain a little obscure as to what exactly they intended to convey (cf. pp. 389 ff).

From the reconstructed ancient pronunciation of the Chinese characters (the work of this reconstruction itself being largely helped by these transcriptions from Sanskrit), we can see how some of the Sanskrit sounds were pronounced, or were attempted to be pronounced, in North India of the 8th century. Dr. BAGCHI has given lists of the various Chinese characters used as equivalents of full Sanskrit syllables, or of single Sanskrit consonants occurring

finally or in conjuncts. We see from these that [r] had the value of [ri] usually, and occasionally or [ir], and very rarely of [ur] (cf. Li Yen 475 *catyviśa=caturviṃśa*). The sibilants [ś] and [ṣ] were distinguished—now Northern India has practically lost this distinction. The Chinese transcriptions also give [gñ], or [gy] nasalised, as the value of [jñ] (e.g. *a-ki-niang = * a-kiāo, *a-giña=ājñā ; wei-ki-niang-po-ṭi = * vikiñāpati = *vigiñāpati =vijñāpayati*).

The value of these transcriptions is not as great for Chinese as it could otherwise be expected, as Chinese pronunciation of the 7th-8th centuries was rapidly undergoing modifications, particularly in the matter of its final sounds.

There are 1221 words in the *Fan Yu Tsa Ming* and 995 in the *Fan Yu Ts'ien Tseu Wen* plus supplementary 310 in the incomplete *Fan T'ang Sing Si*, which is a pendant to the second work. A good many words are common to both the works. When the palpable orthographic and other errors are corrected and the words are restored to something like correct Sanskrit in their orthography, it is found that a good few of these words, particularly in LI YEN'S *Fan Yu Tsa Ming* are not Sanskrit, but vernacular, being from the Prakrit dialects of those days (Vol. II, pp. 364-368 and pp. 432-435 ; cf. also pp. 443-446, where additional Prakrit words found in the *Fan T'ang Siao Si*, the Sanskrit-Chinese lexicon found in an incomplete form and given as a supplement to the work of Yi Tsing have been discussed by Dr. BAGCHI).

One peculiarity of these Prakrit words, as they occur in the *Fan Yu Tsa Ming* particularly, is rather unexpected for the period 7th-8th century, when the New Indo-Aryan stage appears not yet to have been established ; it is the use of a single consonant only, generally without the characteristic New Indo-Aryan compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, where the etymology requires a double consonant : e.g. in the *Fan Yu Tsa Ming* we have *maśo=śmaśru, degha=dīrgha, uca=ucca, vaṭula* written *caṭula=vartula, maga=mārga, tela* or *tella=taila* or *tailya, laṭuka* for *laḍḍuka, bhaṭāra=bhartāra-, gṛṣa=grīṣma* (to indicate a semi-tatsama pronunciation * *grīṣṣa*), *khaṭa = khaṭvā, masa=matsya, kaṭa=haṭṭa, kapara=karpaṭa* ; and *ucāha=utsāha, vicikica=vicikitsa* in the *Fan Yu Ts'ien Tseu Wen*. In a few rare cases, we have compensatory lengthening also : cf. *Fan Yu Tsa Ming, āṭa*='flour' (but in the *Fan T'ang Siao Si*), *āgira=aṅgāra, gāri=garhā*. We should note that in the N.-W. dialects, Panjabi and Lahndi, double consonants without compensatory lengthening are still the rule, even during the present New Indo-Aryan period. I discussed this apparent simplification of the Prakritic double consonants in a 7th century lexicon in my paper on *the Tertiary Stage of Indo-Aryan* (Proceedings of the Sixth Oriental Conference, Patna, pp. 650 ff.). I consider them to be merely graphic incompleteness : they wrote *bhaṭāra, degha, uca, tela* etc., but pronounced them as *bhaṭṭāra, diggha, ucca, talla*, etc. This faulty orthographic tradition is at least as old as the oldest Brahmi spelling of the 3rd century B.C., and undoubtedly persisted down to the 8th century, and even later, particularly in careless writing in the hands of scribes who knew their Prakrit as a spoken language.

Dr. BAGCHI thinks (p. 432) that a form like *ăṣ'ja* = Bengali *āṣ*, <Old Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit) *ā* + √*viś* 'enter', is an evidence of the establishment of New Indo-Aryan (Old Bengali) stage as early as the 8th century. But *āṣ'ja*, to which *ăṣ'ja* of the *Fan Yu Ts'in Tsan Wen* is to be corrected, is not specifically New Indo-Aryan—it can be equally looked upon as a Middle Indo-Aryan or Prakrit form : *ā-viś* (*ā-vis*) or *āyiś* (*āyis*), with interior *v* (or *y*) becoming a glide sound, could be very well written as *āiś* (*āis*). We cannot postulate the New Indo-Aryan simplification of double consonants as early as the 8th century in the speech of Eastern India, much less in the dialects of the Midland and the North-West. But it is just possible that in Yi Tsing's lexicon, as Dr. BAGCHI has noted, a special connexion of that compilation with Bengal and Eastern India is suggested by words like *hakkāra* (= *hāk-ār* in Bengali, 'shout'), *vikriṇa* (Old Bengali *bikina* for *bikina*, but Hindustani *bēcnā*), *veṭṭa* for *baiṭṭa* (Bengali *Baiṭ, baiṭ, bas* < *upa-viś-*, but Hindustani *baiṭh* <*upaviṣṭa*), *medheṣa* as a misunderstood copyist's error for **veḍḍha* or **beḍḍha*—New Bengali *bēṛ* 'to surround', *kaṅkaḍa* 'comb' (=New Bengali *kāṅkui*), *piḍāyī* 'basket' (Old Bengali **peḍā*), etc. (cf. p. 429) : just as the numerous special and persistent Prakrit tendencies or errors in orthography in Li Yen's lexicon make clear (BAGCHI, p. 416) the influence of the dialect of the North-West in the latter work.

Some of the Prakrit and other words noted by Dr. BAGCHI may be commented upon :

(I) In the *Fan Yu Tsa Ming* :

492. *pamani, prabhema*=10,000 (BAGCHI, pp. 382-383). Dr. BAGCHI is undoubtedly right in looking upon *prabhema* as *prabheda*, meaning 10,000, which is found in the *Mahāvyutpatti*. But *pamani* appears to be the Kuchean (and other Central Asian) *tumane*, incorrectly written. (This would therefore be another Kuchean word in Li Yen's Sanskrit dictionary in addition to the word for 'finger' given only in Chinese transcription as *fu-pho-lu-mang*, probably for **fu-lo-lu-mang*, as a synonym for the Sanskrit *aṅguli-pravartta*, which Dr. BAGCHI has restored as *praṇam* ; in p. 388, Vol. II). A dialect form of Kuchean—*tmāṃ*, would make it highly improbable that *tumani* or *tumane* is from *padman* (*padman*>*paduma*>**patuma*>**ptuma*>*tuma*- as suggested by Dr. BAGCHI : This would make *patuma* lose two initial syllables in Kuchean A, and this is not likely).

48. *pāṇḍa* (p. 364), undoubtedly pronounced *pāḍa*, with the intervocal *-ḍ-* pronounced as an open consonant, (= *pāda*), to give New Indo-Aryan (Hindustani) *pāṅw* or *pāṅ̃o* ; *Pōnda* would appear to an archaistic rather than contemporary spoken form. This is a case of spontaneous nasalisation. Similar archaistic or restored forms occur : e.g. 1151 *chindra*=*chinda* for *chidda*.

434. *mamera* (p. 365) is quite a satisfactory source-form for the Panjabi and Hindustani *mērā* : *mama*+*kera*=*mamera*.

582. *cola*='rice' (p. 365),<*coḍa, cavala* (Jaina texts). *caṅ̃vala*=*camala* (cf. S. K. CHATTERJI, *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, Band 9, Heft

I, 1932, pp. 31-37—'Two New Indo-Aryan Etymologies'). Does *cola* stand for a pronunciation [ʧɔlə]?

584. *āṭa*='flour' (p. 765). I would suggest that this is just a graphic mannerism, or a case of traditional orthography, for *āṭṭa* as noted before, elsewhere it occurs as *āṭa*.

1069. *kaḍura* (p. 367): probably for **gaḍḍura*, as the source form of the Hindustani *gaḍur*, Bengali *gāḍu*='an ewer', noted by Dr. BAGCHI: **gaḍḍura* would be either an onomatopoetic formation, from the gurgling sound of the water coming out the spout, or it may be from a form *gaḍḍa*='to roll', whence we have the New Indo-Aryan *gāṛī*='carriage.'

(II) In the *Fan Yu Ts'ien Tseu Wen.*

342. *karja*='heart' (p. 433) would appear to be a false Sanskritisation of **hāreṭṭa* or *hāleṭṭa* (<*hāleyya*)=Hindustani *kalijā*, Bengali *kaliyā*, *kaleje*.

(III) In the *Fan T'ang Siao Si* (supplement to the *Fan Yu Ts'ien Tseu Wen*), dating from the middle of the 9th century:—

47. *taṣṭa* (p. 444) is not explained by Dr. BAGCHI. Its Chinese equivalent means 'cup', as Dr. BAGCHI has noted. This is an Iranian word, borrowed early by Indo-Aryan. We have New Persian *tāšt* (borrowed by Arabic as *tašt*, by Armenian as *tašt*, *tašṭak*; it occurs also in Arabic as *ṭāst*, whence Italian *tazza*, French *tasse*), from Middle Persian (Pahlavi) *tašt*, and Avestan *tašt* (cf. Paul HORN, *Neupersische Etymologie*, Strassburg 1893, under *tešt*). In India the word became *taṣṭa*, as attested here, and from *taṣṭa* we have a Middle Indo-Aryan vernacular (Prakrit) **ṭaṭṭha*, **ṭhaṭṭha* (cf. Pashtu *Paṣtāna*>Indianised **Paṭṭhaṣa*, whence New Indo-Aryan *Paṭhāṇ*, *Paṭhān*, *Pāṭhān*='an Afghan') as the source of Hindustani *ṭhaṭherā*='brazier', bronze or metal worker, a maker of metal pots or pans (in brass or copper) (<**ṭhaṭṭha-kara*, **ṭhaṭṭhayara*). This word is doubtless the source of Bengali *ṭāṭ* (for **ṭōṭha*) 'a metal plate, a shallow cup, generally of copper,' and *ṭāṭi* 'earthen cup', and also of Hindustani *ṭhāṭā*='model, frame-work.'

The Sanskrit form of the word possibly occurs in Bengali expression *taṣṭi-rām*, which refers to an institution now becoming obsolete,—that of a sort of minstrel or praise-singer who used to attend the *śrāddha* ceremony of a rich man, to sing his praises to the accompaniment of a clanging noise made by rubbing a pebble round the rim of a brass pot (*loṭā*). This word is just a link in the chain, and it would suggest an intimate and prolonged influence of Persian metal-craft on that of India, from pre-Christian times (cf. *mudrā*: from old Persian *muðra*='Egypt, Egyptian flat seal'; Bhāskaravarmmn Inscription from Bengal of the 7th century *sekya-kāra*+'engraver' (>New Bengali *sekrā*) from Persian **sikka*, borrowed from the Aramaic *skk*='die, coin'; and this word, *taṣṭ*>*taṣṭa*>*ṭhāṭh*, *ṭhāṭherā*, *ṭāṭ* etc.='metal cup'. (Cf. *Rūpam*, 1926, Nos. 27-28, note by S. K. CHATTERJI on Iranian influence on Indian metal-work, pp. 81-82.)

49. *Kaḍḍhi* (p. 444) : Dr. BAGCHI rightly corrects this word to *kaṭṭhi-*<*kāṣṭhikhā*=New Bengali *kāṭhi* 'little stick.'

125. *gwyāra* (p. 444) : evidently from the Persian *xīyār*, borrowed by Arabic, and by modern Hindustani in the form of *xīrā*.

The linguistic interest of the Prakritic words masquerading as Sanskrit in these Sanskrit-Chinese dictionaries is exceedingly great, as can be easily seen. Some of these words embody in them important items of international cultural contact, between India and Iran, India and Serindia, India and China, China and Iran, China and Serindia, and Serindia and Iran. Knotty problems—veritable *Vyāsa-kūṭas*—there are many, and a good many items of interest have remained unexplained, as Dr. BAGCHI has noted them himself. In the meanwhile, students of Indo-Aryan linguistics will feel grateful to Dr. Prabodh Chandra BAGCHI for making available to them such a valuable mass of new material for the study of Middle Indo-Aryan phonology and lexicography.

CRITERIA OF PREPOSITIONS USED ADNOMINALLY IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE BRĀHMANAS*

By

SIDDHESHWAR VARMA

[NOTE. The abbreviations used in this paper are mostly those listed by MACDONELL, in his *Vedic Grammar*, p. 438. Besides these, [kośa] refers to the "Vaidika-padānu-krama-kośa" by Viśvabandhu SHASTRI, Lahore, 1935-36.]

WHAT IS MEANT BY "PREPOSITIONS USED ADNOMINALLY"?

MACDONELL, in his *Vedic Grammar* (pp. 414-16), rightly differentiates between "Adnominal Prepositions" and "Prepositions used adnominally." The former are those, which are never compounded with verbs, but govern cases only, e.g. [*vinā*] "without", [*arvāk*] "on this side", [*agreṇa*] "before" (Cf. MACDONELL, *Ib.*, pp. 421 ff., BRUGMANN, *Grundriss* II², 2, 921), and this paper has nothing to do with them. The latter—"Prepositions used adnominally"—are those, which can, without exception, be used as prefixes before verbs, but can occasionally govern nominal cases as well. It is these prepositions with which this paper will deal.

PĀṆINI'S "KARMA-PRAVACANĪYA".

Pāṇini (I-4-83-98) recognized these peculiar prepositions, called them "Karma-pravacanīya" and listed eleven of them, viz. [*anu*], [*upa*], [*apa*], [*pari*], [*ā*], [*prati*], [*abhi*], [*su*], [*ati*], [*api*] and [*adhi*]. Now with the publication of Pt. Viśvabandhu's epoch-making *Padānukramakośa* mentioned above, relating to the language of the Brāhmaṇas, it is now easy to ascertain that out of the above prepositions listed by Pāṇini, five, viz., [*upa*], [*apa*], [*pari*], [*su*] (which does not occur preverbal as well) and [*api*] are not used adnominally in the language of the Brāhmaṇas. Three occurrences of [*upa*] as a preposition of this type may appear in the Brāhmaṇas, as recorded in the Kośa, but a little consideration will show that this is not the case. Two of these occurrences (TāṇḍB. VI.9.3 and VI.9.5) are explanatory derivations of [*upāka-*] and *upośu jātam* respectively, viz., *upa vā annam* "near indeed is food" and *upa vai prajā, tam jātam* "near indeed was offspring, when it was to be born." But these are not examples of prepositions used adnominally, even if they are not preverbal prepositions. They are, strictly speaking, adverbial adjuncts, being parts of predicates. The third occurrence (TB II.3.10.3) *upa mā vartasva* "approach me," which the Kośa has recorded as coming under adnominal use, cannot be necessarily so, for the intransitive verb [√*vart-*] does take the prefix [*upa*] as preverbal, as

* Intended for the *F. W. Thomas Commemoration Volume*, but received late for inclusion there—S.M.K.

recorded by the Kośa on p. 281. Again cf. [√*vart-*] with [*anu*] "to follow," where the intransitive verb, by usage, has become transitive.

So we get six prepositions from Pāṇini's list. A seventh one, viz., [*antar*] is also to be added, for it occurs both as preverbal and has adnominal use as well. In the prose of the Brāhmaṇas, as DELBRÜCK has rightly pointed out (*Altind. Syntax*, 1888, p. 446) [*antar*], when used adnominally, seems to be connected only with the locative, which it precedes, as in the phrase *antar vedyāṃ sādayati* (GB II.4.6) "he places it inside the altar," or succeeds as in the phrase *puruṣe (a)ntaḥ* (ŚB V.2.4.10) "within man." Moreover, when it is preverbal, its usual meaning is "exclusion" or "covering", as in *grīṣmāt sapatnāṃ antaraiti* (ŚB I.5.3.10) "he excludes his enemies from summer," *sa tṛṇam antarādadhāti* (ŚB III.8.2.12) "he covers it with grass"; cf. in this connection WACKERNAGEL's remark (*Vorlesungen* II, p. 237) that sometimes the same preposition when preverbal, gives a different meaning when it is adnominal, e.g. lat. [*defero*] "to carry away a thing from a place" but [*de*] adnominally used, means "from downwards." But in our preposition [*antar*] the meaning, when the preposition is preverbal, becomes not only different but quite the opposite: adnominally "inside," preverbally "exclusion."

HOW TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER A PREPOSITION HAS BEEN USED ADNOMINALLY?

We now come to the crux of our problem. Are there any criteria by which we may be able to ascertain whether a preposition is connected with a case or with a verb? Thus says MACDONELL (*Ib.*, p. 417) "Here, however, there is sometimes an uncertainty whether the preposition belongs to the verb or the noun, e.g. *nākasya pṛṣṭhé ádhi tiṣṭhati* 'he stands upon the ridge of the firmament'." This problem assumes varying degrees of certainty.

CLEAR INSTANCES OF THE ADNOMINAL USE.

In the first place, some clear instances in which a preposition can be immediately spotted with adnominal use may be mentioned :—

(1) Of all our seven prepositions, the adnominal use of the preposition [*ā*] can be most easily discerned. It is a prepoeition *par excellence* (Cf. DELBRÜCK, *Ib.*, p. 432), for in the vast majority of occurrences it immediately precedes a noun, generally in the ablative case, e.g. *ā vaṣaṭkārāt* (*GB* I.3.3) "till the recitation of the symbol [vaṣaṭ]," *ā nakhāgrebhyaḥ* (ŚB XIV.4.2.16) "up to the edges of the nails." Or it may be separated from the governed case by one or two words which have no connection with the verb, as *aitasya homāt* (ŚB IV.2.4.7) "till the offering of this sacrifice," *ā tisṛṇāṃ dogdhoḥ* (ŚB I.7.1.15) "up to the milking of three cows," *ā mahata uktthāt* (ŚB XII.6.1.41) "up to the great uktha." *ājyotiṣo darśanāt* (Ṣaḍ B IV.5) "till the sight of a star," *ā iveva śraddhāyai hotavyam* (AB V. 27) "there must be an offering, even if only in faith."

(2) The adnominal use of prepositions is quite evident when there is no verb in the sentence, e.g. *yajamāne eva puṣṭiṃ anu.... sa upabhṛtam anu* (ŚB I.3.2.11). "The yajamāna alone (participates) in the

ladle .... in the wooden cup called *upabhṛta*. *Etamevābhi tā āgneyāstṛṣṭubhaḥ* (ŚB VI.7.4.6.) "those tṛṣṭubh verses to Agni are only about this." *Sa eṣa puruṣaḥ samudraḥ sarvaṃ lokam ati* (AA. II.3.3) "this man is the sea: he is above all the world." *Vayam agneradhi* (ŚB I.9.1.19) "we are from Agni." In AB IV.6 there occurs a remarkable pair of sentences in which both the preverbal and adnominal uses of a preposition occur clearly and separately, viz. *atiśaṃsati stotram, ati vai prajātmānam* "the (hotar) recites the *stotra* exceeding the normal number of verses, for the offspring is (numerically) in excess of his own self." In the second sentence there is no verb and [*ati*] governs [*ātmānam*].

(3) A clear instance of the adnominal use can be also noticed when a preposition *precedes* a noun which it is likely to govern, e.g. *tad etasyaivānu prajātim imāḥ sarvāḥ prajā anuprajāyante* (ŚB II.3.1.6) "so according to the birth of this, all these creatures are born." Here the first [*anu*] which precedes [*prajātim*], is directly connected with it, and thus its use is adnominal. Similarly cf. *adhīva hyanne (a)nnādo bhavati* (AA II.3.1) "for the feeder is over his food," the preposition [*adhi*] here precedes [*anne*], only intervened by two particles. *adhi saṃvatsaraṃ vidyāt* (TA I.2.2) "one should know that (the world) depends upon the year." *Etasyaivānu homam itarau hūyete* (ŚB V.5.4.26) "the two *homas* (called *pariśrut*) should be performed after the homa of this." Here [*anu*] preceding [*homam*] is directly connected with it, and if the preposition be taken direct with [*hūyete*], it will be impossible to get any sense out of the sentence.

(4) Another clear instance of the adnominal use occurs when a preposition immediately follows a nominal case, and is repeated immediately before the verb, e.g. *yadyāgneyaṃ kratuṃ purā kālāt samaśyād aśvinam anu yat kiñca devidevatyaṃ ṛkṣu tad anu vartayet* (ŚA. XVIII.3) "if he should pass over the service for Agni before the due time, he should apply there whatever in the Āśvina is addressed to two Gods in the Ṛks." Here [*anu*] immediately follows the nominal case [*āśvinam*], and is repeated before the verb [*vartayet*]. It is impossible to connect the first [*anu*] with the verb.

(5) Lastly, after a sentence containing a preposition and a verb, another sentence sometimes occurs which elucidates the meaning of the preposition, which can thus be definitely referred to as having adnominal sense, e.g. *gārhapatyaṃ vā anu prajāḥ paśavaḥ prajāyante, gārhapatyenaivāsmai prajāṃ paśūn prājanayat* (TB I.1.4.7) "verily it is after the Gārhapatya fire that offspring and animals are created: he has created offspring and animals for him only through Gārhapatya." Here [*gārhapatya*] of the second sentence is virtually an explanation of [*anu*], thus connected with [*gārhapatyam*].

But our difficulties now start; for in a very large number of occurrences a preposition stands between a case and a verb, e.g. in *yajñām hy abhi dīkṣate* ŚB III.6.3.1) "he is initiated for the sacrifice": shall we connect [*abhi*] with [*yajñām*] or with [*dīkṣate*]? To solve this problem, we must bear in mind the remark of BRUGMANN that as in the original stages of the Indo-European language, the case without prepositions had often many meanings,

connection of the case with prepositions has contributed to clearness (*Griechische Grammatik*,[4] pp. 495, 496). The object of the preposition was thus, in many instances, the creation of a definite meaning out of a case rather than out of a verb.

The definitive use of prepositions

The definitive objects of prepositions may be thus enumerated :—

(1) The adnominal use often signifies *purpose*. The following examples will show the purposive sense of a preposition :—(*prajāpatiḥ*) *idam annādyam abhyuttasthau* (ŚB I.6.3.37) "Prajāpati rose for (consuming) this food." Now [*abhi*] "for" is semantically connected more with [*annādyam*] than with the verb. [*uttasthau*] "stood up" being intransitive, with [*ud*] in the perfective sense, the action is complete, and no more preposition is necessary to modify the sense of the verb. But an accusative case followed by an intransitive verb will give a very vague significance : it is to remove this vagueness that the preposition [*abhi*] has been used here ; "for (consuming) the food." Koṣa and P.W., however, make [*abhi*] preverbal in this sentence, which would leave the sense of the case very indefinite. Similarly cf. *te sataḥ sad abhyuttiṣṭhanti* (TāṇḍB IV.8.13) "they rise from the subetsnce for the sake of substance."

(2) The adnominal use sometimes signifies *direction*. The following examples will show this directive sense of a preposition :—

Vaya evainam etad bhūtam asmāṁ manuṣyalokād devalokam abhyutpādayati (ŚB I.8.3.14) "(it) carries this (bunch of grass) converted into a bird, from this human world, towards the heavenly world." *Sā sarvāṁ imāṁllokāṁ abhi vi kṣarati* (Jai Up. I.1.10.1) "she flows in all directions into these worlds."

(3) These examples show that the definitive significance of prepositions used adnominally becomes particularly prominent when a verb has two objects. Sometimes the preposition refers to the animate object :—

yadyu abhicared ādiśed idam aham taptam vāruṇam abhiniḥsṛjāmi (ŚB III.5.2.8) "if he performs magic, he should declare, 'here I am throwing boiling water towards him.'" *Ned devāṁ abhiprasārya śayā iti* (ŚB III. 1.1.7) "I should never sleep, stretching (my feet) towards the gods."

But in the following examples the preposition refers to the inanimate object :—

ta enaṁ ubhaye devāḥ prītāḥ svargaṁ lokam abhi vahanti (ŚB III.8.1. 16). "Both these gods, being pleased, take it towards heaven." Koṣa and P.W., however, make [*abhi*] preverbal in the sentence. But the meaning of [*vahanti*] "carry" is complete without the need of a preposition. It is the case [*lokam*] which requires a preposition in order to give a definite sense. *tāṁ āgnīdhram abhi samrurudhuḥ* (ŚB III.6.1.28) "at the Āgnīdhra the demons blocked the gods." [*abhi*] referring to [*āgnīdhram*]. *Taṁ evaṁ bhṛtvā samudram abhyavajahāra* (ŚB I.8.1.5) "having thus carried him he took him towards the ocean." Koṣa and PW make it preverbal.

In the following example, both the objects are inanimate, but the preposition goes with that object which is the purpose of the action :—*tāṃ diśo(a)nu vātaḥ samavahat* (TB I.1.3.7) "the wind began to blow in various directions in order to (dry up) that (land)," [*anu*] going with [*tām*], [*bhūmim*] being understood.

(4) There is a large number of occurrences in this connection which require careful consideration on account of the difficulties to which they give use. Thus in ŚB I.8.3.25 there occurs a line :—*imāṃ vācam abhi viśve gṛṇanta ityetad u vaiśvadevaṃ karoti* "'all offering this word (of praise)' thus he makes the Vaiśvadeva offering." According to the Koṣa, [*abhi*] has here the adnominal use, apparently governing [*vācam*] which it immediately follows. But if the preposition is thus treated, the translation will run :—"all praising about this word" which will give no sense. Hence [*abhi*] has here not the adnominal, but the preverbal sense, and goes with [*gṛṇantaḥ*].

But there is a large number of occurrences which, if the prepositions are not carefully handled, may give absurd sense. In the ŚB occurs a type of sentences, which are widely repeated in various contexts, containing prepositions which indicate the delicacy of such expressions. The following sentence will be typical :—

atha sruveṇopahatyājyam, agnim abhi juhoti (ŚB III.4.1.25) "then taking ghee with a ladle, he offers (it) to Agni (lit. pours it over Agni)." [*juhoti*] here has only one object, viz. [*ājyam*] which is actually offered. To whom the [*ājyam*] is to be offered is shown by the preposition [*abhi*] which governs [*agnim*]. That the verb [*juhoti*] generally governs only the name for the thing offered can be confirmed by referring to the Ṛgveda, e.g. the objects of the verb [$\sqrt{hu}$] are [*haviḥ*] (Ṛv.I.26.6), [*ghṛtám*] (Ṛv.I.110.6), [*sómam*] (Ṛv VII.85.1), [*giraḥ*] (Ṛ1 II.27.1). But can we get any sense from [*agnim*], if [*abhi*] be connected with the verb, as both PW and Koṣa have done? By making [*abhi*] preverbal, many contexts, such as ŚB III.6.1.21, III.6.4.15, III.7.1.10, III.8.2.21, III.9.3.23 and III.6.3.1 will not give any sense, [*abhi*] in all these contexts, if they have any sense, has adnominal use, while PW and Koṣa have made it preverbal.

Now let us consider the sentence referred to above on p. 750 :—*yo dīkṣate yajñam hy abhi dīkṣate* (ŚB III.6.3.1) "he who is initiated, is initiated for the sacrifice." [*dīkṣate*] is here intransitive and [*abhi*] definitely signifies that it is for the sacrifice that the action of initiation is intended. Could any sense be derived from [*abhi*] if it be connected with [*dīkṣate*], as Koṣa has done? Again, in ŚB I.2.3.1 we have a line :—*so (a) po (a) bhi tiṣṭheva* "he spat upon the waters." Spitting is here an action which, from the sense of the sentence, requires no further specification, but [*abhi*] specifies the waters as being the object to which the spitting was directed. But Koṣa and PW construe [*abhi*] here as preverbal.

But it is in the passive sentences and particularly in connection with passives used impersonally, that the adnominal use of prepositions acquires

a prominent significance, e.g. *atha yottarā sā prajām abhi hūyate* (ŚB II. 3.1.29) "the next offering is made for offspring"; *atha yā pūrvāhutiḥ sātmānam abhi hūyate* (ŚB II.3.1.29) "the preceding offering is made for one's own (welfare)." Cf. the following sentence in which the preposition [*prati*] accompanies a passive used impersonally :—

tayaitad ūrjā sarvān vanaspatīn prati pacyate (ŚB VI.6.3.3). "This power becomes mature, so far as all the plants are concerned."

The adnominal use of a preposition is more frequent when the verb in the sentence is intransitive. A remarkable example of the same preposition with preverbal use when the verb is transitive, but adnominal when the verb is intransitive, is shown by the following sentence :—*atha yad bṛhatīm abhisampādayati, bṛhatīm hy abhi vratam sampadyate* (ŚA XVIII.2) "in that he produces the Bṛhatī, it is because it is with regard to the Bṛhatī that the vow is produced." Cf. the following examples of the adnominal use when the verb is intransitive :—

tasmān naīnam bahirvedi abhi astam iyāt (ŚA XVII.7) "therefore the sun should not set on him outside the altar." *Tasmāchchhiro (a)ṅgāni medyanti nānumedyati, na kṛśaty anu kṛśyati* (TāṇḍB V.1.6) "therefore the head, when other limbs get fat, does not become fat, nor when other limbs get weak, become weak"—the preposition [*anu*] having adnominal use here.

Difficulties when more than one preposition precede a verb

Perhaps the most difficult part of the problem arises when more than one preposition come before a verb. Should all the prepositions go with the verb, or only one? And in either case, when? (Cf. Delbrück *Ib.*, p. 47).

The approach to this problem can be attempted by first considering the nature of the verb in the sentence. If the verb is intransitive, and if one of the prepositions is likely to further modify its sense, the other preposition is likely to have the adnominal use. Cf. the following sentence :—*yaś-cāpsucaraṃ ca pariplavaṃ ca tad devāḥ samāruhya sarvān lokān anu pari plavante* (ŚA XX. 1) "that which goes in the waters and that which swims. Mounted on this the gods move round all the worlds." The verb [*plavante*] is intransitive, meaning "move"; the preposition [*pari*] further modifies its sense: "move round", but [*anu*] specifies the sense of the accusative [*lokān*], showing that the "worlds" are the objects to which the direction of the movement is intended.

One of the prepositions can be even more easily connected with a case when emphasis is implied. Cf. *viśvam enān anu prajāyate* (TāṇḍB XXV.18.3) "the universe becomes under them." The first preposition [*pra*] further modifies the sense of [√*jā*-], rendering it into "becomes", but [*anu*] goes with [*enam*], emphasizing that it is under t h e m that the universe becomes.

Again, if two prepositions precede a verb, and the adnominal use of the first preposition is very frequent in other occurrences, that preposition may be connected with case, as in *kṛṣṇājine (a)dhyabhiṣicyate* (TāṇḍB XVII. 11.8) "(the yajamāna) should be crowned on an antelope's skin." The

occurrence of [*adhi*] adnominally in the locative sense, or with the locative, is quite frequent, cf. ŚB I.1.4.3 *kṛṣṇājinam adhi dīkṣante* "the initiation ceremony is performed on an antelope's skin." So in our sentence, [*adhi*] can be easily connected with [*kṛṣṇājine*], with adnominal use, while [*abhi*] modifies the sense of the verb [*sicyate*] "is sprinkled" by converting the sense into "crowned."

The order of words

In many occurrences we can easily ascertain the adnominal use of prepositions from the order of words, which, in the Brāhmaṇas, follows certain rules of sequence.

In the first place, the preposition's distance from the verb can nearly always be trusted as an indication of its connection. If a preposition is placed at a considerable distance from the verb, but is much closer to a nominal case, we may be sure that it is connected with the case and not with the verb, e.g. *ned etad anu yajño vā yajamāno vā tāmyāt* (ŚB I.2.2.17) "after this neither the sacrifice nor the sacrificer will undergo deterioration": [*anu*] here follows [*etad*] immediately and so its use is adnominal. Cf. *anu no (a) syāṃ pṛthivyām ā bhajata* (ŚB I.2.5.4) "give us a share on this earth" and *anu no yajñe ā bhajata* (ŚB III.6.2.17) "give us a share in the sacrifice."

Again, a preposition's use is adnominal, when it stands at the end of a sentence, and is preceded by a nominal case, e.g. *yajñam eṣām kaniṣyāmaḥ tṛtīyasavanam prati* (GB II.6.6) "we (the Asuras) will destroy their (the god's) sacrifice at the third pressing."

Circumstances when the adnominal use is impossible

When in a sentence only the nominative case, and no other case occurs, the preposition cannot have the adnominal use. Thus the following examples of prepositions recorded in the Kośa as having adnominal use are erroneous indications :—

tayor vā etayostṛcayoḥ ṣaḍ akṣarāṇy abhyudyanti (ŚA XXVII.1) "of these two triplets there are six triplets over." Here [*akṣarāṇi*] is the nominative case : [*abhi*] must be adverbial, i.e., must go with the verb. Similarly cf. *tathaiteṣāṃ caturbhiś caturbhir akṣaraiś chandāṃsy abhyudyanti* (ŚA XXX.3) "so their metres increase with four syllables each."

Accentuation : how far can it indicate the adnominal use?

The indication which accentuation can give us in this matter is very meagre. Only two Brāhmaṇas have more or less preserved the accent—the ŚB and the TB, and only one Āraṇyaka, the TA.

As regards the accentuation of prepositions, the ŚB does not follow the method of the Ṛgveda. Regarding this Veda Macdonell says (*Ib.* p. 107) :— "When there are two prepositions, both are accented in the RV, being treated as separate words, e.g. *úpa práyāhi* 'come forth'... When [*ā*] immediately follows another preposition, unless it ends in [*i*], it alone is accented, both being compounded with the verb, e.g. [*upāgahi*]." (Cf. Delbrück, *Ib.*, p. 47,

OLDENBERG, *Z.D.M.G.*, Vol. 61, p. 813). No such system is followed by the ŚB : in the vast majority of occurrences, when two or more prepositions precede a verb, only one preposition immediately before the verb is accented, while the others remain unaccented, without exception in favour of any particular preposition. The method of the TB, however, is slightly different : it accentuates in a much larger number of occurrences more than one preposition preceding a verb. From the Kośa I roughly calculated a number of occurrences in which prepositions (exceeding one) before a verb are accentuated in the two Brāhmaṇas. The following figures are the result of my calculation :—

Two prepositions accented		Only one preposition accented
TB	83	9
ŚB	15	163

These figures may not be exact, but they indicate the trend of the two Brāhmaṇas. The TB seems to follow the Ṛgveda much more in this matter. But to come back to our question, how far does the accentuation indicate whether the use of a preposition is adnominal?

In the first place, when a verb has only one preposition before it, and the sentence is a principal clause, accentuation cannot be a criterion in this matter, because the preposition before a verb in a principal clause is generally always accented, whether it goes with the verb or with the case. Only when more than one preposition precede a verb, can accentuation give any indication. That this is so, was recognized by WHITNEY, who said, "A prefix, however, not seldom has a more independent value, as a general adverb of direction or as a preposition (in the usual modern sense of that term) belonging to and governing a noun; in such case, it is not drawn in to form part of a verbal compound, but has its own accent" (*Ib.*, p. 398).

Now what are the facts? As I have already pointed out above, the accent absolutely fails to give any indication of the adnominal or preverbal use when, in a principal clause, there is only one preposition before the verb. But when the prepositions are more than one, accentuation of two prepositions, in many occurrences, does indicate that the first accented preposition has the adnominal use. Cf. :—

(*ahorātré avāītād ánu prājanayati* (ŚB III.8.4.15) "after this he creates day and night," the first accented preposition [*ánu*] being used adnominally. *átha yávan ná jáyate, mātúr vádvā ā́vat prāṇám ánu prāṇiti* (ŚB II.2.1.10) "now so long as he is not born, he breathes after the breath of his mother." *udyántam vávā (ā́) dítyam agnír ánusamā́rohati* (TB II.1.2.10). "Verily Agni rises after the sun rises."

But in the TB there are many occurrences in which this double accentuation does not indicate that any of the prepositions has the adnominal use. Thus in the following instances the prepositions are preverbal : they do not indicate the adnominal use :—

apā́nó vidvā́n ā́ṛtaḥ, prátiprā́tiṣṭhad ádhvare (TB III.12.9.4)

"When the wind Apāna was selected (as a priest) it acted as a Pratiprasthātar in the sacrifice." As already shown on p. 754, adnominal use of prepositions is impossible if there occurs only the nominative case in a sentence. And this sentence is of that type. In many other occurrences, although an accusative case is present in the sentence, the use, semantically considered, cannot be adnominal, e.g. *káścit...svám lokám ná práti prájānāti* (TB III.10.11.1.), "Some one does not realize his own nature." Here the preposition [*práti*] cannot be construed with the noun [*lokám*], for the normal order of words then expected was *lokám práti ná prájānāti* (cf. p. 754). Secondly, semantically considered, [*práti*] has here the adverbial sense, implying face-to-face knowledge, i.e. realization. *Urúṃ no lokám ánu prábhāhi* (TB I.2.1.7) "Gradually reveal unto this vast universe." If [*ánu*] be separated from the verb, and taken as governing the noun [*lokám*], the transitive verb [*prabhāhi*] will be left without an object, and the sentence will fail to give any sense. The preposition [*ánu*], therefore, is here preverbal. *kámaprītā enaṃ kámā ánuprāyānti* (TB III.7.1.2) "the desired objects follow him." If [*ánu*] be detached from the verb, and connected with [*enam*], the normal order of the sentence will be broken, as illustrated above, while the well-known connection of [*ánu*] with verbs showing movement shall have to be set aside without reason.

The Kośa, on p. 63, has given a number of instances in the ŚB, where double accentuation indicates the adnominal use of the first preposition. The following example in this connection may be cited :—

Sá (a) yáṃ práṇdh sárvāṇyáṅgāny ánusáñcarati, tásmādu srucáḥ sárvā ánu srucaḥ sáñcarati (ŚB I.3.2.3) "this *prāṇa* pervades all the limbs, so indeed the *sruva* goes in accompaniment with all the *srucas*," cf. the remarkable example from AB on p. 750. The second [*ánu*] detached in the text from the verb, beautifully typifies the adnominal use. This example indicates that accentuation is not *enough* to assure the adnominal use : the order of words, the semantic connection, the nature of the verb—only the cumulative effect of all these factors can lead us to conclude that the use of the preposition has been adnominal. Accent is only one of the factors, but not a sufficient factor, of significance.

Conclusion.

The above pages, I hope will make the reader realize what a vast field of CORRECTIVE work remains to be done in the domain of Vedic Linguistics. Hundreds of pages of PW, in which many prepositions have been mechanically put together with verbs, have to be re-written. This will require a thorough re-examination of all the entries, and copious linguistic apparatus, as illustrated above p. 752, in connection with the verb [*juhoti*]. Even the admirable Kośa of Pt. Viśvabandhu requires some re-casting in this connection.

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